THE IMAGE OF THE EGYPTIAN PRIESTS IN THE GRAECO-ROMAN PERIOD

(3RD CENTURY BCE – EARLY 4TH CENTURY CE)

AN ANALYSIS ON THE BASIS OF THE EGYPTIAN AND GRAECO-ROMAN

LITERARY AND PARALITERARY SOURCES

by
Marina Escolano Poveda

A dissertation submitted to Johns Hopkins University in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Baltimore, Maryland
October, 2017

[Intended to be blank]

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the image of the Egyptian priests of the Graeco-Roman period (3rd century BCE – early 4th century CE) from two different perspectives. In the initial chapters I bring together for the first time in a detailed analysis the most relevant Egyptian priestly characters from ancient literary and paraliterary sources, both Egyptian (with a focus on the Demotic narratives) and Graeco-Roman. In this analysis I include as well a reconsideration of the historical milieu of the so-called technical and philosophical Hermetica, and propose an Egyptian priestly origin for these texts. As a result of the analysis in this first part of the dissertation, I define the main traits of the Egyptian priestly characters for each group of texts, and I compare and evaluate their relevance within each corpus.

In the second part of the dissertation, I contrast these results with a series of widely used models for the understanding of the historical and intellectual context of the Egyptian priesthood in the Graeco-Roman period. In these models, the Egyptian priests are presented as the victims of the deliberate attack of the Roman administration to the Egyptian temple system, having to resort to the mercantilization of their ritual expertise to a foreign clientele, presenting themselves through the stereotype of the exotic magician. Through the deconstruction and examination of their basic components, I conclude that these models are not corroborated by the primary sources.

Therefore, my research highlights the need of a redefinition of our understanding of the historical framework in which we locate the Egyptian priesthood of the Graeco-Roman period. It underscores the importance that the Egyptian priests had in the intellectual milieu of the Mediterranean and the Near East, and shows how the understanding of the philosophical,

scientific, and literary phenomena of the Roman and Late Antique world will not be complete without a better knowledge of the scope of the intellectual work of the Egyptian priesthood.

First reader: Richard Jasnow

Second reader: Betsy M. Bryan

Members of the Dissertation Committee: Silvia Montiglio, Lawrence Principe, Paul Delnero

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The process of researching and writing this dissertation has been a path in which I have been fortunate to benefit from the guidance of a number of excellent scholars. First and foremost, I would like to thank my advisor, Prof. Richard Jasnow, who has been my Virgil over the past years through the fascinating but overwhelming world of Egyptology, and who patiently taught me my first Demotic signs. I have not only been able to learn from him during my classes at Hopkins, but also through the example of his *savoir faire* as a scholar. His research has always been a model to which I have aspired, and which was the reason that brought me to Hopkins in the first place. His prowess in the study of Demotic papyri and in the interpretation of Egyptian literature has always inspired my own work. I feel honored to have been able to have his assistance during my own first baby-steps in the world of papyri editing.

I am equally indebted to Prof. Betsy M. Bryan. From the first time I stepped into one of her classes, to all the days we have shared under the Egyptian sun trying to unveil the secrets of the temple of Mut, I have been fascinated by her keen eye and sharp intelligence that allow her to see beyond what most of us are able when observing the representations carved or painted on the walls of the Egyptian monuments. She has always encouraged me to be an original thinker, to read critically, to organize my thoughts logically, and to come up with new interpretations. She has also trusted my work as an artist, and given me the chance to accompany her in seven wonderful archaeological seasons in Egypt. I had always heard that a good Egyptologist needs to have a good training in both philology, and the study of Egyptian art and archaeology, and I could never have dreamt of having two better professors to lead me through both paths.

As a scholar of Graeco-Roman Egypt, my research has one foot in the field of Egyptology, and the other in that of Classics. I want to wholeheartedly thank Prof. Silvia Montiglio for allowing me to take part in her classes of Greek literature and to learn from her expertise in the analysis of the nuances of the Greek language from different periods and dialects, and to become familiar with less widely studied Graeco-Roman textual corpora, such as the Greek novel, in the study of which she is one of the foremost experts.

I am also extremely grateful to Prof. Paul Delnero, who in his classes of Mesopotamian history not only provided me with a global view of the context of the ancient Near East, but also encouraged my critical thinking and analysis of primary sources and modern theoretical models, providing always very insightful feedback. During my years at Hopkins he has always been a very supportive presence, displaying sincere interest in my dissertation, and also in my research on Graeco-Egyptian astronomy.

Last but certainly not least, I want to thank Prof. Lawrence Principe for agreeing to be a member of my dissertation committee. Although I did not have the chance to attend Prof. Principe's classes during my time at Hopkins, I was fortunate enough to be able to sit in during the symposium on the sources of alchemy that he organized in May of 2014. It was through this symposium and the reading of Prof. Principe's *The Secrets of Alchemy* (2013) monograph that I decided to include the early alchemical sources as part of my dissertation research.

Although he was not part of the final committee, I also want to thank Prof. Theodore Lewis for his encouragement in the process of researching and writing this dissertation, for reading the manuscript, and for trusting my aptitudes as a palaeographer.

In order to complete my dissertation, I was awarded a Dean's Teaching Fellowship from the Office of the Dean of Arts and Sciences at the Johns Hopkins University. For the fulfillment of this fellowship I designed and taught a course called "Sorcerers, Warriors, and Femmes Fatales: Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Literature" (AS.130.249), in the Spring semester of 2016. The preparation of the classes for this course, which focused mainly on the analysis of Demotic narrative texts in their historical and social context, and the need to explain these sources to students with no previous background in Egyptology, polished and clarified my way of presenting them.

My time at Hopkins would not have been the same without the supportive and encouraging environment of the Department of Near Eastern Studies. I have been extremely fortunate to have a wonderful group of colleagues and friends in the department, among whom I want to especially thank Maggie Bryson, Katherine Davis, Rania Galal, Lingxin Zhang, and Gaultier Mouron, for always being there for me. From the Department of Classics, Michele Asuni, a fellow Mediterranean, has always been by my side since we met through the study of Euripides' *Bacchae*.

A very special thanks goes to Mason Wilkes, whose enthusiastic and unconditional support through the toughest parts of the dissertation writing over the past eleven months, and his sincere appreciation of my work, have been fundamental in my successful completion of this dissertation.

Finally, nothing of this would have been possible without the continued and loving encouragement of my parents, who despite being on the other side of the ocean, have been present in every step of this path, even in those times in which it was also difficult for them to

keep going. They have made me who I am in every possible sense, and this dissertation is my humble present to them in exchange for their wisdom and love.

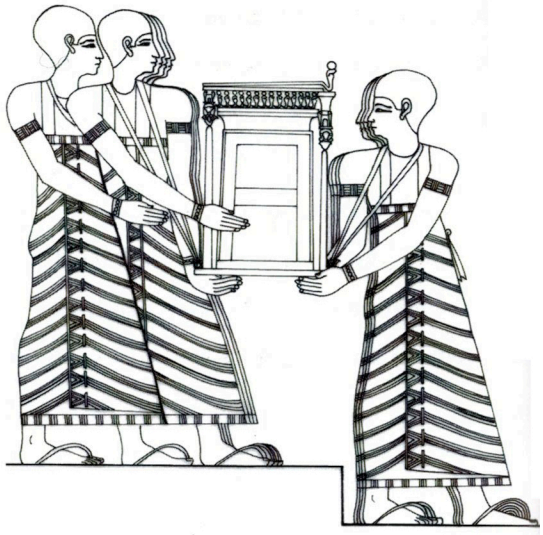
Baltimore, October 19, 2017

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

[Intended to be blank]

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION



When the traveler walks through the dimly lit staircases that lead to the roof in the temple of Dendera, he finds himself suddenly immersed in a part of a ritual that used to take place between those walls around two thousand years ago[1]. On both sides, two processions, mostly composed by priests, ascend and descend carrying different ritual objects. Carved in stone, and illuminated through some small windows that pierce the walls, these priests have been performing the rituals repeatedly, in a cycle with no end. The visitor can stop and delight in the details that decorate the shrines that are being carried, in the finely carved robes, and learn more about them by reading the hieroglyphic inscriptions that accompany the figures. The images of the ritual are still there, but the place that the real priests occupied in the staircase is now empty. The prophets, the divine fathers, the chief divine scribe with his tablet covered in ritual formulae, all are long gone, but

[1] On these staircases and the festival of the New Year, cf. ELDAMATY 2003. For a summary of the basic bibliography on the temple of Dendera, including the editions and translations of its texts, and a selection of publications on its architecture, astronomical features, and rituals, cf. CAUVILLE and IBRAHIM ALI 2015: 311-319.

behind them they left a trail of images that attest to their presence once in the temple, in that place where the traveler now stands.

The ancient Egyptian priests were fine crafters of images, not just visual ones, such as those that cover the walls of the temples, but also written. In fact, writing was a central aspect of the ancient Egyptian culture, and became one of the main characteristics that defined the identity of the Egyptian priests, particularly in the Graeco-Roman period, when access to the traditional Egyptian scripts was slowly restricted only to members of the priesthood. The Egyptian priests, throughout the long history of Egypt, were not just the keepers of the balance in the cosmos through the performance of the religious rites in the temples, but also the intellectual class in charge of the creation, development and preservation of the elements that characterized the Egyptian civilization. In this process of definition, they also created images of themselves, configuring the main elements that characterized them as a group and self-reflecting on their roles. These images took the shape of reliefs and paintings, statues, but also of verbal depictions of priestly characters in literary texts. It is assumed that this literary production was created in the so-called House of Life[2], which is sometimes defined by modern scholars as the temple *scriptorium*, where the intellectual life of the temples took place. Unfortunately, while some of the products of the House of Life have been preserved in the form of ritual handbooks, priestly manuals, and narratives, not much about their circumstances of production, of the functioning of the House of Life itself, or even of its exact character, have arrived to us. Once more, as in the case of the staircase in Dendera, we can admire the images on the walls, but the real priests who produced them and of whom they are a reflection are still elusive.

The Graeco-Roman period (end of the 4th century BCE-beginning of the 4th century CE) is particularly interesting for the study of the Egyptian priesthood, since together with the

[2] For bibliography on the House of Life, cf. the references in JASNOW and ZAUZICH 2005: 33-36.

abundance of written documentation preserved on papyrus and the possibility of studying the architecture, decorative programs, and ritual texts of its still extant temples, these native Egyptian images can be compared to a wealth of references in the contemporary Graeco-Roman literature. The fascination of the Greeks and Romans with Egyptian wisdom and the Egyptian priests as its keepers led not only to the inclusion of Egyptian priestly figures in the Graeco-Roman literary production, but also to the philosophical discussion of the priesthood and their ancient knowledge. Furthermore, the direct interaction of the Egyptian culture with that of the Greeks in the multicultural context of the Hellenistic and then Roman worlds gave rise to an interesting hybrid culture that has been designated as Graeco-Egyptian, for whose configuration the Egyptian priests were particularly responsible. We see its production not only in the new artistic forms that combine Egyptian and Greek elements, such as in the necropoleis of Alexandria like Kom el-Shoqafa, but also in a rich literature also defined as Graeco-Egyptian, written in Greek, but conveying an interesting intertwining of Egyptian and Greek elements into a new whole.

The present study is concerned both with the ancient images of the Egyptian priests and their temple milieu in the Graeco-Roman period, transmitted to us through both Egyptian and Graeco-Roman written sources, as well as with the modern scholarly analyses that, like the traveler going up the staircase of Dendera, have reflected upon these images, trying to piece together the different testimonies of native Egyptian and contemporary Graeco-Roman sources in an attempt to visualize who were those individuals that once stood upon those steps. These modern views, the development of which I describe in the next section, have in some cases created models for the understanding of the situation of the ancient Egyptian priests that, despite their intent of

clarifying our interpretation of the ancient images, have actually imposed over them an extra layer of characterization that is not always based on what the actual ancient sources say. The identification and examination of the validity of these models will be a central point of analysis in this dissertation.

1. History of research

The study of the Egyptian priesthood in Graeco-Roman Egypt has been undertaken within different disciplines—Egyptology, Classics, History, History of Religion, and others—, but rarely as a goal in itself. Normally the analysis of the figure of the Egyptian priest is part of a wider study on the political and economic changes caused by the Roman conquest of Egypt, a section in the analysis of the Egyptian religion of this period, or even in the history of other religious movements, such as Christianity or Gnosticism. Thus, a history of research on the Egyptian priesthood in this period, instead of being a single timeline, is composed of a number of threads that intertwine and separate at different moments. Although the study of the Egyptian priests in the Graeco-Roman period could actually be traced back to the Graeco-Roman period itself, or even earlier, to the first descriptions that we find of the priests and the religious beliefs of the Egyptians in authors such as Plato, or Herodotus[3], I will focus here on the modern analyses starting in the beginning of the 20th century. Many of the trends summarized in this section will

[3] For a study of the early Greek fascination with Egypt, before the conquest of Alexander the Great, cf. VASUNIA 2001. A general review of the Greek views on Egypt is also given in chapter 1 of STEPHENS 2003. A recent analysis of Herodotus' image of Egypt, with special focus on the relationship between the author and his Egyptian sources, appears in chapter 1 of MOYER 2011, with an earlier version, published as an article, in MOYER 2002. A new collection of essays on Herodotus and Egypt was edited by COULON, GIOVANELLI-JOUANNA and KIMMEL-CLAUZET 2013. Of particular interest is the essay of Joachim Quack in it, which analyzes Book 2 of the *Historiae* in the light of the Demotic sources (QUACK 2013). The most extensive commentary on Herodotus' book 2 from an Egyptological point of view is still LLOYD 1975-1988. For a complete survey of the relations between Egyptians and Greeks in the pre-Hellenistic period, see chapter 8 in VITTMANN 2003.

be developed in subsequent chapters, when the pertinent primary sources that were the object of their analyses are examined in detail.

Although the Egyptian priests have been a fascinating topic in the West already since Antiquity, few studies have been devoted entirely to them. Before the 20th century, we find the work of the Swiss-German diplomat and scholar Friedrich Samuel Schmidt, who in 1768, three decades before Napoleon Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt, published a monograph called *De Sacerdotibus*, in which he collected all the references to the priests of Egypt in the classical and biblical sources, discussing the different types of priests, the distinctive elements of their appearance, their functions, and the nature of "the sacrifices" that they offered to the gods[4]. After Napoleon's campaign, and especially with Champollion's decipherment of the hieroglyphic script, the access to new, indigenous material, opened the doors to the analysis of the Egyptian religion and priesthood of the pharaonic period, providing a counterbalance to the classical testimonies known until then. This analysis was undertaken within the newly born discipline of Egyptology. The study of the Graeco-Roman period, however, remained mostly in the realm of Classics up until the second part of the 20th century, since the main sources for its analysis up until that point were Greek papyri. The discipline of papyrology, although based on the analysis of papyri from Egypt, started as a discipline for Hellenists[5]. Greek papyri were, thus, the main sources for the study of Graeco-Roman Egypt for a long time.

The first comprehensive investigation devoted only to the Egyptian priesthood in the Graeco-Roman period was Walter Gustav Albrecht Otto's dissertation *Priester und Tempel im*

[4] As indicated in the post-title page, SCHMIDT 1768.
[5] For a review of the history of papyrology, cf. KEENAN 2009.

hellenistischen Ägypten in two volumes published in 1905 and 1908[6]. Otto focuses on the organization of the Egyptian temples and their priesthood especially during the Ptolemaic period, drawing mainly from Greek documentary texts about the administration of the temples, inscriptions and ostraca, and the testimonies of Classical authors. He refers to some hieroglyphic and Demotic stelae of priests[7], decrees, lists of names in papyri and inscriptions in temples, but acknowledges that his experience in Egyptology was minimal, and that he had not been able to achieve a good understanding of the Demotic material,[8] despite having had the help of scholars such as Georg Steindorff and Kurt Sethe for Egyptological questions. Otto's volumes, however, do not include descriptions of priests from either the Greek or Egyptian literary texts[9].

In the first volume, Otto establishes the organization of the priests of the Graeco-Roman period based especially on the bilingual decrees, relating the Greek designations for each type of priest to their Egyptian equivalents in hieroglyphs and Demotic in some cases. In his analysis of the types of priests, when studying the figure of the προφήτης, the Greek designation of the Egyptian *ḥm-nṯr*, he discusses the consideration of this particular type of priests as the philosophers *par excellence* among the Egyptian priests by the Classical authors, stating that, when philosophy was mentioned in this context, it refered to "Religionsphilosophie"[10]. Otto considers that the prophets would be in charge of the religious wisdom, while the ἱερογραμματεῖς would be responsible for the secular scholarship[11]. The second volume analyzes the administration of the temple, the social environment of the priests, and the relationship between the state and the temples, which he calls "Kirche" in an anachronistic simile with the

[6] OTTO 1905-1908.
[7] Cf. i.e OTTO 1905: 33.
[8] OTTO 1905: vii: "Besonders unsicher habe ich mich gegenüber dem reichen demotischen Material gefühlt."
[9] Cf. OTTO 1908: 211 footnote 1, where he states that he does not consider Lucian's Pankrates in his analysis due to its fictional character.
[10] OTTO 1905: 82.
[11] OTTO 1905: 88.

history of the Catholic Church and the European Monarchies in the Modern Age. Here we see a common thesis in the analysis of Roman Egypt, which held that the temples and the Roman government were antagonists, and that Rome issued a series of reforms after Augustus' conquests in order deliberately to minimize the powers of the priesthood. This thesis and the evolution of scholarly interpretations concerning the relationship between Rome and the Egyptian temples will be thoroughly analyzed in chapter 6. From Otto's second volume, the most relevant chapter for the study of the images of Egyptian priests is the seventh one, which includes a section on their education and morals. Again, the sources explored in it are mainly classical. Otto indicates that the Greek concept of the wise Egyptian priests created a literary type[12], and introduces the idea that the classical sources referred to the wisdom of priests of old, not to the contemporary ones, basing this argument especially on Strabo's description of the priests of Heliopolis[13]. In his discussion of the descriptions of priests in classical authors, he mentions the designation of some of them as philosophers, and states that some priests apart from Manetho and Chaeramon may have embraced Greek philosophy. Remarkably, this comprehensive treatment of the Egyptian priesthood in the Graeco-Roman period has not been surpassed, and although it is now obsolete in many areas, primarily in its views with respect to the historical context, and in its lack of use of Egyptian sources, it is still a fundamental source.

The beginning of the 20th century also saw, within the field of religious studies, the awakening of interest in a series of textual corpora, the so-called Greek Magical Papyri, the Hermetica, and the

[12] OTTO 1908: 210.
[13] OTTO 1908: 211: "Bei der Verwertung der die Weisheit der Priester feiernden Zeugnisse hat man ferner noch zu beachten, daß durch sie, obgleich die Träger der Überlieferung zum großen Teil der hellenistischen Zeit angehören, vor allem die Priester der älteren, nicht die der hellenistischen Zeit characterisiert werden." Interestingly enough, Dieleman considers that it is actually the opposite, and while Demotic sources place powerful magicians in the past, Graeco-Roman ones refer to fairly contemporary ones (DIELEMAN 2005: 249). I will discuss this in detail in chapter 5.

corpus of early alchemical texts. I discuss all these texts and the history of research related to them in chapter 3, but it will suffice to say here that it was in this period that all these sources began to be collected and published in a systematic way[14]. These collections allowed the study of the corpora as a whole, and resulted in a series of important publications that, in some cases, also included the analysis of the Egyptian priests that appear in the texts. This is the case of Franz Cumont's *L'Égypte des astrologues*, published in 1937, or Festugière's monumental *La révélation d'Hermes Trismégiste*, an analysis of the Hermetica in four volumes published between 1944 and 1954. The general research trend in this period was to analyze the texts from an exclusively Hellenic approach, considering their Egyptian elements as literary artifice. Earlier, in 1904, Richard Reitzenstein had published an analysis of the Hermetica, considering them as the product of a religious community founded by Hermes, in an Egyptian context. However, after the adverse scholarly reaction to this interpretation, Reitzenstein himself changed his interpretation of the context of the Hermetica from Egypt to Iran, and from a real religious congregation to the consideration of the texts as "Lesemysterien," which were not meant to be ritually performed. The magical papyri were also compiled during the first third of the 20th century by Karl Preisendanz, including in his edition only the Greek sections. It is relevant to observe that the Demotic sections of the magical papyri had already been published by F. Ll. Griffith and Herbert Thompson in three volumes between 1904 and 1909, but these were not taken into consideration by the classical scholars until much later. As a result of this scholarly separation between disciplines, the Hermetica, the magical papyri, and the alchemical texts were taken out from the Egyptian context in which they had originally been found, and considered as a shady evolution of classical rational thought in the context of Late Antiquity, "infected" by

[14] For the description of the corpora and their publication history, cf. chapter 3, section 3.1.

"Oriental" superstition[15]. With the discovery of the Nag Hammadi codices in 1945, the emphasis on the Egyptian aspects of the texts was brought back to the scholarly arena by Jean Mahé in two volumes on the Hermetic texts of the collection published in 1978 and 1982. In 1986 Garth Fowden published his influential analysis of the context of the Hermetica, toning down some of Mahé's assertions, but keeping the emphasis on Graeco-Roman Egypt as their milieu, manifest in the title of his monograph, *The Egyptian Hermes*[16]. In that same year, the first edition of Hans Dieter Betz's new translation of the magical papyri brought together the Greek and the Demotic spells. These publications have inaugurated the line of research that has continued up until the present, in which a more nuanced view of the papyri in their historical context has been the general trend.

On the Egyptological side, the 20th century opened with the edition and translation of some important Demotic narratives featuring priests, such as F. Ll. Griffith's *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis* in 1900, which made accessible for the Egyptological and also classical scholarly public the narratives of *Setne I* and *II*. They soon became popular even outside the scholarly environment, a rare feat for Demotic literature even nowadays, unfortunately. However, this has also resulted in the use of the character of Setne as representative of the Egyptian magician in Demotic literature, and in the generalization of conclusions taken from the analysis of these stories to the rest of the corpus[17]. Apart from *Setne I* and *II*, I have already mentioned Griffith's edition of the Demotic magical papyri with Herbert Thompson. Other Demotic narratives were made accessible by prolific scholars such as Wilhem Spiegelberg, who published, among others, the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros* and the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun*, both of

[15] For a description of these trends and specific references to authors and publications, cf. MOYER 2011: 220-221.
[16] For a detailed analysis and discussion of Fowden's arguments, cf. chapter 3, section 3.3.
[17] This problem will be discussed chapter 2, section 4, and in chapter 5, section 3.

which I analyze in chapter 2[18]. Although editions of Demotic texts continued appearing sporadically, World War II resulted in a slowdown of Demotic studies within Egyptology, practically until the 1970s. In the last three decades the number of scholars devoted to Demotic has not only increased the edition of texts, but has also encouraged the use of these sources for the study of Graeco-Roman Egypt[19]. In what concerns the present dissertation, the corpus of texts available nowadays offers descriptions of a wide number of Egyptian priestly characters, allowing the analysis of their characterization, which I have attempted to do in chapter 2.

Other Egyptological sources that have contributed significantly to the knowledge of the world of the Egyptian priesthood in the Graeco-Roman period are the hieroglyphic temple inscriptions. The work of recording the inscriptions had already started in the 19th century, preceded by the necessary clearing of the debris that filled up the temples up, in some cases, to the ceiling of many of the chambers. However, it was mostly during the 20th century that the systematic copying and translation of such Graeco-Roman period inscriptions began, an enterprise which continues to the present[20]. The study of the inscriptions of the temples has gone hand in hand with that of the reliefs to which they are intrinsically connected[21].

Apart from his important work on the inscriptions from the temple of Esna, in 1957 Serge Sauneron published a fundamental monograph on the priests of ancient Egypt that has become a classic[22]. This study includes both the priesthood in the pharaonic and Graeco-Roman periods, and uses both Egyptian and Greek sources, from documentary papyri such as P. Rylands 9 or

[18] Cf. chapter 2, section 1 for bibliography on both narratives.
[19] For a summary of the history of Demotic studies, cf. DEPAUW 1997: 49-52.
[20] For a brief history of the copy and study of the inscriptions from Edfu, cf. KURTH 2004: 34-44. Leitz has compiled a thorough bibliography of the inscriptions corresponding to each temple in LEITZ 2009: 1-6, together with a status of the publication of each temple (LEITZ 2009: 12-13).
[21] For a bibliography on the decoration and ritual scenes, cf. LEITZ 2009: 7-8.
[22] On its status as classic, David Lorton in the foreword to his English translation says: "During the last four decades, Serge Sauneron's work on the priests of ancient Egypt has attained the status of a classic, and it has yet to be replaced" (SAUNERON 2000: vii).

biographies of priests like that of Petosiris of Hermopolis, to classical sources such as Chaeremon's description of the life of the priests transmitted by Porphyry in his *De abstinentia*. His analysis, however, like that of Otto, maintains the consideration of the Roman conquest of Egypt as the end of the priesthoods' prosperity[23].

The traditional view of the Roman impact on the Egyptian temples and priesthoods has remained, in many cases, until the present. It was incorporated into two main studies of the life in Roman Egypt that are still often cited as reference works: Naphtali Lewis' *Life in Egypt under Roman rule*, published in 1983, and Roger Bagnall's *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, published in 1993. These authors broke with the earlier idea that the Roman period had just been a long prelude of spiritual confusion that lead to the triumph of Christianity, introducing the idea that the traditional pagan religions experienced an internal process of decline that left a void that was filled in by Christianity. However, they maintained the thesis of the opposition State vs. Temple for the analysis of Roman Egypt. In 1993, a PhD dissertation by Penelope Glare questioned some of the assumptions on the character of the Roman reforms with respect to the Egyptian temples, which has been followed by a series of analyses by scholars from both Egyptology and Classics, incorporating the Demotic documentary sources, that have provided a more nuanced picture of Rome's effects on the Egyptian temple system, which refutes the old State vs. Temple thesis. However, this view is still used as the historical background in several recent studies of Roman Egypt. The analysis of this topic will be the subject of chapter 6.

The study of the Egyptian priesthood in the Graeco-Roman period took an important turn at the end of the 1990s, with the publication of the monograph *Religion in Roman Egypt* by David

[23] SAUNERON 2000: 186.

Frankfurter in 1998, together with a series of articles that expand on some of the topics analyzed in the book. In this volume, Frankfurter uses as historical background the view that Rome's reforms concerning the Egyptian temples had been designed specifically to limit their wealth and power and to deliberately diminish the prestige of the native priesthoods. As a consequence, Frankfurter proposes two models to understand the reaction of the priests. The first one, which can be designated as "priest to magician" after the title of chapter five in his book, describes the transition of the Egyptian priests from their priestly offices within the institution of the temples to independent local and itinerant ritual experts, who based their expertise in the use of books and in the charisma transmitted by the possession of ritual abilities that once had belonged to the temple milieu. According to Frankfurter, in order to counteract the loss of prestige and power generated by Rome's reforms, they had to sell their expertise to a new foreign audience, and to do so, they had to adapt to the expectations of their clientele. At this point Frankfurter introduces the model of "stereotype appropriation," according to which the Egyptian priests adopted the image of the exotic *magos* from Graeco-Roman literature, recasting their expertise to fit the stereotype. In his analysis, Frankfurter uses different sources from both Egyptian and Greek origin, but gives special attention to the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri, which he considers as a result, and thus evidence for, the "stereotype appropriation" phenomenon. He makes use of anthropological comparisons with other societies in order to understand the situation of the Egyptian priests within the society of Roman Egypt.

The impact of Frankfurter's work on the study of different aspects of Roman Egypt can be seen in works of scholars from areas such as Egyptology, classics, and history of religion up until the present. One of the main examples is Jacco Dieleman's analysis of the bilingual (Greek-Demotic) handbooks of the Theban Magical Library, published in 2005 under the title *Priests,*

Tongues, and Rites. In this book, Dieleman takes Frankfurter's models as the framework against which he examines the evidence from the papyri, deriving conclusions that are clearly influenced by the assumption that Frankfurter's interpretation of the situation of the Egyptian priesthood in Roman Egypt is correct. In addition to the analysis of the magical handbooks, Dieleman incorporates into his study an examination of the image of the Egyptian priests through Egyptian and Graeco-Roman sources, which has been since its publication cited as the example of the literary type of the Egyptian priests for each literary corpus.

The new publications concerning the political and economic situation of Egypt after the Roman conquest, and the refutation of the thesis of the opposition State vs. Temple, which disproves the assumption that Rome's reforms targeted the Egyptian temples and their priesthoods in order to diminish their power and prestige, raise significant doubts on the validity of Frankfurter's models of the transition from "priest to magician" set against the historical background of Rome's aggression to the status of the Egyptian priests, and thus on the need for the existence of the "stereotype appropriation" model. The goal of this dissertation is to analyze the images of the Egyptian priests as described in the Demotic, Graeco-Egyptian, and Graeco-Roman literature, using a significant sample from each corpus, in order to obtain a summary of their characteristic elements and see if the literary types provided by Dieleman can be generally applied to each corpus. I will then use these results as the departure point for a detailed dissection and examination of the main components of Frankfurter's "priest to magician" and "stereotype appropriation" models, so as to verify their validity and that of his reconstruction of the situation of the Egyptian priesthood in the Graeco-Roman period.

2. Plan of the dissertation

I have structured this dissertation in two parts:

The first part is devoted to the analysis of the main Egyptian priestly characters in the Demotic, Graeco-Egyptian, and Graeco-Roman literature, and it is composed of four chapters (2-5). In the first three chapters I analyze in depth how the main priestly characters of these narratives have been constructed, paying attention to elements such as physical characterization, age, social situation, name, use of epithets and titles, ritual and magical actions, and moral characterization. I also explore how wisdom and knowledge, two features that are often attached to priestly figures, are treated in the texts, as well as the examples of priests being paid for their services, which will be relevant for the discussion in part two. In this analysis I explore the original texts and in some cases propose a new understanding of the characters, and of their role in the plot of the narrative, based on the detailed examination of their characteristics. In the last chapter I provide a summary of the characteristics of the priestly characters analyzed in chapters 2 to 4, using the above-mentioned categories, and compare my results to those proposed by Dieleman in chapter 6 of his monograph *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*.

The second part of the dissertation is divided into three chapters that present the three main elements of Frankfurter's view of the Egyptian priesthood in Roman Egypt: the deliberate aggression of the Roman administration against the Egyptian temples and their priesthoods, the "priest to magician" model, and the "stereotype appropriation" model. In chapter 6 I present the traditional views concerning the impact of Rome's reforms on the Egyptian temple system, and contrast it with new analyses based on a more nuanced study of the different types of sources, from documentary papyri to temple inscriptions. In chapter 7 I dissect the "priest to magician"

model into its main constituting elements, and examine the validity of each one of them in order to assess the general cogency of the whole model. I apply the same procedure to the "stereotype appropriation" model in chapter 8.

[Intended to be blank]

PART 1

CHAPTER 2: DEMOTIC NARRATIVES

In this chapter I will analyze the characteristics of the Egyptian priestly figures present in the corpus of Demotic narratives. Although the Demotic script[24] is attested for the first time in the 7th century BCE, it was first used only in the context of administration[25]. The earliest literary texts known written in Demotic were found in Saqqara and date to the 4th-3rd century BCE[26], while the majority of the literary papyri date to the Roman period, concentrating in the 1st but especially the 2nd century CE. An important source of literary papyri has been the Tebtunis Temple Library, dating to the 1st and 2nd centuries CE, which shows that narratives were also part of the texts produced and kept in the temples[27]. It is possible that some of these narratives were considered as historical accounts[28]. Quack has observed that it is not clear if there are literary texts in a narrow sense of the definition to be dated to the 3rd century CE, since most papyri do not preserve dates, and palaeographical dating for Demotic papyri is still not precise[29].

Focusing on Demotic narrative literature[30], the stories were designated in ancient times as *sḏj*, as it is attested in the colophon of *Setne I*[31]. It is characterized for being very formulaic, with

[24] For a brief summary of the demotic script and the Demotic language, cf. HOFFMANN 2000: 13-32.
[25] The first clearly dated Demotic texts are P. Rylands I and II, which date to year 21 of Psamtek I (644 BCE) (QUACK 2009a: 1).
[26] Cf. section 2 in this chapter. There has been scholarly discussion around the consideration of P. Rylands IX, which dates to the 7th-6th century BCE, as a documentary or literary text. For the edition of the text, cf. VITTMANN 1998b. P. Vandier, which is dated to the 27th–30th dynasties, is written in the hieratic script, but its language is closer to Demotic than to Late Egyptian, cf. section 5 in this chapter.
[27] On the Tebtunis Temple Library cf. RYHOLT 2005a; RYHOLT 2013b: 26-29.
[28] Cf. RYHOLT 2009a.
[29] Cf. QUACK 2009a: 7.
[30] The following summary of the characteristics of Demotic narratives is based on QUACK 2009a: 17-26. An earlier summary on Demotic narratives is TAIT 1994.
[31] Cf. JASNOW 2007a: 434.

a series of stock phrases[32] that are used systematically for the description of particular situations, which might be a reference to an original oral context[33]. The narrative parts are generally told by an omniscient narrator in the third person and tend to be short, and elaborate descriptions of locations and characters are not common. Most of the action is conveyed through very vivid dialog. As for the form of the texts, they are generally prose, although some of them include sections from other genres such as hymns interspersed in the narrative, such as the hymn to the parts of the bark of Amun in the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun*[34], which starts with a narrative frame that introduces the instructional text organized as maxims. Narrative sections are also included in texts from other genres, sometimes as a framing device, as in the *Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*[35]. As was the case during the pharaonic period, we do not know any names of authors for the texts, and many of them actually show signs of having been reworked in different periods. Of those narratives for which we have different copies, these tend to display variations that attest to different textual transmissions. In the case of the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros*, for example, we have two alternative endings[36].

In the present chapter I review all the main priestly characters present in the Demotic narratives available in published form, including some references to others that, while still unpublished, have been described by the scholars who are preparing their editions with enough detail to allow a nuanced analysis. The order in which I present the texts does not adhere to any particular criterion, since while we have manuscripts for them that date to different periods, a chronological arrangement according to date of composition is at the moment not possible.

[32] For stock phrases in Demotic literature, cf. TAIT 2011.
[33] For a recent study of orality in Demotic literature, cf. JAY 2016.
[34] Cf. section 1.1 in this chapter.
[35] Cf. section 3 in this chapter.
[36] On this topic, cf. RYHOLT 2012: 83.

1. The Inaros-Pedubastis cycle

The Inaros-Pedubastis literary cycle is a group of narratives that revolve around the figure of the king Inaros, his family, and a series of allies and antagonists. The stories are set during the Libyan period (7th century BCE), and although the narratives are fictional[37], some of their characters have been connected to historical figures[38]. Several scholars have suggested that the composition of the narratives may have taken place before the Graeco-Roman period, having been reworked through time[39]. Whatever the case may be, the abundance of manuscripts from the Ptolemaic and especially Roman period attest to their popularity in the context relevant to the present study[40]. The main theme of the stories is the epic confrontation between the members of the Inaros and the Pedubastis families[41]. Despite their mainly warlike nature, these stories also contain interesting priestly characters, and particularly *The Fight for the Sinecure of Amun* features a priest as its central figure. Kim Ryholt has pointed out that the Inaros-Pedubastis' stories compose one third of the total of narrative fragments in the Tebtunis temple library[42], and has indicated that the background of the two main stories, the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun* and the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros*, revolves around the celebration of a religious festival that is disrupted might be the reason for their presence in a temple library[43]. Of all the known narratives

[37] For the concept of fiction and history cf. RYHOLT 2009a. Gozzoli describes the cycle as "historical romance" (GOZZOLI 2006: 271).
[38] QUACK 2009a: 51; GOZZOLI 2006: 268-274; RYHOLT 2004.
[39] Cf. i.e. HOFFMANN 1996: 120-124.
[40] Hoffmann has proposed a reconstruction of the history of the composition of *The Fight for the Armor of Inaros* (HOFFMANN 1996: 120–124).
[41] The use of the adjective "epic" to define this cycle is done purposefully by many scholars (cf. i.e. AGUT-LABORDÈRE and CHAUVEAU 2011: 67) in order to highlight one of the main debates around the narratives, the possibility of influence from Homer and other Greek epic poems. For a summary of the discussion and bibliography cf. QUACK 2009a: 66-70. For a discussion on the appropriateness of the terms "cycle" and "epic" for these narratives, cf. JAY 2016: 153-157.
[42] RYHOLT 2005a: 154-155; RYHOLT 2013b: 26-29.
[43] This interpretation for the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros* depends on K. Ryholt's understanding of the beginning of the story (RYHOLT 2012: 81).

in the cycle, only a few have been published. The main three narratives according to their length and state of preservation are the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun,* the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros,* and *Egyptians and Amazons*. Of these, only the first two contain priestly figures worthy of analysis, and are included in this study.

1.1. The *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun*

The *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun* is preserved in a main manuscript, P. Spiegelberg, which is also the oldest copy dating to ca. 70 BCE, and a series of fragments from the Roman period[44]. It is significant to observe that the witnesses for this text comprise 200 years of transmission, which is evidence for its great popularity during the Graeco-Roman period. P. Spiegelberg contains 18 fairly well preserved columns, but unfortunately both the beginning and the end of the story are lost. This makes the reconstruction of the story a difficult task, relegating many interpretations to the realm of speculation. In broad lines, the argument can be summarized as follows: king Pedubastis of Tanis and his family travel to Thebes in order to participate in the festival of Amun, and claim the sinecure of the first prophet of Amun for Pedubastis' son Ankhhor. During the course of the festival, in which the sacred bark of Amun has crossed to the west bank, a young priest of Horus of Pe in Buto appears with 13 herdsmen and claims his right to the sinecure. The story develops with a series of oracular consultations to the statue of the god Amun, and singular combats of the young priest and his companions against members of Pedubastis' party and, eventually, some heroes belonging to the family of Inaros. The end is not preserved, and therefore it is not possible to know the outcome of the dispute. Some clues throughout the text might, nevertheless, give a hint as to what we could expect. These are connected to the figure of the young priest of Horus, which is the main element of interest of this text in the present study.

[44] HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 88.

One of the characteristics that stand out in the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun* is the prominence of dialogue vs. narrative. The speeches–or the lack thereof–, together with the circumstances that surround each verbal exchange, offer a set of subtle elements that flesh out the characters in a very rich way[45]. This text has a series of priestly characters: the young priest of Horus of Pe in Buto; the first prophet of Amun; a lector priest; Amun priests; and four and eight fellow priests that accompany Pami and Petekhons respectively. Of all of them, only the first two have a prominent role in the story.

1.1.1. The young priest of Horus of Pe in Buto

The most important priestly character in the story is clearly the so-called young priest of Horus of Pe in Buto. This character receives different designations depending on who is addressing him. The first important point that needs to be highlighted is that, despite his prominent role in the story, he remains anonymous. This element was already emphasized by C. Traunecker in his study of the theology of the text[46]. In it, he points out how the character is a figure that displays exceptional efficacy in the moral, liturgical, and physical spheres, and who, in contrast with the other main characters in the story, who are presented with complete genealogies, remains anonymous and without a family history. Traunecker describes him as "orphelin et sans histoire"[47], an interesting interpretation, since the priest keeps repeating since his first appearance that he claims the sinecure that belongs to his father, never indicating who his father is. Traunecker considers that the young priest, officiating as priest of Horus son of Isis, takes the

[45] This has been highlighted by Hoffmann and Quack in the introduction to their translation of the text (HOFFMAN and QUACK 2007: 88).
[46] TRAUNECKER 1995: 190-192.
[47] TRAUNECKER 1995: 191.

role of this god, and claims the sinecure for his deceased father Osiris[48]. I will return to this point. In lack of a name for the young priest, two basic designations are used throughout the text to refer to him. The young priest and his 13 herdsmen use the appellative *pꜣ ḥm-nṯr n ḥr n py pr-wꜣdj.t r ms is.t n ḫbj* "the prophet of Horus of Pe in Buto, whom Isis in Chemmis bore" (i.e. in P. Spiegelberg 2.3-4 for the designation used by the young priest, and 4.20 for the 13 herdsmen). This designation focuses the attention on his priestly title, showing that he belongs to a high rank inside the priesthood, and connects him prominently with Horus as the son of Isis and rightful heir of Osiris. The omniscient narrator and Pedubastis' party refer to him, however, as *pꜣ ḫm-ḫl n wʿb* "young priest", formed by the word *ḫm-ḫl*[49] plus the generic designation for priest in the Graeco-Roman period in the attributive construction[50]. The term *ḫm-ḫl* is normally translated as "young man,"[51] and Traunecker has pointed out that this term characterizes the priest in two ways, a physical one, presenting him as young and strong, able to fight and defeat his enemies in combat; and a theological one, connected to his patron god, Horus[52]. He also indicates that *ḫm* is often used as synonym of *ḫrd*, as in the name *ḥr-pꜣ-ḫm*[53]. It is interesting to note that *ḫrd* is a word that means "child" with the connotation of divinity[54]. The concept of divine children was surveyed by M. Stadler in his study of P. Wien D. 12006, where he translates the word *ʿl* as "(divine) child"[55]. He identifies the divine child in the text as Harpocrates (*ḥr-pꜣ-ḫrd*), who participates in a dialogue with Isis in a papyrus thicket, in the first part of the text of P. Wien D.

[48] TRAUNECKER 1995: 190.
[49] The term is also used by Pekrur to refer to Petekhons and Pami (P. Spiegelberg 11.9).
[50] SPIEGELBERG 1925: 43, §69; LAYTON 2004: 79-84.
[51] ERICHSEN 1954: 394; CDD_H3 (06:1): 94.
[52] TRAUNECKER 1995: 191.
[53] *DNb* 805 *s.v. ḥr-pꜣ-ḫm*.
[54] ERICHSEN 1954: 392; CDD_H4 (01:1): 72. The word appears written with the divine determinative in P. Dodgson (MARTIN 1994: 202 footnote 22).
[55] STADLER 2004: 207-214. For a summary of the discussion around the translation of this term between "(divine) child" and "stone" cf. STADLER 2012: 172-177. The term also appears in the abnormal hieratic narrative of P. Queen's College, in which H.-W. Fischer-Elfert opts for its translation as "pebble," following J. F. Quack (FISCHER-ELFERT 2013: 147).

12006 recto[56]. I will further examine the concept of divine children in the section about Si-Osiris[57]. Returning to *The Fight for the Sinecure of Amun*, there is a further reference in the text that could connect the physical appearance of the priest to the god Horus. Although the first surely preserved appearance of the priest is in column F.13, he is already referred to there with the definite article, which indicates that he must have been mentioned earlier in the story. In this section he is speaking with Pedubastis, and in the conversation the first prophet of Amun and the priests of this god are mentioned several times. He must have been introduced before, and perhaps described physically, together with his 13 herdsmen. When these are presented before the young priest's confrontation with Ankhhor, they are described as armed with helmets of bull faces (*tbn.w n ḥr kꜣ*, P. Spiegelberg 4.15). In column E.1, the sentence *ỉw-wn wʿ ḥr n ⸢bk⸣* "having the face of a falcon(?)"[58] is similar to the description of the herdsmen's helmets, and might be part of the description of the appearance of the young priest, perhaps describing some kind of headdress in the shape of a falcon, highlighting his connection to Horus[59]. Beyond the theological connotations, the use of both ways of addressing the young priest is relevant for the present analysis, because it presents an individual who holds the office of prophet (*ḥm-nṯr*) as being very young. His youth, as indicated by Traunecker, allows him to be an active fighter, but this strength is not presented simply as that of a normal warrior, but with superhuman tones. Thus, in his fight against Ankhhor he is compared to a lion and Ankhhor to a desert mouse, and a

[56] STADLER 2004: 210-211. Cf. also STADLER 2012: 174-177 for a further development of the argument of the ʿl as Horus, including a connection between P. Wien D. 12006 and Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*.
[57] Cf. section 4.4 in this chapter.
[58] HOFFMANN 1995: 57.
[59] Another possible reference to an animal-shaped helmet or headdress appears in one of the short stories of the *Story of Peteisis*: *ḳlꜣ ḏꜣḏꜣ=j n pꜣ sꜣ* "the *ḳlꜣ* of my head of wild boar" (*The Prince and the Kalasiris*, Fr. C1, col. 3.3. Cf. RYHOLT 2005b: 47). Ryholt has identified this element as a boar tusk helmet, and connects it to the helmet of Odysseus in the *Iliad* (Cf. RYHOLT 2005b: 56).

nurse with her small child (P. Spiegelberg 5.1-3)[60], clearly emphasizing the superiority of the priest versus a helpless Ankhhor. Consequently, the priest holds Ankhhor by means of his armor, and without difficulty throws him to the ground and binds him (P. Spiegelberg 5.3-5). This feat of strength is closer to that of a divine or semidivine figure than to that of a human. Lastly, the young priest is also called *ꜥ3m* "herdsman" by Djedhor as he addresses the army of Egypt when the young priest is about to engage in fight with Ankhhor. He contrasts this designation with the one he uses for the prince, *p3 šr n pr-ꜥ3* "the son of Pharaoh"[61], putting emphasis on a social difference between both contenders (P. Spiegelberg 4.8-9). The term is used again to describe the young priest, this time as *wꜥ ḥl n ꜥ3m* "young herdsman," by Pedubastis as he laments the defeat of Wertepiamonnut (P. Spiegelberg 9.17). The context in both cases is one of anger against the young priest, and the term itself can, of course, be derived from the presence of the young priest among 13 herdsmen. However, it could also be taken as indicative of his having the same

[60] These lines are problematic. Line 5.2 starts with a lacuna, after which we can read *r-ḏb3*, a horizontal trace broken by a small lacuna, the animal skin determinative, and *n tw* "of the mountain." D. Agut-Labordère and M. Chauveau suggests "gerboise (?) du désert" (AGUT-LABORDÈRE and CHAUVEAU 2011: 79), without any notes, and F. Hoffmann and J. F. Quack translate "Berg(land)[kle]in[vie]hs(?)" (HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 96). G. Vittmann in the TLA does not give any transliteration for the word (http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/GetCtxt?u=guest&f=0&l=0&tc=313&db=1&ws=1511&mv=4 [accessed on 02/22/2017]). The only image of the papyrus I have been able to consult is that in W. Spiegelberg's edition:  (SPIEGELBERG 1910: plate 5). The contrast between a lion and a mouse reminds one of the short fable in the *Myth of the Sun's Eye*, which also happens in the desert (*tw*) (P. Leiden I 384 recto, col. 18.13–34). There, the mouse is called *pn* (ERICHSEN 1954: 131; CDD_P (10.1): 5) and the orthography could fit the traces of the word preserved in P. Spiegelberg 5.2, with the horizontal being the *n*, and a small *p* having been lost in the lacuna on top, followed before the determinative by the two small vertical strokes. Thus, I have interpreted the word as "mouse," since it fits the apparent meaning of the passage, in which a bigger and stronger being (the lion, the nurse) is contrasted to another smaller and weaker (the mouse, the small child).

[61] Setne and Naneferkaptah are identified solely as *p3 šr n Pr-ꜥ3* "son of Pharaoh" in *Setne I* and *Setne II*, with no indication of priestly titles, cf. sections 4.1 and 4.2 in this chapter. In 2003 John Ray published an article discussing the mention of a figure called *p3 šr pr-ꜥ3* in the stela Brooklyn 37.1851 E, which dates to the Ptolemaic period (Ray indicates that G. R. Hughes suggested the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes, cf. RAY 2003: 91). In lines 8–9 this figure is said to be the one for whom a vault (*khḫ*) in the galleries of the Apis and the Mothers of the Apis of the Serapeum was made. In lines 12–13 he is said to receive burial (*ḳrs.t*). Ray discusses the possible identity of this "son of pharaoh," first discarding the possibility of his being a Ptolemaic prince, and proposing two options: prince Thutmose, son of Amenhotep III, and Khaemwaset, the son of Ramesses II. He opts for the first one, indicating that it is unlikely that someone with the reputation of Khaemwaset would have been known just as "son of pharaoh" (RAY 2003). However, the fact that this designation is actually used for him as his single title in *Setne I* and *Setne II*, which were probably composed in the Ptolemaic period, is in my opinion an argument in favor of the identification of the "son of pharaoh" of the stela with Khaemwaset rather than with prince Thutmose.

external appearance as his companions. I will return to this condition of the young priest as herdsman later.

This exceptional description of his physical characteristics is accompanied by a rich development of the young priest's personality through his oral interventions and his interactions with other characters. These can be classified into two groups, which are differentiated in P. Spiegelberg 3.11-3.15, when Ankhhor asks the priest how he will state his claim, by law (*hp*) or by force (*ḳnḳn*). The first part of the priest's interventions corresponds to the former. In his first preserved long speech, the young priest sets his claim on the sinecure through a display of his theological knowledge and ritual expertise, with a hymn in which he names the different parts of the bark of Amun (column G.9- P. Spiegelberg 1.24). A very interesting and unusual element is that the young priest is not only said to recite this complex hymn to the bark of Amun, but the content of the hymn is also given in the text. Its location in the beginning of the text, and its length of practically a column and a half, indicates that the hymn is a key piece in the story, and therefore an important element in the characterization of the priest. Traunecker has analyzed the different parts of the hymn, and noted its connection with funerary texts such as the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead[62]. He considers that the hymn in this text is an original and specific composition, in which each element of the bark of Amun is animated through the ritual and connected to Horus son of Isis, son of Osiris, who appears in the refrain of each one of the strophes of the hymn as the beneficiary of the ritual so that he can perform the funerary rituals for his father Osiris[63]. The strong effect that the hymn has on its audience is culminated by the statement of the young priest's claim, which starts by the negation of the rightfulness of any

[62] TRAUNECKER 1995: 186-188. J. Assmann has analyzed this kind of ritual texts as the composition of a "mystical ship" through the use of "mystical language" "the purpose of which is to transpose the individual parts of the ferry into the AKH-sphere." (ASSMANN 1989: 144). The role of the hymn in the text could be interpreted along these lines as transposing the bark to the mythical sphere of Osiris.
[63] TRAUNECKER 1995: 187.

other claims on the sinecure through a rhetorical question, his complete introduction, and the attribution of the right to the sinecure to his father and not to the first prophet of Amun and the priests of this god. This long intervention is received by Pedubastis and the priests of Amun with shock, and the latter refer to it as something that they had never heard or read until that day. The effect of the hymn is further strengthened by the god Amun's confirmation of the justice of the young priest's claim (P. Spiegelberg 2.13-14). One of the elements that is highlighted throughout all the young priest's interventions is his connection to Horus son of Isis, son of Osiris, first, as we have seen, through the hymn and his priestly title, but also through his oaths (cf. i.e. P. Spiegelberg 3.9)[64]. His theological argument and ritual knowledge are further developed in the next column, in which he justifies his arrival at that precise moment, and not the day before, according to what seems to be a strict succession of rituals, which revolve around Horus' libation for his father Osiris (P. Spiegelberg 2.18-3.1). After this point the tone of the priest's interventions changes, transitioning to the use of force and a more aggressive standpoint. He dismisses Djedhor as a valid interlocutor in a harsh way, telling him to shut up and to mind only what concerns him as head of the army (P. Spiegelberg 3.6-11). The sarcastic question "where have you found the sinecure of the temple?" rounds up this intervention, followed by the direct threat of not allowing the bark of Amun to cross back to the east bank until he has been given the sinecure. With this threat the young priest creates a rupture in the continuity of Amun's ritual, in order to restore the theological order that has previously been disrupted according to him because of the presence of the sinecure in Ankhhor's possession (and in that of the first prophet of Amun as well). The use of irony by the priest is also present in his interaction with Wertepiamonniut, when he refers to the fight between the general and one of the priest's herdsmen as "an hour of joy" (*i.irj wꜥ.t wnw.t n sḏjḥ irmꜣf*, P. Spiegelberg 8.23).

[64] On oaths in the Inaros-Pedubastis cycle, cf. JAY 2016: 162-163.

The characterization of the young priest as an anonymous figure, identified solely by his priestly condition in connection to Horus son of Isis, son of Osiris, his theological expertise despite his youth, the boldness of his claim and his firm defense of it, and his superhuman strength, make him one of the most enigmatic and interesting characters in Demotic literature. The fragmentary state of the beginning of the narrative, and the loss of its ending leave the main question of the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun* open: who is this priest? Several scholars have attempted to connect him to a historical figure[65]. Traunecker mentions two figures called Horsaisis, a high priest of Amun of the time of Pedubastis I, of the 23rd dynasty, and a usurper from the time of Ptolemy VIII. He warns, however, against the naivety of seeing in the story the novelization of a historical event[66]. On a theological level, Traunecker interpreted the priest as a fictional transposition of the priesthood that performed the rituals of Amun of Opet in front of his dead form Kematef[67], who is described as acting as Horsaisis for his father Osiris[68]. J. Jay refers to a lecture by Th. Schneider in which he suggests the identification of the young priest with a Nubian priest of Amun called Horchebi, from the transitional period between the 25th and 26th dynasties. He considers then that the story is a novelization of the confrontation between Nubians, Assyrians, and Libyans during this period[69]. Other scholars prefer to see the identity of the character attached to the theological elements present in the narrative, and especially the connections with the myth of Osiris. Thus, J. F. Quack underscores the parallels of the story with this myth, with the young priest taking the role of Horus claiming the inheritance of his father in front of the highest authority, in the case of the myth, Ra, and in the narrative, pharaoh

[65] For the historical interpretation of the 13 herdsmen, cf. RUTHERFORD 1997 and RUTHERFORD 2000. In these articles he sees parallels between the herdsmen in the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun* and the *boukoloi* of Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*, which are also commanded by a priest, Thyamis. These *boukoloi* appear as well in other Greek novels and are referred to by historian Cassius Dio. For the *Aithiopika*, cf. chapter 4, section 1.1.
[66] TRAUNECKER 1995: 199–201.
[67] On Kematef, cf. THISSEN 1996.
[68] TRAUNECKER 1995: 193–199.
[69] JAY 2016: 135.

Pedubastis. He highlights as well the presence of the 13 herdsmen[70] from the Delta, who are also found in P. Carlsberg 69[71]. Quack developed the idea of Horus as herdsman in an article, where he observed how Horus spent part of his youth in Buto as herdsman, as indicated in P. Harris 501 10.1-11.1, where he is herding cattle in the fields. He also points out there that in the *Book of the Temple* the chief herdsman (*imj-rꜣ iḫ.w*) is equated with Horus[72].

Putting together all these elements in the context of the Demotic narratives, I would like to propose a new interpretation of the identity of the young priest. Although the references to historical figures could have been partial inspiration for the character, the connections of the priest with Horus in the myth of Osiris seem to be the clearest features of the character's presentation. In the story, the claim of the young priest is confirmed by the god Amun (P. Spiegelberg 2.14), and although the end is not preserved, it is safe to assume that he would have received the sinecure after the confrontation. There are some elements, however, that have not been stressed by the scholars who have engaged with the story, and that might provide further clues to the identity of the priest and the outcome of the story. In the combats described in the story, only those individuals who do not have any connection with the family of Inaros are defeated, and rather easily so, by the young priest and his 13 herdsmen. The defeats of Ankhhor and Wertepiamonniut are fulminant, and both end up as hostages in the bark of Amun. Minnebmaat, however, who introduces himself as a son of Inaros, cannot be defeated, and the fight between him and one of the herdsmen goes on for four days without a winner. Amun in his oracle says that the only ones who will be able to defeat the herdsmen are Pami, the son of Inaros, and Petekhons (P. Spiegelberg 11.3–4). The military prowess of the family of Inaros in contrast

[70] There has been significant debate on the interpretation of the word *ꜥꜣm.w* in this text. Although traditionally it was used to designate the Asiatics, in Demotic it has the sense of herdsmen. This is the meaning I follow here. cf. VITTMANN 2006: 312.
[71] QUACK 2009a: 64–65. For a translation of the text, cf. HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 305–311.
[72] QUACK 1999a: 164.

with the other families is praised by the army of Egypt in P. Spiegelberg 17.15–17: *mn mhw.t n rmṯ-(n-)ḳnḳn ḫn kmj m-ḳdj t3 mhw.t wsjr nsw ỉr.t-ḥr-r.rꜥw* "there is no family of fighters in Egypt like the family of the Osiris king Inaros." Another element to point out, present in this fragment, is the clear identification of the deceased Inaros with Osiris[73]. It is quite obvious that the young priest is not just a regular character: his exceptional ritual expertise despite his young age, displayed in the hymn, his superhuman strength in his combat against Ankhhor, his peculiar companions, 13 herdsmen that protect him fiercely (P. Spiegelberg 4.19-22), his anonymity in a context of fully identified characters, and the unusual character of his claim, all seem to separate him from the other characters and put him at a different level. Another character in Demotic literature that is unusual in his abilities is Si-Osiris, the son of Setne in *Setne II*. He is described as a precocious child, who by the age of twelve had surpassed in knowledge of magic all the priests of the city, and who could see the fate of people, travel to and from the underworld, and read from a closed manuscript. Interestingly enough, the meaning of his name is "son of Osiris," and in the end of the story it is revealed that his real identity is that of a powerful magician of old, called Horus son of Paneshe[74]. In parallel with *Setne II*, a suggestion for the ending of the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun* could go along the same lines, with the young priest not being just a priest taking the identity of Horus as part of the ritual, as Traunecker suggested, but being a divine or semidivine figure intervening in the story in order to provide a resolution to a bad situation, in this case to the fact that the family of Inaros, i.e. Pami and Petekhons, had been wronged by not being invited by Pedubastis to participate in the festival of Amun. The text refers in the fragmentary beginning to the two parties and to Pami's being angry[75]. With Inaros being

[73] Throughout the *Inaros Epic,* Inaros is actually described as "the son of Osiris" (RYHOLT 2009b: 310).
[74] For a detailed analysis of these characters cf. sections 4.4 and 4.5 in this chapter.
[75] Cf. the description of the reconstruction of the beginning of the text in HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 89–90.

identified as Osiris in the text, Pami would be characterized as his heir[76], Horus, and should be the one performing the rituals referred to in the hymn of the young priest for his deceased father. The arrival of Pami to Thebes would permit the accomplishment of this ritual. As for the young priest, a similar revelation to that of Si-Osiris in the end of *Setne II* could have been the culmination of the confrontation once Pami and Petekhons opposed the young priest's team. Another element that speaks for the young priest's divine identity is that he feasts with the 13 herdsmen on offerings while he is on the bark of Amun[77]. The food used as offering in the temple could only be consumed by the priesthood after it had been offered and consumed by the god, and therefore, the young priest's action, which could be interpreted as wrongdoing on his part, can otherwise be read as a proof of his divine nature[78]. As for his real identity, the deceased Inaros remains a possibility. A similar divine person in disguise appears in the story *Djedseshep, Nanoufesakhme, and Harmakhroou* (P. Saqqara I), in the character of "Girl B." This girl is described as *gy rmṯ-ꜥ3* "some kind of great person," that the editors identify as "an expression used of people of high rank, but also of ghosts and of divine persons"[79]. They consider that this character might be a divine person in disguise, who appears to perform magic. She is also anonymous: "Clearly 'B' is deliberately not named, as is referred to as *t3 ḫm-ḫl*(*t*) (9/7, 9) and *t3 ḫrt*, because she is in disguise. The fact that she is perhaps a goddess or a magician is, however,

[76] This identification has been pointed out by several scholars for the Inaros cycle in general. For the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros* in particular cf. GOZZOLI 2006: 274-275, and footnote 215.
[77] K. Ryholt has noted this as an unusual element and part of the disruption of the religious ceremonies, but without connecting it to a divine identity of the young priest (RYHOLT 2012: 81).
[78] A similar situation in which a living individual is presented as divine by consuming offerings appears in the famous scene in the tomb of Huya I at Tell el-Amarna, where Akhenaten and his family appear eating from offering tables. Ironically, this scene, together with other representation of the family of Akhenaten, has traditionally been described as presenting the king in a moment of intimacy with his family in the royal palace. In a similar context, about the Berlin stela of Akhenaten (Inv.-No. 14145): "The composition is evidently designed to stress the domestic intimacy of the royal family and reflects the thematic interest in the informal moment selected for representation." (SMITH 1998: 179). Akhenaten is not only presented as a divine being, but is given the *jwꜥ*-sign by the Aten, designating him as his heir.
[79] SMITH and TAIT 1983: 48.

rather against her identification with human females appearing in the story"[80]. The terminology is the same as that used to refer to the young priest of Horus. A last reference that might be relevant in connection with this interpretation of the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun* is found in Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride*. In his narrative of the infancy of Horus, Plutarch says that: "Afterwards Osiris came to Horus, it is said, from the underworld, and equipped and trained him for battle. Then he questioned him as to what he considered to be the finest action, and Horus said, 'To succour one's father and mother when they have suffered wrong.'" (*De Iside,* chapter 19)[81]. Although the idea of revenge of his father is the central point of the myth of Horus and Seth, Plutarch's narrative emphasizes the idea of the training for battle of Horus. Furthermore, later in the same chapter it is stated that Horus defeated Typhon (Seth) after many days of battle, and that Horus tied him in bonds, which is the same treatment that those defeated by the young priest receive in the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun*.

The loss of the end of the story does not allow one to go beyond the realm of hypothesis, and only the fortunate discovery of more fragments of the story will shed light on the identity of such a fascinating character as the young priest. As G. Vittmann has indicated with respect to this story, we are dealing with a narrative that is a creation by priests for priests[82], and the fact that the author built a priestly character of this complexity needs to be considered in the classification of priestly characters in Demotic literature more than it has been done until now[83].

[80] SMITH and TAIT 1983: 48.
[81] Translation by GRIFFITHS (1970: 144–147).
[82] VITTMANN 2006: 331.
[83] The young priest of Horus is not analyzed in studies on priests in Demotic literature such as DIELEMAN 2005 or SALIM 2013.

1.1.2. The First Prophet of Amun

The whole story revolves around the possession of what is called the *sʿnḫ*[84] of the First Prophet of Amun (*ḥm-nṯr tpj n ỉmn*). This character is only referred to by his title. He first appears in column C (x+5), being contacted by the lector priest and Ankhhor, which is proof that he is alive when the action of the story takes place. The reason why the sinecure is being disputed while he is still alive is not clarified in the text. When Ankhhor is defeated by the young priest, Pedubastis, in despair, asks Pekrur to go and tell the young priest to don clothes of fine linen, to adorn himself with the amulets of gold, and to become first prophet before Amun, once the god returns to Thebes (P. Spiegelberg 7.2-4). This seems to imply that the holder of the sinecure will in fact become First Prophet of Amun. Before the fight against the young priest, Ankhhor says that the young priest has no claim over the sinecure, which he will return to the first prophet of Amun, with whom it was before (P. Spiegelberg 3.20). According to this, the transfer to Ankhhor seems to be only temporary[85]. The young priest, however, does not only question the legitimacy of Ankhhor's possession of the sinecure, but also that of the first prophet of Amun. Thus, after the hymn to the parts of the bark of Amun[86], the young priest claims that the sinecure belongs to his father[87], and not to the first prophet and the priests of Amun (P. Spiegelberg 2.4-5). In terms of the characterization of the first prophet, however, the figure is not described in the text preserved,

[84] The nature of this sinecure is not clear in the text, but seems to be connected to the office of the first prophet of Amun, described as *pȝ sʿnḫ n tȝ dnj.t ḥm-nṯr-tpj* (P. Spiegelberg 7.1; cf. HOFFMANN 1995: 47, footnote 14). In P. Spiegelberg the term appears in the plural, as "the sinecures of the temples" (*nȝ sʿnḫ.w n nȝ irpj.w*, P. Spiegelberg 3.8). For *sʿnḫ* cf. ERICHSEN 1954: 410; CDD_S (13:1): 53–55; GRIFFITH 1909: 99, footnote 3. S. Lippert defines the term as "Geldzahlung an den Ehemann" (LIPPERT 2008: 262).

[85] F. Hoffmann interpreted this back and forth of the sinecure as signaling the connection between the royal house of Tanis and the Amun priesthood in Thebes, which is historically sound (HOFFMANN 1995: 46). The goal of Pedubastis would be to legitimize his rule, put in question by the party of Inaros.

[86] *vid. infra*.

[87] The identity of the father of the young priest is not specified. Some scholars interpreted this sentence as indicating that the first prophet of Amun was actually the young priest's father, but I follow here F. Hoffmann and J. F. Quack's interpretation (HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 93; this interpretation was already proposed by C. Traunecker, cf. TRAUNECKER 1995: 189). D. Agut-Labordère and M. Chauveau consider the prophet as the young priest's father in the main text, but includes a note about the ambiguity of the sentence (AGUT-LABORDÈRE and CHAUVEAU 2011: 76 and 329).

and remains passive, without playing any role in the dispute. His only intervention in the text is as former holder of the sinecure.

1.1.3. Other priests

The lector priest, who remains unnamed, is mentioned in the fragmentary beginning of the story, from column C to column E, at the arrival of Pedubastis' party to Thebes, and his role seems to be limited to introducing them to the first prophet of Amun, and to suggest to Pedubastis the oracular questioning of Amun (P. Spiegelberg 2.10).

The Amun priests and the priests belonging to Petekhons and Pami's entourage do not perform any distinctive activity in the story. In the case of the Amun priests, they are merely expected to be present during the festival of Amun. The priests of Petekhons and Pami's entourage, however, add an interesting contrast to Pedubastis' party, which is said to be accompanied by the "army of the four stronger nomes of Egypt" (*p3 mšʿ p3 4 tš hrš n kmj*, P. Spiegelberg 4.1). Those accompanying Pami are called the "40 men from the Island of the Star"[88] (*40 rmṯ n m3j p3 sjw*, P. Spiegelberg 12.21-22) and the "4 fellow priests" (*4 irj.w-n-wʿb*, P. Spiegelberg 12.22). Those with Petekhons are "86 men of the East" (*86 n rmṯ n pr i3bḫ*, P. Spiegelberg 12.20) and "8 fellow priests" (*8 irj.w-n-wʿb*, P. Spiegelberg, 14.9). Most of these numbers are either 4 or multiples of 4, which was connected in ancient Egypt to the protection of the territory[89]. Unfortunately, Petekhons and Pami only arrive at Thebes at the end of the preserved text in P. Spiegelberg

[88] The intriguing designation *m3j p3 sjw* "Island of the Star" is not explained in the text that has been preserved. I am not aware of other references to this place in Demotic literature. In the Shipwrecked Sailor the island where the sailor arrives is referred to as *iw n k3* "Island of the Ka," and according to the story it is a magical place that disappears after the sailor leaves (P. Hermitage 1115 153–154). For a summary of the interpretations about the "Island of the Ka," cf. LOPRIENO 1991: 214–215. He believes that in the context of a literary text, one should consider many of these concepts as part of the "fictionality" of the narrative (LOPRIENO 1991: 211).
[89] Cf. LUCARELLI 2007, and bibliography there on the symbolism of this number.

(17.22). Further text is preserved in columns X and Y and P. Tebt. Tait 2, in which Pami and Petekhons confront the herdsmen, and do not seem to be defeated, in a similar situation as with Minnebmaat earlier in the text. However, no intervention of the fellow priests is preserved to let us know about their nature. An aspect worth noting is the designation of these priests as *irj.w-n-wʿb*, "fellow priests" with respect to Petekhons and Pami, which seems to highlight the priestly condition of these characters, in addition to their identity as warriors[90].

1.2. The *Fight for the Armor of Inaros*

The so-called *Fight for the Armor of Inaros* is the longest narrative preserved of the Inaros-Pedubastis cycle, with 26 columns reconstructed from all the fragments[91]. Its best-preserved manuscript is P. Krall[92], which was written in the Fayum and has been dated thanks to its colophon to 137/8 CE. The badly preserved beginning of P. Krall has a parallel in P. Carlsberg 456, which also dates to the 2nd century CE[93]. The story narrates the confrontation between Pami, heir of the deceased Inaros, and Wertepiamonniut son of Ankhhor, who has stolen the breastplate of Inaros from his tomb. The origin of the war is set in the divine sphere, and explained in the beginning through the sending by Osiris of two pairs of demons to incite both warriors to the fight. Despite its mainly warlike theme, the beginning of the story includes the intervention of two priestly characters.

[90] The fellow priests are mentioned for the first time on line 14.1, although the text is badly damaged (reading after F. Hoffmann, indicated by G. Vittmann in TLA: http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/S02?wc=95755&db=1 [checked on 02/19/2017]). It is interesting to note that these 8 fellow priests are not mentioned in Pekrur's letter to Petekhons (P. Spiegelberg 12.9–13.7). The concept of "fellow priests" appears also in P. Saqqara I and in the story of Padipep (cf. section 9 in this chapter). In P. Saqqara I, in the story of Djedhor, he is said to have acquired (*diȝf ḥpr*) fellow priests, female singers and vocalists of all kinds that were paid by him. These fellow priests are then, somehow, under a paid contract (TAIT 2008: 116-117). In the story of Padipep (P. BM EA 69531, fellow priests are mentioned as well, and Tait points out that "Unless the phrase 'and his fellow priests' is used very loosely, Bak-renef himself must have been a wab-priest" (TAIT 2008: 127). Another reference to fellow priests can be found in Hareus son of Pahat (col. 2.13), cf. section 11 in this chapter.

[91] RYHOLT 2012: 79.

[92] For bibliography on the manuscript history cf. GOZZOLI 2006: 266, footnote 178.

[93] Cf. RYHOLT 1998b and RYHOLT 2012:73–88.

1.2.1. The scribe of the divine book

The two priestly characters in this story only appear in the beginning, and are not protagonists. They are mostly referred to by their offices throughout the narrative: the scribe of the divine book (*pꜣ sḫ mḏj-nṯr*, P. Krall 1.15), and the scribe of the House of Life (*pꜣ sḫ pr-ꜥnḫ*, P. Krall 2.2)[94]. The scribe of the divine book is referred to as such through the beginning of the story, but his name is mentioned at the end of his appearance as *pꜣ-dj-ḥr pa pꜣ-dj-pꜣ-rꜥ* (P. Krall 2.1). This suggests that his name might have been mentioned in the part of the story not preserved in the very beginning of the manuscript. The scribe of the divine book appears in the opening of the story characterized as a ritualist, making libations for Inaros in the temple of Memphis, and as a magician, who pronounces a magical formula through which he can see that which is hidden and hear the voices of the gods as they discuss a matter in assembly[95]. The scribe is punished for

[94] On these priestly titles see the end of this section.

[95] The interpretation of the beginning of the story is problematic due to its fragmentary state. F. Hoffmann interpreted in his edition of P. Krall that the scribe of the divine book is the one who invokes through magic the god Osiris, so that he may send the demons, but he does not see a clear reason for it. The scribe seems to have overheard the meeting of the gods, and because of this and perhaps for originating the war, he is killed by Anubis (HOFFMANN 1996: 44). P. Carlsberg 456 has allowed K. Ryholt to bring more light to this matter, and to propose a reconstruction of the beginning of the story. In it, the story is said to happen during the night of the 25th of Khoiak. This corresponds to the ceremonies of the Navigation of Osiris, which are mentioned both in the first column of the text (P. Carlsberg 456 fragment 2), and also in what Ryholt considers to be the last column (P. Carslberg 456 fragment 3). Ryholt interprets that the ceremonies have been disrupted or done improperly for some reason, which has lead to the anger of the god Osiris. This causes the gods to assemble and decide to send the two pairs of demons to confront the two main warrior families of Egypt. The scribe of the divine book sees the meeting with his magical powers but is discovered (RYHOLT 1998b; RYHOLT 2012: 73-88). This interpretation is followed by J. F. Quack (QUACK 2009a: 58). From the text preserved in the fragments, however, there is no clear reference to a disruption in the ceremonies as the reason for Osiris' anger. While the context seems to have been the ceremonies of Osiris, the actual problem may have been the stealing of Inaros' armor. The connection between Osiris and Inaros in this cycle (cf. section 1.1.1 in this chapter) may suggest that behind the figure of Osiris in this story we should see the deceased Inaros. The sending of the demons, which would have been the matter discussed by the gods in their assembly, would then be justified by the stealing of Inaros' armor. The scribe of the divine book is said to be in the temple of Memphis making libations for Inaros, and at the same time Osiris is also said to be present in that temple. The last column mentions Inaros and Hareunakhte, ancestor of the family of Wertepiamonniut. They seem to be discussing the greatness of their respective families, and the expression "on earth" has led Ryholt to hypothesize if the action might be happening with the characters already dead, instead of being a flashback to an episode of the life of Inaros (RYHOLT 2012: 81-82). J. F. Quack interprets that the scene is happening in the Underworld (QUACK 2009a: 58). Although the narrative is very fragmentary in this section, a great goddess seems to talk about Inaros as her son, and Osiris is said to have done something. The title "first deputy of the West" (*itnw ḥṯ n imnt.t*) is mentioned (P.

hearing this divine reunion, an event that follows the conception that the access to knowledge of divine character without permission is forbidden to human beings[96]. The fact that the scribe's curiosity is what will cause his death in the hands of the god Anubis is made explicit by the god's question upon his arrival: *iḫ pꜣ tỉ.t ḥꜣt.ṯ=k r.ir=k* "what is the giving of your heart, which you have done?", an expression that according to Hoffmann and Quack means "to be curious"[97]. This is also the theme of the narrative in *Setne I*, in both cases magic is used in order to achieve access to hidden knowledge by priestly trained characters[98]. The scribe is described as wearing a feather on top of his head. In an appendix to his edition of P. Carlsberg 456, K. Ryholt connected this description to the Greek term πτεροφόρας, "feather-bearer," and analyzed the use of the different designations for scribe of the divine book and scribe of the House of Life and their Greek equivalents in the Ptolemaic decrees[99]. Following the entry for πτεροφόρας in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, which interprets this term as a designation for learned scribes[100], and not as a priestly title, Ryholt proposed to understand this word as "sage," synonym of the Egyptian *rḫ-jḫ.t* "the one who knows things." The Greek term for scribe of the divine book (*sḫ mḏj-nṯr*) would be ἱερογραμματεύς, which is almost a *verbatim* translation of it. The scribe

---

Carlsberg 456 fragment 3 x+12; RYHOLT 2012: 74), and Hareunakht seems to be protesting for some reason. Could Inaros had been made first deputy of the West for his merits and thus act as Osiris? A similar reward can be seen towards the poor man in *Setne II*, who is placed at the right side of Osiris in the Underworld because of his good deeds in life.

[96] The so-called *Mithrasliturgie* (*PGM* IV, 475-820) includes a ritual in order to become a god and to be able to contemplate the order of the universe, including the gods. Through the gesture of putting the right finger over the mouth, as Harpokrates does, the magician will be protected from the gods noticing him and rushing to harm him (cf. BETZ 1992: 49). Ph. Matthey points out that, by doing the gesture of Harpokrates, the magician will be identified by the gods as Harpokrates, either to acquire his powers, or to make the other gods believe that he is one of them. Another interpretation, proposed by Betz, is that this gesture signals the adoption of the magician by the gods (MATTHEY 2011: 548-549, and 553-553). This protective spell seems to indicate that any intrusion of a living person in the realm of the gods, as that performed by the scribe of the divine book, would result in an attack by the gods.

[97] HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 62, and note b. A less loaded translation would be "to pay attention to,"

[98] Both in the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros* and in *Setne I* (column 3.37) the ability to see (*nwe*) hidden things is the result of the pronunciation of the magical formulas. In the case of the former, the origin of the formula is not stated. In the latter, it is the book written by Thoth.

[99] RYHOLT 1998b: 168-169.

[100] THISSEN 1982, *s.v.* "Pterophoren."

would be both a ἱερογραμματεύς and a πτεροφόρας, the feather being perhaps a symbol of this priestly class or just a symbol of wisdom. More recently, J. Dieleman, who does not seem to be aware of Ryholt's interpretation, has understood the title scribe of the divine book as synonym of πτεροφόραι and scribe of the House of Life as ἱερογραμματεύς, following the order in which the titles are presented in the decrees[101]. The scribe has one verbal intervention, when he is momentarily resurrected in order to reveal the cause of his death. In it he relates his conversation with Anubis before he killed him. An interesting point is that he felt how his feather bent before he saw Anubis behind him. The fact that he sees the god behind him seems to indicate that he was performing a ritual with a vessel of water to see the gods (*šn hn*)[102].

1.2.2. The scribe of the House of Life

The second priestly character in this story is unnamed and is referred to by his title, scribe of the House of Life. He appears for the first time among a group of scribes of the House of Life (P. Carlsberg 456 3.1) that Pedubastis calls in order to learn the cause of death of the scribe of the divine book. One of the scribes of the House of Life singles himself out and is said to "reveal him," meaning the scribe of the divine book. The verb used is *wnḥ* (P. Carlsberg 456 x+III/5)[103], unetymological writing for *wn-ḥr*, literally "to open the face"[104], which is name for the ceremony of revealing the statue of the god by opening the naos during the daily ritual[105]. In the Graeco-Roman period the term, as *wnḥ*[106], is used in different contexts. Apart from the previously

[101] DIELEMAN 2005: 206–207.
[102] Many of these rituals have been preserved in the magical papyri, both in Greek and Demotic. Cf. i.e. *PDM* xiv 1-92, in which Anubis is mentioned. These rituals were often performed with a child as a medium (BETZ 1992: 195-200).
[103] RYHOLT 1998b: 160.
[104] *Wb*. I, 312.15–313.5.
[105] *Wb*. I, 313.6. On the ceremony of "revealing the face of the god" and of "seeing the god" cf. MORET 1902: 49-56.
[106] ERICHSEN 1954: 92; CDD_W (09:1): 103–104.

mentioned religious use as part of the daily ritual ceremony[107], the term entered to the administrative context, used with the meaning "to publish, make public"[108]. In this sense, the parts of the temple that were accessible to the public were called *p3 m3ʿ ntj wnḥ n p3 irpj* "the public place of the temple" (*Rosettana*, line 23), as opposed to the areas restricted to particular ranks of priests. The Greek term for this was ἐπιφανής, and it is interesting to note that it has the same range of meanings as *wnḥ* in Demotic. Thus, in a meaning parallel to that of the daily ritual, we also find it in the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri, indicating the epiphany of a god. Thus, for example in the vessel divination formula *PDM* xiv 695-700 it is used in an invocation to the moon: *wnḥ=k r.r=j* "reveal yourself to me!" (Magical XXIII, 25). Returning to the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros*, the use of the verb *wnḥ* thus connects the practice of invocating a god with the temporary "resurrection" of an individual performed by the scribe of the House of Life. This magical procedure is performed as well by Naneferkaptah in *Setne I*, but in that case the emphasis is on the fact that the bodies of Merib and Ihweret are deep underwater, and the formula used is in order to bring them up (*p3j* "fly up", 4.9 and 4.14) and make them speak (*sḏj* "speak, tell" 4.9 and 4.15). Both in *Setne I* and in the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros* the goal of the procedure is to know how and why the individuals died, and right after this information is obtained, they are properly buried[109].

[107] For a study of the term *wn-ḥr* cf. LOHWASSER 1991 and FISCHER-ELFERT 1998: 28–32.
[108] SIMPSON 1996: 109.
[109] The instructions for bringing both a drowned (*ḥsj*) and a dead man (*rmṯ iw=f mwt.ṯ*) appear side by side in *PDM* xiv 80-85 (III, 26-27). For an analysis of necromancy in ancient Egypt, including this formula, cf. RITNER 2002.

2. The *Story of Peteisis*

The *Story of Peteisis* is a composition formed by a frame narrative and a series of short stories, in what is called "Schachtelerzählungen," a very common literary structure that goes back to the Middle Kingdom[110]. The text has been preserved in a series of manuscripts[111] that date from the 4th century BCE[112] to the 2nd century CE, which shows that for half a millennium it was a very popular narrative[113]. The preserved section of the frame story starts with Peteisis talking in the courtyard of his house with a ghost, who after being enchanted by Peteisis, reveals to him that he only has 40 days of life left. In order to prepare his funerary rites, Peteisis offers the priests of the temple in Heliopolis access to hidden books in exchange for 500 pieces of silver. Facing the opposition of the lesonis of the temple, Hareus son of Tjainefer, Peteisis creates the figures of a cat and a falcon with wax and sends them to Hareus' house, where the cat appears to wreak havoc. Hareus begs pardon for him and protection for his family, and gives Peteisis 1000 pieces of silver. At this point, Peteisis prepares his funerary rites creating a series of figures of wax, including two baboons that are to copy 70 stories[114] concerning the virtues and vices of women

[110] The first example attested of this narrative structure in Egyptian literature is the *Story of Khufu and the Magicians* (P. Westcar; cf. RYHOLT 1999: 69; RYHOLT 2005b: 8). For this narrative structure as a mark of oral performance, cf. JAY 2016: 211-212.

[111] Edition of the fragments in RYHOLT 1999 and RYHOLT 2005b. A new translation with improvements appears in HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 167-175. For a literary study of the text cf. QUACK 2009a: 81-87.

[112] The Saqqara Demotic papyri (of which P. Saqqara IV contains a fragment of the *Story of Peteisis*) have been dated to the 4th century BCE (SMITH and TAIT 1983: x), a dating that is followed by K. Ryholt and F. Hoffmann and J. F. Quack (RYHOLT 1999: 91; HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 167). J. Jay noted a personal communication from J. Tait saying that C. Martin had redated the papyri to the early third century BCE in her book on orality in Demotic literature (JAY 2016: 55-56). However, in a message of 05/17/2017 to the EEF mailing list she has corrected this affirmation, referencing MARTIN 2013, where he proposes a date between the 5th to the first half of the 3rd century BCE for these papyri.

[113] RYHOLT 1999: 91. According to K. Ryholt, the text was edited during this period in order to update it grammatically (RYHOLT 1999: 88-89). However, J. Jay, comparing P. Saqqara IV and P. Petese Tebtunis A 3.14-18, considers that the differences between both copies could be due to "an independent derivation from the same oral tradition, from memory variants, from a process of conscious updating or reedition –or from some combination of these factors." (JAY 2016: 215-216).

[114] One for each day of Peteisis' mummification process (RYHOLT 2005b: 3).

for Peteisis' wife, Sakhminofret. After this he spends the remaining days left feasting with his wife, without letting her know about what the ghost had said. He, nevertheless, gives her some instructions for the performance of a series of rituals, which she is to do the day after his death. During this performance the god Ra speaks to her with Peteisis' voice. Unfortunately, the end of the frame story has not been preserved. The following sections contain fragments of some of the 70 stories. Some of them have preserved the introductions and the endings, where the two baboons alternate telling Sakhminofret the short stories. The stories are numbered and they are labeled as being of praise (*ḥs*) or scorn (*sḫf*) of women[115]. There may have been a conclusion at the end of the short stories, returning to the frame narrative[116]. K. Ryholt has speculated that the moral of the stories may lead Sakhminofret to carry out Peteisis' intention, which was perhaps nothing less than his resurrection "or some other spectacular outcome"[117].

2.1. Frame story

The frame narrative of the *Story of Peteisis* features a series of priestly characters, human and magical: Peteisis, Hareus, the priests of the temple at Heliopolis, and the series of wax figurines that Peteisis creates for the preparation of his burial. The short stories, despite its fragmentary state of preservation, permit the analysis of some more priestly figures, which will be discussed in the last part of this section.

[115] This type of stories seems to have been considered a genre in ancient times, since it is referred to as such in the *Poem of the Depraved Harper* (cf. RYHOLT 2005: 11-12; QUACK 2009a: 82). For the edition of the text of the poem, cf. THISSEN 1992.
[116] J. Jay has noted that P. Demotic Saqqara 4 could have transmitted the frame story as an independent story, as it is known for *Ankhsheshonqy* (JAY 2016: 216). For the *Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy* cf. section 3 in this chapter.
[117] RYHOLT 2005: 4. Unpredicted turns in the narrative are features of Demotic literature, as at the end of *Setne II*, in which Si-Osiris' real identity as the magician Horus son of Paneshe is revealed, or in the case of *Setne I*, when the Tabubu episode is shown to be a "dream" of Setne, probably induced by Naneferkaptah (cf. section 4 in this chapter).

2.1.1. Peteisis

The main priestly figure in the narrative is Peteisis, who in the beginning of text preserved is designated as a *rmṯ rḫ m-sš* "a very wise man" (P. Petese Tebtunis A 2.2) as well as a *sḫ* [*nfr* "[good] scribe" (P. Petese Tebtunis A 2.13). Both of these are common designations for skilled scribes, and particularly for those who practice magic[118]. It is worth pointing out that, although we assume that Peteisis is a priest since he addresses the priests of the temple in Heliopolis saying *pȝ=n rpʿy* "our temple" (P. Petese Tebtunis A 3.8), the text never mentions him with any priestly titles attached[119], while other characters such as Hareus have their names always accompanied by their titles. In K. Ryholt's first edition of the text, the misplacement of the first column of the text led to its interpretation as part of the frame narrative. Thus, the prophet of Atum mentioned there (*ḥm-nṯr n ỉtm*, P. Petese Tebtunis A 1.1) was identified as the father of Peteisis[120], and therefore Peteisis would have inherited the title. This, however, is actually an independent character from one of the short stories. Since then, despite K. Ryholt's correction of this mistake in *Petese II*, the designation of Peteisis as prophet of Atum has remained in the literature[121]. His designation as a "good scribe" and a "very wise man" points to the fact that he is a priest, but the god he serves would more accurately be identified as Ra, due to the prominent role of this god in the story: the treasury of the temple is the treasury of Ra (*pr-ḥḏ n pȝ-rʿ,* P.

[118] We see the same designation also for Setne and Naneferkaptah. Cf. RITNER 1993: 222 and n. 1033.
[119] The same occurs with Setne and Naneferkaptah. Djedi in P. Westcar is also designated as just a *nḏs*, without any priestly titles attached (PARKINSON 2002 (Dark Side): 185; BURKARD and THISSEN 2012: 209. On *nḏs* cf. FRANKE 1998.
[120] RYHOLT 1999: 71.
[121] K. Ryholt still introduces the character in his description of the frame story in *Petese II* as "prophet of Atum in the temple of Heliopolis" (RYHOLT 2005b: 2), despite acknowledging in the same publication that column 1 would be part of the short stories section (RYHOLT 2005b: 147-149). The fragment mentioning the prophet of Atum is recognized as part of one of the short stories by F. Hoffmann and J. F. Quack (HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 174-175; QUACK 2009a: 83). Hoffmann and Quack avoid giving Peteisis a title in the introduction of their translation of the text, but in footnote 295, concerning the meaning of the falcon and cat wax figurines, they indicate "Der Sonnengott Re, dessen Priester Petesis ist" (HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 170). However, in his analysis of the text, J. F. Quack goes back to the association of Peteisis with Atum, while indicating that his priestly rank is not specified: "ein weiser Priester (genauer Rang unsicher) des Atum von Heliopolis namens Petese, Sohn des Petetum" (QUACK 2009a: 81).

Petese Tebtunis A 3.9); Peteisis makes a cat with wax that can be identified with the cat of Ra (P. Petese Tebtunis A 14)[122]; when Peteisis dies, the god Ra talks to his wife, Sakhminofret, with the voice of Peteisis (P. Petese Tebtunis A 5.29)[123].

The physical description of Peteisis is limited, following F. Hoffmann and J. F. Quack's reconstruction of the text[124], to his age, which would be 110 years old. The context of the mention of his age, during Peteisis conversation with the ghost[125], seems to indicate that having arrived to the age of 110, considered ideal by the Egyptians since the earliest periods of their history[126], Peteisis had completed his days of life. Despite the minimal physical description, the character of Peteisis is primarily fleshed out through his social, emotional, and moral characterization, but especially through his abilities.

[122] HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 170, footnote 295.

[123] I am aware of the associations between Atum, Lord of Heliopolis, and Ra, but both gods appear differentiated in the *Story of Peteisis*, and thus assuming the association of Peteisis to Atum specifically is not supported by the text. For an analysis of the cult of Ra, cf. QUIRKE 2001.

[124] P. Petese Tebtunis A 2.9: *rnp.t iwꜥj ipꜥf šꜥ* [...]*10.t* SPATIUM [... "year. I will count it until [...]10 [...". Originally K. Ryholt reconstructed the word *rnp.t* in the lacuna, indicating that there is not enough space to reconstruct the passage as [*rnp.t 1*]*10.t*, and that "a reference to 110 years, which was considered the ideal life-time, would also be unexpected since we apparently are dealing with a reference to a deceased person." (RYHOLT 1999: 26). In the improved readings section of *Petese II* Ryholt does not include this line, and he does not refer to the age of Petese in his summary of the frame story (RYHOLT 2005b: 150-151 and 2). F. Hoffmann and J. F. Quack, however, opt for the reconstruction 110 years (HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007:168). I follow here Hoffmann and Quack's reconstruction, since the traces around the lacuna and the space in it seem to actually allow the inclusion of the 100-sign, which can be written in a very abbreviated way in the Roman period (ERICHSEN 1954: 701).

[125] This conversation in itself is quite interesting. It appears to happen in the courtyard of Peteisis' house (*pꜣ in*]*ḥ n nꜣjꜥf ꜥwj.w*, P. Petese Tebtunis A 2.3), and during it the ghost (written as *ijḫ*, P. Petese Tebtunis A 2.4, and *iḫj,* P. Petese Tebtunis A 2.8; ERICHSEN 1954: 42) refers to Osiris as Pharaoh Osiris Wennefer (*pr-ꜥꜣ wsir wn-nfr*, P. Petese Tebtunis A 2.14). This designation is interesting, since in the Graeco-Roman period we find the use of cartouches with the name of Osiris or just Wennefer in them in the decoration of the temples (for the writing of Wennefer in a cartouche, cf. TILLIER 2011: 161). The identity of the ghost is not revealed in the section of the text preserved, but there seemed to be an understanding that ghosts could access the secrets of the underworld, since death could be seen as an initiation process (compare for example to Si-Osiris in *Setne II*, who is actually a "reincarnation" of a deceased magician, and who can tell what the fate of men is according to their lives on earth; for the concept of death as initiation cf. also ASSMANN 1989).

[126] The *Story of Khufu and the Magicians* indicates that Djedi, the last of the magicians presented, this time in person, to king Khufu, was a very wise individual of 110 years old, with access to secret knowledge (P. Westcar 6.26-7.6). For the age of 110 as the ideal life span cf. references in DEVAUCHELLE 2012: 409-425 footnote 26.

The social status of Peteisis seems to be that of a high-ranking priest, despite the already mentioned lack of titles. His knowledge, which will be discussed below, and his advanced age, place him as a respected member of society. He owns a house and has access to the temple, although the area of it where the conversation with the priests takes place is not specified. His proposal of finding hidden books that will increase the reputation of the temple seems to point to Peteisis' knowledge of the contents of the library of the temple, where his work as a scribe probably took place. He is married, but no children are mentioned. This could be the reason for his worry concerning his short span of life left, and his preparations to have the 70 stories written for posterity[127].

Peteisis' emotions are described in different points of the frame narrative. In the fragmentary beginning, during his conversation with the ghost, he seems to laugh in response to the ghost's laughter, but not much can be inferred due to the lack of context[128]. After learning from the ghost that he only had 40 days of life left, the text follows with a description of Peteisis' entering back in his house as a broken man with a sad heart (*iw=f iw*] *r nꜣy=f ʿwj.w iw=f n rmt iḳmj r ḥꜣt=f tḥl m-šs*, "going back to his house, being a broken man, his heart being very sad," P. Petese Tebtunis A 2.24-25). This is a common description of despair in Demotic literature, which also appears in *Setne II* [129]. This reaction, together with his decision to spend the 40 days of life left feasting with

[127] K. Ryholt has pointed out how the short stories seem to be "some form of literary testament in honor of Petese" and how by compiling them he may have intended "to be placed on a par with Imhotep, the greatest sage of all in Egyptian literary tradition" (RYHOLT 2005b: 3; cf. also the section on the real Peteisis below).
[128] For an analysis of laughter in the Demotic narratives, cf. JASNOW 2001.
[129] Because of this parallel, F. Hoffmann and J. F. Quack reconstruct at the end of the line "Er legte sich ins Bett" (HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 169), which is Setne's reaction after hearing the challenge of the Nubian sorcerer (cf. section on *Setne II* below).

his wife, eating and drinking portrays Peteisis as a life-loving person[130]. Furthermore, he also appears as a loving husband, who tries to prevent his wife Sakhminofret from worrying by not telling her what the ghost had revealed. Although the end of the frame story (or a possible conclusion) is not preserved, and there might be a further reason for Peteisis' hiding the truth from Sakhminofret, perhaps related to the message transmitted to her by way of the short stories, his love for his wife seems to be genuine. He is also represented as an ambitious man, not only in his wish to be remembered for posterity, but also in his wanting his burial to be "according to the manner of a ruler or a great person" (P. Petese Tebtunis A 5.4-5)[131] and that the figurines do for him "that which is done for Pharaoh" (*iw=w ir=w r-ḫ n3 ntj iw=w ir=w <n> pr-ꜥ3*, P. Petese Tebtunis A 5.7).

Throughout the story, Peteisis' magical abilities are emphasized and described in detail. He is presented as a skilled and successful magician through the performance of a series of magical feats. The first one, despite its fragmentary state, can be identified as the recitation of a formula with which Peteisis is said to enchant[132] the ghost in the beginning of the preserved text (*ꜥš p3-dj.t-js.t sḫ r p3 iḫj ḥḳ=f s*, "Peteisis recited a formula to the ghost and enchanted him," P. Petese Tebtunis A 2.11). After this, Peteisis interrogates the ghost, who refuses to give Peteisis the information he is requesting. Peteisis seems to utter some kind of threat or act violently against the ghost, since his reaction is described through a common sentence in Demotic for the expression of horror: *wn=f r3*[*=f n sgp ꜥ3*] "he opened his [mouth in a loud cry]," (P. Petese

[130] This reaction in front of death reminds of the Ba's advice in the *Debate between a Man and his Ba*: *šms hrw nfr smḥ mḥ* "follow a good day, forget care" (P. Berlin 3024, col. 68). The expression *hrw nfr* (P. Petese A 3.4) can have erotic connotations, as in the *Story of King Khufu and the Magicians* (cf. BURKARD and THISSEN 2012: 208).
[131] I follow here F. Hoffmann and J. F. Quack's reconstruction of the lacuna between P. Petese Tebtunis A 5.4-5 (HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 171).
[132] On the concept of *ḥḳ3*, cf. RITNER 1993: 14–28.

Tebtunis A 2.21)[133]. The use of intimidation against a deity, a demon, or a ghost, is well attested as a form of magic in the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri[134]. In the next feats of magic Peteisis uses pure wax (*mnḥ ỉwꜣf wꜥb*, P. Petese Tebtunis A 3.14) as a medium to build a series of figurines, over which he recites a formula[135] in order to animate them[136]. This procedure is well known from different textual sources, and also from the archaeological evidence[137]. Once the figurines are alive, Peteisis gives them a series of instructions. The first two, a cat and a falcon, are sent to the house of the lesonis Hareus to perform a fake omen, and the cat proceeds next to destroy Hareus' property. A group of four figurines (two lector priests and two the identity of which has not been preserved) is commanded to prepare Peteisis' burial. A second group of figurines consisting of a figure the identity of which has been lost, a scribe of the divine book, and four gatekeepers is also created and given instructions. Finally Petese creates two baboons[138],

[133] Restoration by K. Ryholt (RYHOLT 1999: 14). For other occurrences of this formula cf. RYHOLT 1999: 28, note to l. 21.

[134] An example appears in P. Louvre E 3229 5.7-9 (JOHNSON 1977: 63 and 71; cited in SMITH 2009: 25). This procedure is mentioned by FOWDEN (1986: 80-81): "It is to ancient Egyptian magic that we should look for the origin of the idea that the magician could constrain the gods to do his will by abuse and threats." In this kind of procedure the magician could assimilate himself by analogy to a deity, cf. SAUNERON 1966: 36-42, esp. 37. On the threats to the gods in the context of magic, cf. SAUNERON 1951.

[135] This section is preserved in P. Saqqara 4.1: *ꜥšꜣf nꜣw sḫ* (SMITH and TAIT 1983: 149).

[136] F. Hoffmann and J. F. Quack reconstruct the lacuna in P. Petese Tebtunis A 3.15 from P. Saqqara 4.1 as *wpj*[*ꜣf nꜣw rꜥ ỉr.tw*], with the parallel in P. Vandier 5.2 (HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 170, 349 n. *e*). Posener did not provide a reconstruction for this line, which is preserved in a very fragmentary state. The verb *wp* "to open" is clearly visible before the lacuna (POSENER 1985: 73-74 and plate 5). This line corresponds to the part of the story in which Merire makes a man of earth to send it to Pharaoh from the underworld. Hoffmann and Quack reconstruct in their translation of the text: "[Er] formte [ihn zu einem Menschen und sprach eine Beschwörung] über ihm, öffnete ihm [Mund und Augen und sagte zu ihm...]" (HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 158). Going back to P. Saqqara 4.1, the original reading by Smith and Tait was *rsj*[*ꜣw* "They awoke", which they consider "virtually certain" (SMITH and TAIT 1983: 149 and note *b* to the transliteration). The damaged traces at the end of the line seem to fit better with *rsj* than with *wp*, since the latter is generally written in the Ptolemaic period with the *w* sign before the *wp* sign (ERICHSEN 1954: 86; CDD_W (09:1): 70-71). Since the parallel in P. Vandier is also problematic, I prefer to remain cautious and keep Smith and Tait's original reading, which also makes sense in the context. In the case of the next four figurines, the text simply indicates that Peteisis gave them life: *twꜣf* {*dj.t*} *ꜥnḫꜣw* (P. Petese Tebtunis A 5.4); and the two baboons are given life through the recitation of a formula: [*ꜥš*]*ꜣf nꜣw sḫ dj.tꜣf ꜥnḫꜣw* (P. Petese Tebtunis A 5.8).

[137] S. Sauneron defines it inside the magical technique "animation d'un corps subsidiaire" (SAUNERON 1966: 44-45). For the use and symbolism of wax in ancient Egyptian magic, cf. RAVEN 1984, and RAVEN 1988: 239–240.

[138] As indicated by K. Ryholt, the baboons were considered the ideal worshippers of Ra, of whom Peteisis seems to be a priest. He further connects the idea of the baboons telling the stories to Sakhminofret to the *Myth of the Sun's*

gives them a book roll and a scribal palette, and commands them to collect the 70 stories and to write them in the book roll.

Apart from these actions that depict Peteisis as a magician, he also performs a series of rituals that constitute his own preparation for burial (P. Petese Tebtunis A 5.19-30), thus becoming his own embalming priest. This takes place in what is called "his house[139] in the ground" (*nꜣj=f ꜥ.wj nꜣ.w* [*pꜣ i*]*tn*, P. Petese Tebtunis A 5.19-20)[140], which is also called ꜥ*.wj* [*sn*]*j* "house of passing away." This might be referring to Peteisis' tomb or to a basement in his own house. He anoints himself and wraps his body in byssos-linen, after which he appears to die[141]. The rest of the rituals, which are described as being like those done in the "beautiful house" or embalming place (*pr-nfr*, P. Petese Tebtunis A 5.23), are recounted as being done to Peteisis using the third person plural[142], and were probably performed by the wax figurines. The last group of figurines included a scribe of the divine book, and the text indicates that Peteisis placed some books presumably before the figures to be used by them, declaring that they had to do everything according to the way it is done for Pharaoh (P. Petese Tebtunis A 5.6). These books may have been funerary texts to be used during Peteisis' funerary rites.

Eye, since the baboons are also the sacred animals of Thoth, and Peteisis' wife contains the name of the goddess Sekhmet in it (RYHOLT 2005b: 4).

[139] On the plural used for "house" cf. RYHOLT 1999: 40 note to line 20.

[140] The second designation is introduced by the formula *kj ḏd* (P. Petese Tebtunis A 5.20). K. Ryholt interprets this as coming from the existence of two copies of the text with two different designations that the scribe of P. Petese Tebtunis A would have been using (RYHOLT 1999: 39-40).

[141] After Peteisis applies the ointments and the bandages, K. Ryholt originally read the following sentence: *ḫpr pꜣj=f* [*bj*] *n tꜣj ḥtj* "His Ba came into being immediately" (P. Petese Tebtunis A 5.21; RYHOLT 1999: 18). The reading *bj* in the lacuna, however, has been contested by F. Hoffmann in his review of the edition, indicating that the word *bj* would not have the animal and wind determinatives, and considers that what looks like the animal determinative could just be the end of the *j*. He suggests the reading [*ḫjb*]*j* "shadow" for the lacuna (HOFFMANN 2001: 43). K. Ryholt accepted this reading in RYHOLT 2005: 151. Comparing what looks like the animal determinative with the other *j* groups in the text, I do not feel very confident about Hoffmann's proposal. However, it is true that *bj* is not attested with the animal and wind determinatives (cf. ERICHSEN 1954: 111; the CDD cites the reference in RYHOLT 1999, but it does not give any examples with that orthography, cf. CDD_B [02.1]: 23-24). In their anthology, Hoffmann and Quack translate the word as "[Dahinschei]den" (HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 172), following Hoffmann's interpretation in his review, in which, in parallel with *Setne II* 7.5, he proposes that perhaps *snj* should be emended here, with the wind determinative in reference to "disappearing like a shadow" (HOFFMANN 2001:43). In any case, it is clear from the context that what is meant is that Peteisis died.

[142] The form is probably here the passive.

Two elements in the story place emphasis on Peteisis' interest in knowledge and in the survival of his reputation as a wise man. The first one is his offer to the priests of the temple of Heliopolis to bring hidden books (*ḏ ʿm ỉwʾw ḥp*, P. Petese Tebtunis A 3.7), produced in a temple the name of which has not been preserved, to the temple of Heliopolis in order to increase its reputation (*mtw pȝ sḳ-ḥr n pȝʾn rpʿj* [...], P. Petese Tebtunis A 3.8). This affirmation is interesting, since it shows that the reputation of a temple was in some ways dependent on the quality of its library. K. Ryholt has interpreted this fragmentary section as an offer perhaps not to bring new books, but to explain their content[143]. He connects this section with the unpublished P. CtYBR 422, which has a narrative frame to an astrological text, in which Pharaoh asks a character called Peteisis to interpret the aforementioned astrological text, found in the temple of Heliopolis. Peteisis is then rewarded for his knowledge[144]. We find here a parallel with the situation in the *Story of Peteisis*, in which Peteisis is asking for a reward in exchange for his knowledge. Ryholt has remarked that the idea of receiving a reward in exchange of specialized knowledge also appears in *Setne I* 2.10-20, where the old priest asks for one hundred pieces of silver to reveal the location of the book of Thoth to Setne[145]. In the so-called *Eine neue demotische Erzählung* (P. Berlin 13588 + P. Carslberg 710 recto) we find a young priest asserting his right over his income related to two priestly offices in front of Pharaoh Nechepsos[146]. In order to strengthen his claim he refers to

[143] Different characteristics of the texts kept in the libraries of the temples would require of the explanation by specialized priests. One example would be the existence of religious texts composed using unorthographic writings, this is, orthographies that can be read both literally or reflect words that have a similar phonetic pattern. Two texts that use these orthographies profusely are P. Berlin 6750 and P. Berlin 8765, published by G. Widmer (WIDMER 2015). M. A. Stadler is working on the *Daily Ritual of the Temple of Soknopaios,* a religious text that also employs this kind of notation (STADLER 2017). For a summary of the contents of the text, cf. STADLER 2012: 114-116.

[144] Cf. RYHOLT 2005b: 13, where he considers that there is no doubt that the Peteisis of P. CtYBR 422 is the same character as the one in the *Story of Peteisis*.

[145] RYHOLT 2005b: 2.

[146] ERICHSEN 1956: 49-81; RYHOLT 2012: 131-141. For an analysis of the young priest and of the story, including further bibliography, cf. section 10 in this chapter.

some texts that he wrote outside of the embalming place when he learned of the death of Pharaoh Psamtek through an eclipse. Pharaoh asks for the books to be brought to him. Unfortunately, the rest of the story is not preserved, but we can see how the provision of books, and especially those that contain religious texts, was used as argument in order to receive an economic compensation. It is interesting to note that Aelian in *De Natura Animalium* indicates that the baboons, who had been taught how to write, dance, and play musical instruments would demand money in exchange of their performances, carrying it around in a bag with them[147].

Without leaving the baboons aside, the second element that highlights Peteisis' interest in knowledge and in being regarded as a wise man for posterity, is his creation of the two wax baboons and his ordering them to compile the 70 stories about the vices and virtues of women. These stories are described as *ꜥḏꜣmꜥ.w mtw꞊w gm.ṯ꞊w m-sꜣ꞊f n ky ss* "books that will be found after him (his death) in another time" (P. Petese Tebtunis A 5.11). K. Ryholt has connected this desire of Peteisis to have his work survive for posterity with the frame narrative in P. CtYBR 422, where the astrological work that the Peteisis mentioned there had to interpret had been written by Imhotep. Thus, Peteisis would be putting himself at the same level as Imhotep[148]. It is interesting to observe that the astrological work is referred to as *pꜣ ḏmꜥ ỉj-m-ḥtp wr sꜣ ptḥ pꜣ nṯr ꜥꜣ* "the book of Imhotep the Great, son of Ptah, the great god,"[149] while in the *Story of Peteisis* Peteisis appears closely related to the god Ra, both through the figurine of the cat in the fake omen and by the god Ra himself appearing to talk to Sakhminofret at the end of the frame story with the voice of Peteisis. Thus, while Imhotep is closely related to the god Ptah, being himself semidivine or divine, Peteisis appears intimately identified with Ra. He was successful in his ambition of surviving for posterity, since Peteisis became a character known by his wisdom in

[147] Aelian, *De Natura Animalium* 6.10.
[148] RYHOLT 2005b: 3.
[149] Transliteration of this section of the unpublished text in RYHOLT 2005b: 13 note 47.

both Egyptian and Greek literature. Apart from the aforementioned P. CtYBR 422[150], a Peteisis appears to have instructed Plato during his visit to Egypt in P. Rylands 63[151]. J. F. Quack has made a detailed survey of all the characters named Peteisis in Egyptian and Greek literature, with special attention to alchemical texts[152]. Both J. F. Quack and K. Ryholt mention in addition a character called Peteisis in the abnormal hieratic narrative of P. Queen's College, writing that he does not seem to have a priestly role[153]. This can be confirmed in H.-W. Fischer-Elfert's recent summary of the contents of the text, where the character Peteisis has the title of vizier[154]. A further connection is given by K. Ryholt, who considers that Peteisis should be identified with a character called Petosiris that appears in association with King Nechepsos (Necho II) in the Greek literary tradition[155]. There is no clear evidence, however, that Peteisis could have been a character based on a real person[156].

[150] K. Ryholt has indicated that both characters have to be the same Peteisis, despite the difference in the name of their fathers. He mentions as argument in favor for this that Setne's wife and son have different names in *Setne I* and *II*. However, Ihwere and Merib, that he cites as wife and son of Setne in *Setne I* are actually the wife and son of Naneferkaptah (cf. RYHOLT 2005b: 14 note 48). The names of his wife and children in this story are not specified in this story.

[151] First noted in connection to the *Story of Peteisis* by J. F. Quack (cf. QUACK 2002a: 79-80). However, Ryholt connects both P. Rylands 63 and P. CtYBR 422 indicating that in both cases a character called Peteisis is presented as a sage that shares his knowledge about astrology. He cites Strabo's *Geography* 17.1.29, where Plato is said to have spent thirteen years in Heliopolis in order to learn from the Egyptian priests (cf. RYHOLT 2005b: 14-15). Quack, however, considers that there is no reason to claim that both Peteisis are the same (QUACK 2002a: 80). For Plato's visit to Egypt, cf. JOLY 1982; MATHIEU 1987.

[152] QUACK 2002a. He explores Greek, Arabic, and Syriac alchemical traditions, and concludes that we can distinguish an Egyptian Peteisis, priest of Heliopolis and magician, who is the fictional teacher of Plato; and a Peteesios, who was interested in minerals and in alchemy. The latter was identified by medieval copyists with a fictional king of Armenia.

[153] QUACK 2002a: 78; RYHOLT 2005b: 15.

[154] FISCHER-ELFERT 2013: 143-151.

[155] RYHOLT 2011: 70. He argues that the form of both names only differs in the presence or absence of the divine determinative, which is part of the name of Osiris. He indicates that the name of Peteisis after his deification would have the same orthography as that of Petosiris.

[156] K. Ryholt analyzed the issue in RYHOLT 2005b: 15-16. By that time he had not yet identified P. Lund 2058 as part of the same text as P. CtYBR 422, and the identity of the Pharaoh as king Nechepsos was not known (cf. RYHOLT 2011: 62; RYHOLT 2012: 135 footnote 100). According to this, the Egyptian tradition would place Peteisis during the 26th Dynasty, which would make his encounter with Plato impossible if we were to take both this text and P. Rylands 63 historically. Thus, it is safer to consider Peteisis as a fictional character for now, as Quack does (QUACK 2002a).

An interesting aspect of the characterization of Peteisis is his morality. The short stories that he makes the baboons compile are divided according to a moral judgment of the attitude of the female characters that appear in them, using two categories, virtue and vice (*35 n wj*[*h*]*j irm 35 n sḏj mnḫ*, P. Petese Tebtunis A 5.9)[157]. Although the stories are preserved in a very fragmentary way, K. Ryholt has argued that an important element seems to be sexuality and the faithfulness of the women to their husbands. Ryholt also points out that the judgment of Sakhminofret seems to be a positive one, since she appears to fulfill all of her husband's requests[158]. Peteisis, on the contrary, does not seem to have an exemplary behavior throughout the frame narrative. There are two particular instances in which Peteisis' actions go against other characters. The first one appears in the beginning of the story, where he uses magic in order to force the ghost to reveal Peteisis' lifespan, considered as hidden knowledge that belongs to the Underworld. According to Egyptian thought, the access to hidden knowledge without proper permission, even by those considered as wise men, was considered wrong and consequently punished. Examples of this appear both in *Setne I*, concerning both the characters of Naneferkaptah and Setne, and in the beginning of the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros*, in which the scribe of the divine book witnesses a meeting of the gods and dies because of this[159]. In both cases, as well as in that of Peteisis, the characters gain access to hidden knowledge through the use of their own magical abilities. Both Naneferkaptah and the scribe of the divine book die because of it, Setne is punished with a dream, but in the case of Peteisis it is not clear if his

[157] K. Ryholt indicates that "The adjective *mnḫ* "designates the quality of living entirely up to a purpose, while *wyhy*, its antonym, designates the failure to do so" (RYHOLT 2005b: 6). Ryholt also refers to the use of both terms in the context of the judgment of the dead, as in *Setne II* (RYHOLT 2005b: 7, and footnote 22 for more references). For an analysis of the vision of women in other contemporary wisdom texts such as *Onchsheshonqy* or *Insinger*, cf. DIELEMAN 1998.

[158] RYHOLT 2005b: 7 and P. Petese Tebtunis A 5.12-13, which contain the phrase *ḏd šʿ sḏm sḫm.t*[*.w* "because women always obey," which Ryholt considers that appears to contain "a statement of proverbial nature if correctly understood" (RYHOLT 1999: 79).

[159] Cf. sections 1.2, 4.1, and 4.2 in this chapter.

actions have any consequence, since it appears that his life was already meant to end before his encounter with the ghost. Lacking more of the context of the conversation between Peteisis and the ghost, it is not possible to interpret the former's actions properly, since the identity of the ghost and his connection to Peteisis are not mentioned. The fact that the ghost seems to appear in the courtyard of Peteisis' house might indicate they are somehow related.

In the second one Peteisis does not have any problems in using magic in a destructive way against the lesonis Hareus in order to achieve his goal of obtaining 500 silver pieces from the treasury of the temple. Peteisis uses his magic to create a fake omen in order to scare Hareus (P. Petese Tebtunis A 3.13-30)[160]. The creation of fake omens in pursuit of a specific goal appears in the *Alexander Romance,* where Nectanebo persuades Philip that Alexander's father is the god Ammon by creating a series of omens (*Alexander Romance* 1.8-11)[161]. Another instance in which an Egyptian priest performs fake rituals is Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*, where the priest Kalasiris pretends to do a series of rituals to persuade Theagenes that he is in love with Charikleia. He describes his action as τερατεύομαι, which J. R. Morgan translates as "a spot of showmanship"[162] and J. Maillon as "faire le charlatan"[163] (Ἔγνων οὖν καιρὸν εἶναι τερατεύεσθαι "The situation, I decided, called for a spot of showmanship," *Aithiopica* 3.17)[164]. The omen in the *Story of Peteisis* consists of two figurines of wax representing a falcon and a cat that Peteisis infuses with life and sends to Hareus' house. There, the cat, which seems to

[160] This section of the frame story is also preserved in P. Saqqara 4, in which the story is narrated in a slightly different way. Here, Petese gives specific instructions to the cat and the falcon figurines on how they should behave, and tells them not to let themselves be found, also making some spells with this purpose (P. Saqqara 4 ll. 22-3). K. Ryholt has interpreted this as indicating that the two figurines had to go to Hareus' house without being noticed, in contrast to what is stated in P. Petese Tebtunis A, where they are clearly seen by a group of people (RYHOLT 1999: 76). This would remove the fake omen from the narrative in P. Saqqara 4.
[161] STONEMAN 1991: 41–43.
[162] MORGAN 2008: 422.
[163] RATTENBURY and LUMB 1960: 120.
[164] The edition of the Greek text is RATTENBURY and LUMB 1960: 120, and the translation from MORGAN 2008: 422. For a detailed analysis of Kalasiris, cf. section 1.1.1 in chapter 4.

represent the sun god Re, of whom Peteisis is a priest, attacks the falcon, perhaps a reference to Hareus' name[165]. The omen is witnessed by a series of people, who are horrified by it. In P. Petese Tebtunis A 4.8-10 Hareus addresses Peteisis and laments that the cat has destroyed his house and his property, and fears for his safety and that of his wife and children[166]. In this case, Peteisis is using magic in a clearly aggressive way in order to attain his wish.

The analysis of how these two actions of the behavior of Peteisis would have been interpreted and judged from an ethical point of view at the time is a complex matter. The fact that Peteisis uses magic as a medium for his actions poses an extra element that is not present in the contemporary descriptions of what it meant to be good. Therefore, in order to characterize Peteisis' behavior ethically it is necessary to look at two aspects, his actions as an individual with respect to the ideas of morality of the Graeco-Roman period, and his identity as a priest and magician as an added variable. For the analysis of the first aspect, the two main Demotic instructional texts, the *Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy* and P. Insinger, will serve as ideal representations of what was considered ethical at the time when the *Story of Peteisis* circulated. A prominent feature in both instructions is the opposition of the "wise man" to the "fool"[167]. Peteisis is identified in the beginning of the text as "a very wise man" (*rmṯ rḫ m-sš*, P. Petese Tebtunis A 2.2), and thus he should correspond to the description of such in the instructions. He is a man to whom the gods have allotted a long life (P. Petese Tebtunis A 2.9; after the description of the first 40 years of active life: "There remains sixty years of the whole life which Thoth has assigned to the man of god," P. Insinger 17.22-18.3[168]), and who concerns himself with his burial as soon as he learns that his life is about to end (P. Petese Tebtunis A 3.5;

[165] HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 170, footnote 295.
[166] So according to the reconstruction of this passage in HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 171 and 349, note *j*.
[167] For a discussion of this terminology, cf. LICHTHEIM 1997: 1-8.
[168] There was the idea that dying in the middle of life was caused by a particular action of the individual: "He who dies (or has died) in the middle of life, the god knows what he has done" (P. Insinger 19.10; LICHTHEIM 1980: 201).

"Though the burial is in the hand of the god a wise man concerns himself with it. The grace of the god for the man of god is his burial and his resting place. The renewal of life before the dying is leaving his name of earth [behind] him," P. Insinger 2.10-12). He, however, does not neglect enjoying his last days on earth (P. Petese Tebtunis A 3.4 and 5.15-16; "Make holiday generously as long as no one begs from you," P. Insinger 18.20), and during this time he spares his wife from the knowledge of his fate, in order to avoid making her worry (P. Petese Tebtunis A 2.27-28). All these actions clearly depict Peteisis as an exemplary person according to the description of the *rmṯ rḫ* in the instructions. The situation is less clear when we analyze the two episodes of use of magic mentioned before.

The characterization of Peteisis in these two episodes as a magician introduces an intermediary element in his actions: magic. This has to be considered as an extra variable in the evaluation of his ethical behavior. The actions in themselves, the use of some kind of force on an individual to obtain information to which he is initially not allowed to access, and the creation of a fake omen (manipulation of the truth), the threat and actual destruction of property as a means of intimidation in order to obtain that which he desires, are considered wrong according to the instructions of the period[169]. Specifically on the creation of fake omens, the *Instruction of Amenemope* says: "Do not falsify the oracles upon the record and so destroy the affairs of god. Do not discover for yourself the will of god without (reference to) *šʿy.t* and *rnn.t* (*Amenemope* 21.13-16); and the *Instruction of Ani*: "Do not disturb the oracles" (P. Sallier II 7.14)[170]. The lack of context in the first episode and the possibility of judging Hareus' refusal to give Peteisis' the

[169] Cf. i.e. *Ankhsheshonqy* 13.14-15 we read: "Do not speak in two voices. Speak truth to all men; let it cleave to your speech;" *Ankhsheshonqy* 15.19: "Being evil will not provide for you;" P. Insinger 3.5: "Do not let yourself be called "who collects by abuse" because of violence;" P. Insinger 22.8: "Gentleness in every kind of behavior makes the praise of the wise man."

[170] MIOSI 1982: 91. Although these texts date to the New Kingdom, it is probably safe to assume that the idea that oracles should not be disturb would also be present during the Graeco-Roman period.

500 pieces of silver as unjust[171], however, add measures of uncertainty to the clear judgment of Peteisis' actions. If we still characterize his use of magic as negative[172] in both cases, it is necessary to explore how magic was seen from an ethical point of view during this period. In *The Egyptian Hermes* G. Fowden characterized the magician[173] as requiring ritual but not moral purity: "Ritual purity was essential to the magician's success, but personal, ethical purity was deemed irrelevant."[174]. This affirmation is set in the context of an explanation of magic in the technical Hermetica that manifests a negative view of Egyptian religion and of the magicians who operated in Egypt and made use of the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri[175]. Magic could indeed be used for evil purposes effectively[176], but according to the ancient Egyptian concept of purity, ritual purity and moral purity were inextricably connected[177]. Thus, the use of magic for

[171] Hareus' refusal to give Peteisis the 500 pieces of silver actually creates a disagreement in the temple with respect to the other priests' opinion. P. Insinger 14.20 indicates that: "A great temple is ruined because its leaders are in discord."

[172] According to R. K. Ritner, magic in itself (*ḥk3*) was considered morally neutral (RITNER 1993: 216). For a more recent treatment of *ḥk3*, cf. MORENZ 2016.

[173] Since a magician was no other than a priest in ancient Egypt, we should apply Fowden's affirmations also to Egyptian priests (on the identity of the magician, cf. RITNER 1993: 220-233).

[174] FOWDEN 1986: 81. Cf. also FOWDEN 1986: 79: "The magician's concentration on knowledge and power rather than personal virtue, and their tendency to flatter, exploit and even threaten the gods in order to get their way, cause some of the more refined minds to condemn them as unspiritual."

[175] Fowden considers Egyptian religion as inferior to other religious forms such as Judeo-Christianity, cf. i.e. FOWDEN 1986: 81: "unless the Egyptians' view of the relationship that should prevail between Man and his gods was quite different from that which has been propagated by *the higher forms* of (say) Judaeo-Christianity" (the italics are mine). The ability to make complex theological thoughts is only reluctantly given to a few Egyptians: "That *certain ancient Egyptians* entertained what we might choose to regard as more elevated theological conceptions cannot be denied –but their influence never transformed the essential character of Egyptian religion" (FOWDEN 1986: 81, the italics are mine). His negative view of magicians in general is clear in the following passages, on p. 86: "*Some* magicians were capable of writing grammatical Greek, quoting Homer and, we must suppose, thinking abstractly" (the italics are Fowden's); and about the "ordinary magician" (also p. 86): "His ignorance made him a natural opportunist, who on the circuitous road to the particular objective he had in mind might pick up some pearl of whose price he had only the faintest intuition." Concerning magicians vs. philosophers, on p. 87 note 54: "Magicians had no need of philosophers to tell them that it was possible to identify oneself with and constrain the gods –least of all in Egypt. And anyway the maxim was exactly that –one did not need to be a philosopher to have heard it."

[176] Cf. SAUNERON 1966: 50, where he describes protection spells against the magic performed by other magicians. On examples of the use of magic with an evil purpose, cf. RITNER 1993: 192-220.

[177] QUACK 2012: 152: "A possible differentiation of purity in the physical and the moral sense hardly seems possible. Normally in the text of a ritual, the physical aspect is more strongly emphasized, but the material presented here demonstrates well that the moral aspect is attached seamlessly." In this study J. F. Quack explores a series of texts from different periods, analyzing the notions of purity represented in them. Cf. also MEYER 1999, an interesting analysis of the concept of morality and piety in the ritual and cultic setting. He argues that moral purity was

unethical purposes, although possible, had to result in a punishment[178]. This is, for example, the fate encountered by the scribe of the divine book in the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros*, as discussed above. In the case of Peteisis' feats of magic, we are dealing in both instances with magical procedures that were quite common in the magic from the Graeco-Roman period (and even earlier). The threatening of the ghost was probably not considered as an issue, but the acquisition of forbidden information would have been, according to the parallels in other texts[179]. In the case of the threatening through a fake omen and destruction of the property of Hareus, the inclusion of the episode in the frame story might have been justified due to an outcome derived from it concerning Peteisis' fate[180]. Of course, it could also have been included to further highlight Peteisis' magical prowess, but this seems to be already quite emphasized in the creation of the figurines destined to prepare his burial, and of the baboons for the compilation of the stories. Thus, one wonders if Peteisis' ethical behavior in the Hareus episode would not have determined a specific resolution of the frame story in an epilogue after the short stories.

It is thus legitimate to ask, considering all the elements preserved, what the purpose of the whole composition would have been and how this would have depicted Peteisis as a character. An important element to consider is that the central theme of the short stories is the distinction between good and bad behavior, in that case with respect to women. Since in the frame story Peteisis' behavior fluctuates from that which was expected from a wise man, to actions that would not have been considered acceptable, there seems to be a parallelism between

---

incorporated into the cultic setting especially from the Late Period on, signaling a fusion of temple and state, and that by the Graeco-Roman period ritual purity and morality were not distinguishable (p. 50). The notion of priestly purity, on the other hand, made its way into the social sphere, and was "imposed upon the population at large" (p. 51).

[178] The violation of the prescriptions of the gods results in the annihilation of the transgressor, Cf. MEYER 1999: 56-58, who calls this an act of apostasy.

[179] *Vid. supra* in this same section.

[180] Considering that the two fragments of the story preserved in P. Petese Tebtunis B and P. Saqqara 4 correspond to the episode of Hareus (P. Petese Tebtunis A 3.5-5.2), perhaps this episode stood as an independent story in some manuscripts, and was incorporated to the version in P. Petese Tebtunis at some point.

Peteisis' intended *opus postumum* and his own behavior. K. Ryholt has hypothesized that perhaps the intention behind the compilation of the stories and their reading to Sakhminofret could have been some sort of action to be performed by her, perhaps resulting in Peteisis' resurrection or some kind of spectacular outcome[181]. However, P. Insinger states, with respect to the modification of the lifespan allotted by the gods: "Neither the impious nor the godly man can alter the lifetime that was assigned him" (P. Insinger 18.5). The idea of coming back to life among the living, except in particular cases designated by a god for a particular purpose, such as in the case of Horus son of Paneshe, seems to not have been considered correct[182]. An interesting but problematic passage in the *Story of Peteisis* says [...] *ỉrm ḥljr l/wljr l n tȝy=f lj.t* [*ḥrj.t* (P. Petese Tebtunis A 5.21-22). The crux of the sentence resides in the reading of the second word. K. Ryholt, in his original edition of the text, interpreted it as *ḥllj* "darkness"[183]. G. Vittmann however, considers more plausible Ryholt's other suggestion *wlj* (*wrj.t*) "Elend, böses Ereignis"[184], and interprets it as κακὴ τύχη "Unheilsdämon" following G. R. Hughes[185]. Hughes cited the oracular amuletic decrees as a source for the interpretation of these entities, which seem to create bad fortune in a person[186]. *wrj.t* is also the name of the 6th house of the zodiac, and is opposed to *špsj*(*.t*), translated into Greek as ἀγαθὴ τύχη, a good demon[187]. F. Hoffmann and J. F. Quack follow this reading and translate P. Petese Tebtunis A 5.21-22 as "[Sein guter] und sein böser Geist [traten] über ihn"[188]. The text, however, does not have a possessive article modifying

[181] RYHOLT 2005b: 4.
[182] For Horus son of Paneshe, cf. section 4.5 in this chapter. An example of a dead person whose request to come back to life is denied is Merire in P. Vandier, cf. section 5.1 in this chapter.
[183] ERICHSEN 1954: 328; RYHOLT 1999: 18 and 40.
[184] ERICHSEN 1954: 93; RYHOLT 1999: 40; VITTMANN 2000: 197.
[185] HUGHES 1968: 179.
[186] It is interesting to note that one of the wax figurines is called *sšr* (cf. footnote 194). Thompson has indicated that in almost all the lists of evils *wrj.t* and *sšr* appear together (THOMPSON 1941: 77). The presence of the *sšr*, interpreted as "exorcist" might have been relevant with respect to the wrj.t in the story, but the current state of preservation does not allow any hypotheses.
[187] Cf. also THOMPSON 1941: 77, point 4.
[188] HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 172 and 349, note *p*.

wrj.t. This is relevant because, according to Hughes, the words *wrj.t* and *špsj.t* only seem to refer to demons when they are modified by the article in the oracular amuletic decrees. When undefined, they just refer to bad and good fortune[189]. In this case, a better translation could be "[good] and bad fortune [came] upon him." Another option is that the possessive would only have accompanied the first noun, but modifying both, and in that case the interpretation of both terms as demons would be in agreement to what we see in the oracular amuletic decrees. In any case, the interpretation of this sentence is intriguing, since it seems to indicate that a dual fate materialized for Peteisis at the moment of his death. This could have been a consequence of the dual character of his actions in life. If we consider the possibility of an epilogue after the short stories, this might have featured some kind of judgment of Peteisis himself, perhaps in an otherworldly setting, comparable with the first part of *Setne II*. It might be relevant to note that the expression in the sentence P. Petese Tebtunis A 5.21 also appears in P. Petese Tebtunis A 2.25, with *ḥm.t* "wife" as subject in this case. Granted that this is a common expression in Demotic, as Ryholt points out[190], it is quite intriguing to compare these two sentences with P. Insinger 8.19: *i.ir špšj.t wrʒ.t ḥr pʒ tʒ ḫn nʒ sḥm.wt* "It is in women that good fortune and bad fortune are on earth"[191]. Although no definitive answers can be provided, the depiction of Peteisis' ethical behavior, together with the sentence in P. Petese A 5.21 seem to indicate that Peteisis' good and bad actions could have also been relevant, apart from those of women, in the general argument of the story.

[189] HUGHES 1968: 179.
[190] RYHOLT 1999: 28 and 40.
[191] Cited in HUGHES 168: 179.

2.1.2. Hareus

The next priestly character of relevance in the *Story of Peteisis* is Hareus son of Tjainefer. He is described as the lesonis (*mr-šnj*, P. Petese Tebtunis A 15, B 3/4) of the temple of Ra in our main manuscripts of the text, but just as a priest (*wʿb*) in P. Saqqara 4[192]. He definitely was a high-ranking person in the temple, since his decision not to give the 500 pieces of silver to Peteisis is the one that prevails, even after the priests had accepted the latter's proposal (P. Petese Tebtunis A 3.12-13). The priestly character of Hareus is not developed in the narrative. We only learn that he had property, a house with a courtyard, and presumably a family, and that he is the one who administers the treasuries of Ra. The name Hareus appears in other stories, but they do not seem to refer to the same character[193].

2.1.3. Other priests

Apart from the priests of the temple of Ra, who are only mentioned in the episode of Hareus as an anonymous group to whom Peteisis makes his proposal, the remaining priestly characters are actually the wax figurines that Peteisis makes in order to prepare his burial. These figurines seem to be called in general *pȝ wpj ḥ[j]ḳ* "the work of magic" (P. Petese Tebtunis A 5.4). Although the text is fragmentary, the identifiable figurines are an "exorcist"[194] and two lector priests[195] (*ḫr-*

[192] The Saqqara fragment starts on the first three lines with the description of the confection of the falcon and cat figurines with wax. On the next two lines the two figurines seem to have arrived to the house of a character designated as *pȝ wʿb*, who presumably should be Hareus, and have destroyed it to the ground: [...]. *pȝ ʿ.wj irm pȝ inḥ pȝ wʿb r pȝ itn* "[...]. the house and the courtyard of the priest to the ground" (P. Saqqara 4 l. 5; SMITH and TAIT 1983).

[193] RYHOLT 1999: 82; QUACK 2009a: 87-89.

[194] In the first edition of the text, K. Ryholt did not make any suggestions for the reading of the name of the first figurine, but in parallel with the identity of the other figurines suggested some member of the temple personnel (RYHOLT 1999: 36). G. Vittmann suggested the reading *sšl*, this is, *sšr*, from the ver *sḫr* "to overthrow" (cf. THOMPSON 1941, 78 point 13, cited by VITTMANN 2000: 196). The presence of a person determinative after the word leads Vittmann to suggest the interpretation "exorcist", as the one who overthrows demons, and notes that in *Setne II* 2.26 a book called *mḏj n sḫr iḫj* "book for overthrowing ghosts" is mentioned (VITTMANN 2000: 196).

[195] K. Ryholt emends the text considering *wʿ* before the *ḫr.j-ʿḥʿ* superfluous, but notes that this emendation is not absolutely necessary. Thus, there were either one or two lector priests (RYHOLT 1999: 36).

ꜥḥꜥ[196], P. Petese Tebtunis A 5.3) in the first group, and a scribe of the divine book (*wꜥ sḫ mḏj nṯr*, P. Petese Tebtunis A 5.6) and four doorkeepers[197] (*irj-ꜥ3*[198], P. Petese Tebtunis A 5.6) in the second group. The figurines in the first group are told to prepare Peteisis' burial in the way in which it is done for a ruler or an important man, and those in the second group are presented with books and told to do that which is done for Pharaoh. These figures perform all the rituals for his burial without being seen (P. Petese Tebtunis A 5.23), but this is all we learn about them.

2.2. Short stories

The short stories compiled by the baboons also feature a series of priestly characters. These stories have been preserved in a very fragmentary state, and only in seven of them it is possible to identify priestly characters[199].

The first story with priestly characters has been labeled by K. Ryholt as "A story of adultery," and only the end is partially preserved (P. Petese Tebtunis A 1.1- 9). In it the wives of a prophet (*ḥm-nṯr*, P. Petese Tebtunis A 1.1) of Nebethetepet and a prophet of Atum are mentioned. The wife of the prophet of Atum goes to Pharaoh complaining that she is pregnant by the prophet of Nebethetepet, and that the wife of the prophet of Nebethetepet is pregnant by the prophet of Atum. She asks Pharaoh to make an exchange once the babies are born, which is done and everyone seems to be happy in the end. Since the baboons seem to alternate between a story

[196] Unetymological writing of *ḥr.j-ḥb* (RYHOLT 1999: 36).
[197] K. Ryholt took *s 4* as the total of figurines in this group (RYHOLT 1999: 56). F. Hoffmann and J. F. Quack, however, interpret it as modifying the doorkeepers, and thus read four doorkeepers. The number makes sense if we think of a chamber with four entrances, one facing towards each cardinal point. A similar structure appears in P. Salt 825 depicting the House of Life (cf. GARDINER 1938: 169), with the mummified body of Osiris in the center. Although Peteisis' basement probably only had one door, the placement of a doorkeeper on each side of the embalming table would equate Peteisis' with Osiris, and thus the embalming process would be performed "according to that which is done for Pharaoh," as the text says (P. Petese Tebtunis A 5.7).
[198] Read by K. Ryholt as *wn* (RYHOLT 1999: 18). The reading of this word has been corrected by F. Hoffmann and J. F. Quack to *irj-ꜥ3*, and its interpretation from *pastophoros* to doorkeeper (F. HOFFMANN and J. F. QUACK 2014).
[199] The order followed here for the presentation of the stories is that in QUACK 2009a: 83-86, which responds to the reorganization of the fragments in RYHOLT 2005b: 148. These stories are edited in RYHOLT 1999 and RYHOLT 2005b.

of virtue and a story of scorn of women, and the next story appears to be labeled as one of the latter type[200], this story must have belonged to the ones about the virtue of women. Therefore, although the priests never appear actively in the story, it can be inferred that they must have been the initiators of the adulterous relationships. The fact that it is one of the wives who goes to Pharaoh to fix the situation places her in a good position.

The second story follows the previous one in the manuscript (P. Petese Tebtunis A 1.10-30). We know that it is a story of scorn of women according to its introduction. This story has a main character called Hareus who seems to be in the environment of a temple. However, it is necessary to note that K. Ryholt's reconstruction of his title as lesonis[201] is derived from his identification of this Hareus with the one in the frame story, due to his placement of this column as part of it. Since now this column has been rearranged and we know that the text does not belong to the frame story, the identity of Hareus is not clear. In the summaries about the story, however, his identification as lesonis seems to have remained in the mind of Ryholt, Hoffmann, and Quack while reading the text, since they present him as being responsible of the finances of the temple. A temple is indeed mentioned in the text several times, and Hareus goes to it. Some priestly offerings are also mentioned (P. Petese Tebtunis A 1.5), and he appears to be burning incense in P. Petese Tebtunis A 1.30. However, it is not clear if Hareus is actually part of the temple personnel, or if he goes there to make payments, as P. Petese Tebtunis 1.19 seems to suggest. He seems to be having financial problems, and he decides to flee to the desert, where he finds a treasure of gold and silver that he is asked to take with him to Egypt. The story breaks off there. A lady (*t3 nb.t*, P. Petese Tebtunis A 1.30) is mentioned at the end of the story, and she

[200] P. Petese Tebtunis A 1.12-13: [*ḏd p3 ꜥn p3 sḏj mḥ*-X *p3 sḏj n*] *sḫf sḫm.t p3j* "[The baboon said: the X'th story.] It is [the story of] scorn of women" (RYHOLT 2005b: 148-149.

[201] RYHOLT 1999: 13. This interpretation is still followed in HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 175, where they reconstruct "Lesonis-Priester" in the lacuna before the name of the character.

might be the female character whose actions are deemed bad according to the introduction of the story. We can assume then that Hareus' taking the treasure with him will create some problems. The story is preserved in such a fragmentary way, however, that it is not possible to say much about the characters.

One of the stories is only preserved in its last three lines (P. Petese Tebtunis A. 8.1-3[202]). Nevertheless, in them Setne[203] is mentioned reciting a magical formula, and the expression *sḫ nfr rmt* [*rḫ m-*]*šs* "a good scribe and a very wise man" (P. Petese Tebtunis A 8.3) is addressed to someone, perhaps Setne himself. From this small fragment it is possible to say that Setne is portrayed as a magician, as is the case in all the stories of his cycle. The beginning describes something referring to seeds of lotus, and something feminine the front of which is of the color of malachite. Since Setne casts a spell right after, this might be the description of some kind of magical entity or a sorceress[204]. Although Setne's ethical behavior is dubious in other stories of the cycle such as *Setne I,* it is safe to assume that he would be the hero of this story, and the female entity his opponent. Thus, this would be a story of scorn of women.

Following the previous story on the same column there is another one about a prophet of Horus of Pe in Buto, of which the end is not preserved (P. Petese Tebtunis 8.4-30)[205]. It is also not stated if the story is one of praise or scorn of women. The prophet of Horus is described as a good scribe and a very wise man (P. Petese Tebtunis A 8.5), which corresponds also to the

[202] K. Ryholt considered line 3 as part of the next story in his first edition (RYHOLT 1999: 84). However, since the opening of the stories always features one of the baboons and Sakhminofret, line 3 with the mention of a "good scribe and a very wise man" must belong to the end of this story. The story is divided correctly by HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 173.

[203] K. Ryholt pointed out in his first edition that *stm*, being actually the title of the high priest of Ptah in Memphis (ERICHSEN 1954: 430 [*sm*] and 479 [*stm*]), could refer to Setne, but also to other high priests of Ptah, and he cites Ptahhotep (RYHOLT 1999: 84-85). The identification with Setne seems to have been widely accepted (cf. i.e. QUACK 2009a: 83).

[204] The sorceresses that appear in Demotic literature are characterized as foreign, such as the Nubian woman in *Setne II* (cf. section 4.5 in this chapter) or the Assyrian sorceresses of the *Inaros Epic* (RYHOLT 2004: 493-494) and of the *Life of Imhotep* (cf. RYHOLT 2009b).

[205] The translation in HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 173-174) keeps the wrong reconstruction of the name of Peteisis at the end of line 4, which K. Ryholt already corrected in RYHOLT 2005b: 151.

description of Setne and Peteisis and tends to characterize priests who are also magicians, and also as a *rmṯ ꜥ3* "a great/rich man"[206]. The story recounts how he fell in love with Nebetisis, the daughter of the prophet of Neith[207], during a procession, and marries her in Buto. Unfortunately, his wife cannot get pregnant[208]. He presumably goes to the temple of Horus of Pe and performs an incubation. In the dream he learns that he will have a son, but he will die the first time he has intercourse with a woman. That night his wife gets pregnant, and when the boy is born he grows up healthy and is sent to school[209]. The story breaks off with a wish to the child that he should have a companion (*irj*, P. Petese Tebtunis A 8.30) with him wherever he goes[210]. It is significant that, like in the case of the prophet of Horus of Pe in Buto in the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun*, this priest is unnamed. A connection between the two characters, however, seems highly unlikely. Ryholt has suggested that this could indicate that he was a famous character[211], since his wife and probably his son are named[212]. Through his actions, such as requesting the hand of the bride from her father, not rejecting her when she cannot have children, and his acts of piety going to the temple to ask Horus for a child and performing an incubation, the prophet of Horus is

[206] On *rmṯ ꜥ3*, cf. TAIT 1991: 30.
[207] K. Ryholt makes an interesting point indicating that the fact that the woman that attracts the attention of the main character is the daughter of a prophet points to the social environment in which the stories were written and read (RYHOLT 1999: 85).
[208] For examples of the *topos* of the sterility of a pious person, cf. RYHOLT 1999: 86, and *infra* in this paragraph.
[209] K. Ryholt considered in his first edition that the child was a prodigy, based on line 8.29, where he is described as strong and, according to Ryholt "He wrote as (well as) the overseer [of writings..." (RYHOLT 1999: 59). HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 174) translate this section as "er schrieb Briefe." Ryholt compares the description of this child's upbringing to that of Si-Osiris in *Setne II* (1.11-13). In the short story, however, there is less emphasis on the precocious character of the child than in *Setne II*, where Si-Osiris is described as looking twice as old as he actually was, and as having surpassed his teacher, while none of this is clearly distinguishable here. The text is very fragmentary at this point, and therefore a description as a child prodigy cannot be completely ruled out, but it is preferable to remain cautious.
[210] K. Ryholt compares this to the *Doomed Prince* and suggests that perhaps the child is then going to travel to see the world for the time of life that he has left (RYHOLT 1999: 87). Another interpretation would be that he had a companion assigned to go with him all the time as protection, perhaps to prevent him from meeting women. If so, perhaps the woman that he finally meets is the character that would give the story its designation. If she knowingly tried to lead him to his death, this might be one of the stories of scorn of women.
[211] RYHOLT 1999: 85.
[212] The name of the latter, however, which was probably mentioned in line 8.28, has not been preserved (RYHOLT 1999: 21).

depicted as a good man, correct in his behavior. The other priestly character of the story is the prophet of Neith, father of Nebetisis. This character is not described in detail, and his only role in the story is to provide a family background for Nebetisis. It is interesting to note that this story shares many similarities with the story of Charikles told in by Heliodoros (*Aithiopika* 2.29)[213]. Charikles was a priest of Apollo in Delphos who could not have children, but prayed to the god, presumably Apollo, and when he was old he was granted a baby girl, although the god foretold that she would not bring him happiness. On her wedding night, when she first lay with her husband, she died from a fire started in her chamber. Her mother died from sadness as well, and after this Charikles started wandering and ended up in Egypt. In both cases, both are priests and pray to their respective gods for help in order to have a child. Furthermore, Apollo was the *interpretatio graeca* of Horus. Along these lines, a curious detail is that Heliodoros describes himself at the end of the novel as a priest of Helios[214], while Peteisis seems to have been a priest of Ra. Helios is, of course, the *interpretatio graeca* of this god. Since the ending of the Demotic story has not been preserved, it is impossible to ascertain how the circumstances of the death of the child may have taken place, if they ever did. These similarities are intriguing. Obviously, the motif of the doomed child was already present in Egyptian literature in the New Kingdom with the *Doomed Prince*[215], and the compulsion of fate is a common place in Greek literature. Nevertheless, since the setting of the *Aithiopika* is Egyptian for the most part, including prominent Egyptian characters such as Kalasiris[216], one wonders if there could have been an influence from Demotic literature in it. The stories compiled by the baboons in the *Story of Peteisis* seem to have been popular tales that had circulated orally for several centuries, as can be

[213] Cf. MORGAN 2008: 402. Greek text in RATTENBURY and LUMB 1960: 84-85.
[214] HOLZBERG 1995: 103. τῶν ἀφ᾽Ἡλίου γένος "of the lineage from the Sun" (*Aithiopika* 10.41.4; RATTENBURY and LUMB 1943: 126; MORGAN 2008: 588).
[215] For a recent translation, cf. WENTE 2003. For an analysis of the story, cf. BURKARD and THISSEN 2009: 7–18.
[216] Cf. Chapter 5.

inferred from the presence in it of the story of Pheros[217], also transmitted by Herodotus in the fifth century BCE (*Historiae* 2.111). The date of composition of the *Aithiopika* is not certain; proposals vary between the second quarter of the third century[218] to the fourth century CE[219]. It is possible, due to its popularity, that the *Story of Peteisis* could have circulated at least orally for some time after the period of our last copies (second century CE[220]).

The next story has been labeled "The rape of Hatmehit" (Fragment D1[221]). This story has another prophet of Horus of Pe as one of its main characters, with his name either not mentioned or lost. However, in this case the priest lusts after a married woman, Hatmehit, the wife of Psherienmut, a servant in a tavern, and takes her to his home and sleeps with her by force (Fragment D1 x+6). Hatmehit seems to ask for her husband to be brought and the prophet has him brought and recognizes him as a very wise man (*rmt rḫ m-šs*, Fragment D1 x+8) and seems to want to retain him for an unknown purpose until the return of a falcon. During this time Hatmehit sees him and the prophet gets angry at her, imprisoning Psherienmut. In the last part of the story preserved she seems to be trying to free him, but the story breaks there. This is clearly one of the stories of the praise of women, and the priest is here represented as evil and deceitful. None of his actions are connected to the priestly environment. It is significant that the epithet of "very wise man", normally applied to priests who are the heroes of the stories, is a characteristic here bestowed by the priest on a presumably non-priestly character[222].

[217] Cf. RYHOLT 2005b: 31-46; QUACK 2009a: 84-85; QUACK 2013: 66–69.
[218] HOLZBERG 1995: 103-104.
[219] MORGAN 2008: 352.
[220] HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 167.
[221] RYHOLT 2005b: 101-107.
[222] Lacking the beginning of the story it is not possible to say if Psherienmut could have been a priest before the episode of the tavern. K. Ryholt considers that both Psherienmut and Hatmehit are forced to work in the tavern after someone discovers something (Fragment D1 x+3).

The 18th story of the compilation is one of scorn of women[223] (Fragment D2[224]). The main character seems to be a woman who is in the end thrown out from the royal harem because of an adulterous relationship. The interesting element in this story is that a woman, either the same or a different character, performs a *pḥ-nṯr* "divine consultation"[225] (Fragment D2 2.x+2) and swears by Neith, so she might be a priestess of this goddess. The fragmentary state of the story, however, does not allow a clear identification of the characters, so it is not possible to say if this supposed priestess is the adulterous woman, or if the latter is consulting the former. The second option seems more plausible according to the command in Fragment D2 2.x+3: (*m-ir*) *dj.t sḏr rmt irmꜣt ꜥn sp-sn*, presumably "(do not) let a man sleep with you (fem.) ever again"[226]

The last story with priestly characters is preserved in Fragment D7[227], and features the children of a prophet of Mendes (D7 1.12). The state of preservation is so poor that almost nothing can be inferred from the story.

Many other smaller fragments mention priests (*wꜥb, ḥm-nṯr*), but their lack of context does not allow the drawing any conclusions concerning the characters. The relevant aspect of this fact is the prominence of these priestly characters throughout all the stories.

3. The *Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*

The *Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*[228] is preserved in a main manuscript, P. BM EA 10508, which dates to the second/early first century BCE[229]. The text can be divided into three parts that are

[223] The story after this one preserves the number 19th in its introduction, which places this as the 18th, and it is labeled as a story of praise of women (cf. RYHOLT 2005b: 111).
[224] RYHOLT 2005b: 108-110.
[225] On the *pḥ-nṯr* cf. RITNER 1993: 214-220.
[226] So RYHOLT 2005b: 109.
[227] RYHOLT 2005b: 120-121.

separated by the word *sḫ* "written"[230]: a narrative frame story, a litany to Re, and the instruction itself. The manuscript was presumably found rolled up together with the mortuary texts of Peteminis in his tomb in Akhmim[231]. The focus of my analysis here is the frame story, which has also been preserved in an alternative version in a manuscript from Tebtunis dated to the late second century CE[232]. It is interesting to remark, as K. Ryholt has done, that there is an interval of 200 to 300 years between these two copies of the frame story, which attests to its active transmission[233]. The question has been raised as to the possibility of the independent character of the frame story. However, the manuscript evidence does not allow any clear conclusions on this point[234]. The frame narrative[235] tells the story of two men who grew up together due to the friendship of their parents, both priests of Ra. Ankhsheshonqy son of Tjainefer, became priest of Ra[236], and Harsiesis son of Ramose became a physician[237] and eventually, after proving his knowledge to Pharaoh, he started assisting the chief physician. After a few days, the chief

---

[228] For a complete bibliography cf. HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 365-366. The designation used in the text is *mtr.t* (*Ankhsheshonqy* 4.x+17; P. Florence PSI inv. D5 1.1), understood as a collection of sayings, as opposed to the designation of each of the sections of P. Insinger as *sbȝj.t*, indicating a more thematically organized teaching (Cf. THISSEN 1984: 8, cited by RYHOLT 2000: 120 footnote 30).

[229] RYHOLT 2000: 114 and footnote 5.

[230] Cf. ZAUZICH 1996.

[231] RYHOLT 2000: 113. On the find, cf. SMITH 1994.

[232] The Tebtunis manuscript is composed by P. Carslberg 304 + PSI inv. D5 + P. CtYBR 4512 + P. Berlin 30489, edited by RYHOLT (2000).

[233] RYHOLT 2000: 113-114.

[234] RYHOLT 2000: 114. Ryholt indicates here that the manuscript from the Tebtunis library has been "extensively reworked," and considers different possibilities to explain the differences between this and the British Museum manuscript. He elaborates more on the composition of the different parts of the text in RYHOLT 2000: 119-120. In her analysis of orality in Demotic narratives, J. Jay also examines this issue, and considers the variations between the manuscripts as a conscious choice of the scribe of the Tebtunis manuscript (JAY 2016: 257-262).

[235] For this reconstruction of the argument of the story I follow the reconstruction of the text in THISSEN 1984, and the translations by RITNER 2003f and HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 273-279. The main text considered is therefore P. BM EA 10508, but significant differences between this and the Tebtunis manuscript are indicated.

[236] This section is not actually preserved in the text, but is reconstructed as such in modern translations such as RITNER 2003f: 499 and HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 275.

[237] In *Ankhsheshonqy* 1.x+5 there is an intriguing statement: *mn ḫl ḫn nȝ wʿb.w* (*n*) *pȝ rʿ* "There was no youth among the priests of Re." The following text is fragmentary, but it has been understood by THISSEN (1984: 14), RITNER (2003f: 499) and HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 275) that as a consequence of that situation, Ankhsheshonqy and Harsiesis were made priest of Re and physician respectively. G. Vittmann, in his TLA translation, however, hypothesizes that the sentence was actually that there was no youth among the priests of Re assigned to Ankhsheshonqy (http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/GetCtxt?u=guest&f=0&l=0&tc=426&db=1&ws=114&mv=4 [last accessed on 03/31/2017]).

physician passed away and Harsiesis was made chief physician himself. His brothers are then made priests without fee (*irꜥw nꜣjꜥf snꜥw* (*n*) *wꜥb iwṯ tn*; *Ankhsheshonqy* 1.x+14)[238]. Afterwards, Ankhsheshonqy was living in Heliopolis, but decided to go to Memphis because he was feeling very ill. There he lived with Harsiesis. The central part of the story is a plot against Pharaoh[239]. In the British Museum manuscript it is described as a conspiracy by the courtiers *r* [*ḥw*]*j ḥmꜣ* (*n*) *tꜣ tmꜣ* [*pr-ꜥꜣ*] "to cast salt on the wound [of Pharaoh(?)]" (*Ankhsheshonqy* 2.x+6-x+7)[240]. The courtiers consult with Harsiesis, who in turn speaks with Ankhsheshonqy, who reminded him of all the things Pharaoh had done for him. During this conversation they are heard by a man of the household called Wahibre-mekhy son of Ptahertais, who goes to Pharaoh. Pharaoh asks him repeatedly if he will be saved, which seems to indicate that he is already sick. After consoling Pharaoh saying that he will be saved through the action of Re, Wahibre-mekhy tells him what he had heard, which disturbs Pharaoh, not letting him sleep at night. On the next day the court gathers and Pharaoh condemns Harsiesis and other conspirators to die in a brazier, and Ankhsheshonqy to a life sentence in jail. After the death of Pharaoh and the accession of the next king, all the prisoners are released except for Ankhsheshonqy, who realizing that he will never be able to educate his son, asks for a palette and papyrus to write a teaching, of which only the first is granted to him. He then writes the teaching on pieces of pottery, i.e., ostraca[241].

[238] In the Tebtunis manuscript it is his children instead of his brothers the ones who are made priests (P. Carlsberg 304 3.4).

[239] The Tebtunis manuscript incorporates extra narrative to this section, describing in more detail the plot as having as a goal the death of Pharaoh: (P. Carlsberg 304 + P. Florence PSI inv. D5 5.2). The interaction in the court includes a description of a series of amulets that were on the body of Pharaoh as being removed and put on the body of some Harapahte, and Pharaoh wearing a series of adornments. He is also described as being blind on each side and confused (8.6-7). For a more detailed analysis of the differences between both versions cf. RYHOLT 2000: 134-136; and JAY 2016: 257-262.

[240] On this expression cf. RYHOLT 2000: 135 footnote 134.

[241] It has been argued that the free organization of the teachings may reproduce the format of the text written on ostraca, as suggested by J. Assmann (cited in RYHOLT 2000: 120 footnote 31; also mentioned in HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 274, and QUACK 2009a: 130).

3.1. Ankhsheshonqy

The main character in the narrative is Ankhsheshonqy, a priest of the god Re in Heliopolis. It is noteworthy to point out that he is normally called just Ankhsheshonqy son of Tjainefer throughout the text, and in the British Museum manuscript he is only identified as priest of Re when Harsiesis mentions him to Pharaoh (*wʿ wʿb n pȝ rʿ*, *Ankhsheshonqy* 3.x+16). Here thus he is presented just as a *wʿb*, a priest. In the paragraph that introduces the instruction, however, he is designated as *it-nṯr* "god's father" (*Ankhsheshonqy* 4.x+17)[242], as also in the title of the Tebtunis manuscript (P. Florence PSI inv. D5 1.1). He is the son of presumably another priest of Re[243], and has a son, for whom he writes the instruction. His wife or other family details, however, are not mentioned. Of his early years we know that he grew up strong and he went to school together with Harsiesis, the son of another priest of Ra, a friend of his father (P. Carslberg 304 2.2). He was supposedly made priest of Ra when Harsiesis was made physician, although this section of the text is very fragmentary and the reference has not been preserved. Nothing concerning Ankhsheshonqy's duties as priest are mentioned. In the section in which Ankhsheshonqy travels to Memphis to stay with Harsiesis there seems to be an arrangement with Ankhsheshonqy's property to be sent to Heliopolis, but the section is too damaged to make any firm statements (*Ankhsheshonqy* 2.x+5)[244]. Concerning Ankhsheshonqy's involvement in the conspiracy, he clearly tries to persuade Harsiesis from getting involved in it, but does not reveal the plan to Pharaoh. His moral status is thus ambiguous, and his complicity in the assassination of Pharaoh is punished with prison. His crime is considered so serious that he is not included in the amnesty that the next king gives to the rest of the prisoners. Ankhsheshonqy seems to accept his fate,

[242] The *it-nṯr* was hierarchically inferior to the *ḥm-nṯr* (WILSON 1997: 119).
[243] Thus according to THISSEN (1984: 14) and RITNER (2003f: 499). The beginning of the text, however, is very damaged, so neither HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 275) nor LICHTHEIM (1980: 161) include this section in their translations.
[244] So HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 276 and 366 note *c*). R.K. Ritner, however, interprets the text as indicating that Harsiesis helped Ankhsheshonqy to be freed from duty, perhaps priestly duty, before Pharaoh (RITNER 2003f: 500).

following the saying *i.irꜣw* (*n*-)*ḏr.t n pꜣ šj pꜣ nṯr ḏrꜣw* "All are in the hand of the fate and the god" (*Ankhsheshonqy* 26.8)[245]. As in the case of the *Story of Peteisis*, therefore, Ankhsheshonqy is a character with an ambiguous moral status, in a frame story that introduces a composition that focuses on the description of good and bad behavior. In this case, however, the main character is clearly punished for his actions.

3.2. Harsiesis

The other main character in the frame narrative is Harsiesis. He is also the son of a priest of Re, and is made physician and subsequently chief physician. It is significant to point out that he is always designated as *swnw*[246] or *wr-swnw*. According to the reconstruction of the beginning of the frame narrative, he seems to have gone to school together with Ankhsheshonqy[247] and to have excelled in his studies, so as to be called to the House of Physicians (ꜥ*.wj-swnw*, *Ankhsheshonqy* 1.x+6)[248] by Pharaoh, still being a young man. He is designated in particular as [*wꜥ*] *ḫl-ḥwṯ* [*rmṯ-rḫ*][249] "[a] young [wise man]" (*Ankhsheshonqy* 1.x+6). From the description in *Ankhsheshonqy* 1.x+6-x+12 it appears that Harsiesis' accession to the House of Physicians is based on an exam in which he had to answer a series of questions asked by the chief physician to

[245] Lichtheim has indicated how from the New Kingdom on, there is admission of the possibility of one's failure to do the right thing due to lack of good sense, and the necessity to pray to the gods for help and forgiveness (LICHTHEIM 1997: 45-46). P. Insinger shows how, even when a person does what is right, his or her fate is still in the hands of the gods.

[246] ERICHSEN 1954: 415; CDD_S (13:1): 89-92. For an analysis of the doctors in ancient Egypt, cf. NUNN 1996: 113–135.

[247] It is not indicated if it was a school associated with the temple, considering that the fathers of Ankhsheshonqy and Harsiesis were priests. The school appears just as *tꜣ* ꜥ*-n-sbꜣ* "the place of instruction" (P. Carlsberg 304 2.2).

[248] This designation is, as far as I know, only attested in the *Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*.

[249] So according to the reconstruction by RITNER (2003f: 500) and G. Vittmann in TLA: http://aaew.bbaw.de /tla/servlet/GetCtxt?u=guest&f=0&l=0&tc=426&db=1&ws=114&mv=4 [last accessed in 04/12/2017]. This reconstructions follows *Ankhsheshonqy* 1.x+9 below, where Harsiesis is deemed to be a knowledgeable man. HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 275) propose a different reconstruction that does not refer to Harsiesis for 1.x+6.

prove his medical knowledge[250]. Concerning Harsiesis' age, the British Museum manuscript seems to suggest that he was young when he was called to court and made chief physician a few days later. This is emphasized by the fact that at that moment his brothers are made priests of Re without fee. On the contrary, the Tebtunis manuscript says instead that it was Harsiesis' children and not his brothers the ones who are made priests[251]. This might indicate a difference in Harsiesis' age between both manuscripts. It is not clear how much time passed from the moment in which Harsiesis was made chief physician and that in which Ankhsheshonqy goes to Memphis, and later the conspiracy takes place[252]. Considering that it appears that Ankhsheshonqy and Harsiesis are the same age, and in the British Museum manuscript Harsiesis does not seem to have children yet, it should be assumed that a few years have passed, enough to allow Ankhsheshonqy to have a child, but not enough for him to have been able to instruct him (thus the necessity of the *Instruction*). Returning to Harsiesis' characterization, despite the fact of being the chief physician, he does not display any priestly titles or perform any ritual duties during the narrative. It is assumed that medicine was part of the disciplines performed in the context of the temples, and some priestly titles, such as the priesthood of goddesses like Sekhmet and Selket, or Imhotep, are connected to it[253]. We also have medical texts coming from temple context in the Graeco-Roman period[254]. Harsiesis, as chief physician, lives in Memphis and works in the royal court, and thus, even if he had received his training in the context of the temple, and was a priest, he does not seem to be performing ritual duties, which might be the

[250] We know of such exams from the Roman period, as attested in the Greek papyrus P. Tebtunis II 291 Fr. b 2.41-43: [ἀπ]όδειξιν δοὺς τοῦ ἐπίστασθαι [ἱε]ρατικὰ [καὶ] Αἰγύπτια γράμ[ματ]α ἐξ ἧς οἱ ἱερογραμματεῖς προήνενκαν βίβλιου ἱερατικῆς "having given proof of knowledge of hieratic and Egyptian writing from a hieratic book presented by the hierogrammateis" (GRENFELL, HUNT and GOODSPEED 1907: 57-58). For the conditions of the accession to the priestly office, cf. SAUNERON 1962.
[251] Cf. the introduction to the text *supra*.
[252] These sections are introduced just by the verb *ḫpr* (*Ankhsheshonqy* 1.x+14 and 2.x+3).
[253] SAUNERON 2000:157-159.
[254] For the medical texts in the Tebtunis Temple Library, cf. RYHOLT 2005a:154.

reason why priestly titles are not associated with him. The moral analysis of his character parallels that of Ankhsheshonqy. In the Tebtnuis manuscript Harsiesis clearly states that he will not join the conspirators until he has consulted with Ankhsheshonqy (P. Carlsberg 304 + P. Florence PSI inv. D5 5.3-4)[255]. He is, nevertheless, considered as an integral part of the conspiracy, and pays for it with his life. The description of Pharaoh in the scene that takes place at the royal court in the Tebtunis manuscript seems to imply that he had been poisoned[256], and this would make Harsiesis a suspect due to his position as chief physician. It is not clear, however, what his exact role in the conspiracy is in the end, if any.

3.3. Other priests

Apart from the two main characters, a series of other priests are mentioned in the frame story. These are Tjainefer son of Ankhsheshonqy, the father of our Ankhsheshonqy, and Ramose, whose filiation is not preserved, the father of Harsiesis. They are both, presumably, priests of Re, and their role in the story is limited to providing a priestly background for Ankhsheshonqy and Harsiesis[257]. The brothers/children of Harsiesis are also made priests of Re, but they do not make any appearance in the story.

4. The Setne cycle

A series of narratives that share a character called Setne has been identified as belonging to the same narrative cycle. The two best preserved of these narratives, and those which will provide

[255] RYHOLT 2000: 135.
[256] Poison is never mentioned in the text, as observed by K. Ryholt, but the symptoms described (blindness, confusion) appear to point in this direction (RYHOLT 2000: 132 footnote 130).
[257] On the requirement of proving a priestly background for access to the priesthood in the Graeco-Roman period, cf. SAUNERON 1962.

most of the data for the analysis of priestly characters in this section, have been designated as *Setne I* and *Setne II*. The first of these narratives is preserved in P. Cairo CG 30646[258], a manuscript from the Ptolemaic period presumably found in Thebes[259]. It revolves around a book written by the god Thoth himself, and coveted by two royal sons from different periods, Naneferkaptah and Setne. Their pursuit leads them both to misfortune, death for him and his family in the case of the former, and punishment through a hallucination in which the death of his children takes place in the case of the latter. Their fortunes are somehow reconciled when Setne, who has stolen the book of Thoth from Naneferkaptah's tomb, returns it[260] and brings Naneferkaptah's wife and son's mummies to be buried with him. *Setne II*[261] is written on the verso of P. BM EA 10822[262] and dates to the first century CE. Despite being part of the Setne cycle, the main character and guiding thread of the narrative is his son Si-Osiris, a child prodigy who, in the first part of the narrative, takes Setne to the Underworld and back, and in the second is able to read from a closed book brought as a challenge to the Egyptian court by a Nubian magician. The text in the book is the story of a powerful magician of old, Horus son of Paneshe, who confronts and defeats a Nubian magician who threatens the Egyptian king. In the end, Si-Osiris and the Nubian magician who had brought the book are revealed as Horus son of Paneshe and the Nubian magician of the story respectively, and once again Horus son of Paneshe defeats the Nubian magician. Apart from these main narratives, other manuscripts seem to also contain

[258] Cf. bibliography in HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 343.
[259] GRIFFITH 1900: 14.
[260] A. F. Botta questions the certainty of Setne's return of the book, since it is not clearly stated in the story (BOTTA 1998: 241). The text, however, says that when Setne entered the tomb *gm=f s iw ḫr=w ḏd pȝ rˁ pȝj wn-nȝ.w ḥn tȝ ḥ.t ḏr=s* "He found that it was said that it was Ra who was inside the entire tomb" (*Setne I* 6.2). This seems to indicate that the book, somehow, irradiates light and illuminates the whole tomb at its return, which some authors have equated with the arrival of Ra to the regions of the Underworld as described in the *Book of Amduat* or the *Book of the Gates* (cf. RITNER 2003c: 467 footnote 41). The idea that the book irradiates light is already insinuated in 4.33-34, as the tomb stays in darkness after Setne's removal of the book (cf. RITNER 2010: 426). For a more developed analysis of this idea, cf. PICCIONE 1994: 202-203.
[261] Cf. bibliography in HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 340.
[262] The recto contains Greek accounts dating to the 7th year of Claudius (46-47 CE) (GRIFFITH 1900: 67-68).

some fragmentary Setne narratives[263]. Of these, P. Carlsberg 207[264] is of particular interest for this study, since it displays a series of priestly characters. In it, Setne encounters a ghost who would be revealed later as the son of a murdered prophet of Amun-Re. The ghost tells him how his father had discovered some wrongdoings of Peteisis, prophet of Isis of Abydos, who had murdered him and his family during a festival. He asks Setne for revenge. Setne thereupon tells his father, the king, and asks for permission to punish Peteisis and his family. These are captured, bound, and killed with a spear. The ghost then asks for a proper burial for his parents, the repatriation of a dead family member, and the priesthood of Osiris-Sokar for his eldest son and that of Amun-Re for his second son[265].

4.1. Setne

As I noted in chapter 1, the main two narratives in the Setne cycle, *Setne I* and *Setne II,* were edited and translated into English in the beginning of the Twentieth century[266], and are currently the most cited Demotic narratives, even outside scholarly circles[267]. This has resulted in Setne being analyzed as the paradigmatic portrait of a priest in Demotic narratives, leading to generalizations that are not always correct. Despite giving his name to the cycle, Setne is actually not the main character in either one of the two main narratives. In *Setne I* he provides the setting for Ihweret's story to be told, and raises to more prominence in the second part of the narrative, especially during the Tabubu episode. However, the conclusion of the story brings

[263] J. F. Quack mentions P. Cairo CG 30692, P. Carslberg 423 + P. Florence PSI inv. D6, and P. Marburg inv. 38 as being similar to or parallel copies of *Setne I* (QUACK 2009a: 39-40). A school exercise written on Jar B of those published by Spiegelberg contains an alternative narrative of the childhood of Si-Osiris (SPIEGELBERG 1912: 18-19 and plates 5 and 6). One of the short stories included in the *Story of Peteisis*, as seen above, mentions Setne.
[264] Cf. bibliography in QUACK 2009a: 41 footnote 73.
[265] QUACK and RYHOLT 2000; QUACK 2009a: 40-41.
[266] *Setne I* was already translated by H. Brugsch in 1867 (GRIFFITH 1900: 13), but the first edition of both *Setne I* and *II* is GRIFFITH 1900. S. Vinson is preparing a new translation and narrative study of *Setne I* (cf. VINSON 2010: 447 footnote 1).
[267] For a review of the impact of *Setne I* in modern culture, cf. VINSON 2011.

Naneferkaptah back to the fore and reveals him to be the architect of the events Setne has experienced, with the goal of being reunited with this family. In P. Carlsberg 207 Setne is also the listener that introduces the story of the ghost, and takes action in the second part. However, just as in *Setne I*, here he is also the instrument that leads to the solution of the ghost's problem[268]. In the case of *Setne II*, Setne's son Si-Osiris/Horus son of Paneshe is clearly the central character in both preserved parts of the story. Thus, in all these narratives, Setne acts as the connective thread among otherwise independent stories that, nevertheless, have in common the presence of magic for the most part[269]. He is not, however, the main character of the stories.

Setne introduces himself to Tabubu (5.4 and 5.7) and is mentioned in the colophon (6.20) as *stne ḥ^{ꜥ}-m-wꜣs*, which was already identified by Griffith as Khaemwaset, the high priest of Ptah and fourth son of Ramesses II, together with Setne as a writing of the priestly title *sm*[270]. Although Setne became a personal name, without priestly connotations[271], it is significant to note that Setne refers to the god Ptah as his father (*Setne I* 4.31). This could be just a consequence of the location of Setne's residence in Memphis, where the capital is in the narrative[272]. Notwithstanding, this reference to Ptah might actually point to fictional Setne's personal connection with the priesthood of this god, as was the case with the real Khaemwaset. However, in the preserved text he is not mentioned as having any priestly titles. When he is characterized

[268] QUACK and RYHOLT (2000: 162-163) have noted the similarities between the story in P. Carlsberg 207 and *Setne I*.
[269] It is not possible to say if magic plays any role in the lost parts of P. Carlsberg 207. J. F. Quack and K. Ryholt indicate magic as one of the possibilities for the way the family of the prophet of Amun-Re could have been killed, but this passage is not clear (QUACK and RYHOLT 2000: 161).
[270] GRIFFITH 1900: 4; ERICHSEN 1954: 479; CDD_S (13:1): 203-206.
[271] *DNb* 947, *s.v. stm*. The name of Setne is still a controversial issue. Already Griffith considered the possibility that later scribes could have interpreted it as a proper name, although he seemed more inclined to its understanding of it as the title used as appellative (GRIFFITH 1900: 5). This opinion is followed by BOTTA 1998: 233. S. Vinson however, seems to be inclined to consider Setne as part of the name of the character and not a title (VINSON 2008: 307). R. Jasnow has noted the problematic character of this designation (JASNOW 2001: 76 footnote 93). On the titles of the original Khaemwaset, cf. GOMAÀ 1973: 20–26.
[272] The god Ptah is certainly quite prominent throughout the story. In the episodes that take place in Memphis, Pharaoh is accompanied by the priests and the lesonis of Ptah (*nꜣ wꜥb.w n ptḥ pꜣ mr-šn n ptḥ*, *Setne I* 4.24). When Setne finds Tabubu, she is said to be there in order to worship before Ptah (*Setne I* 5.3).

explicitly, it is as son of Pharaoh (identified as Usermaatre, i.e. Ramesses II, in *Setne I* 5.4 and *Setne II* 2.28 and 7.2). Since the beginning of no Setne stories has been preserved, it is impossible to say if there he would have had priestly titles, but in any case, his role as prince seems to be considered more important in all the narratives.

Despite this lack of explicit priestly identification, Setne appears in the stories performing a series of actions that locate him in the priestly realm. As a ritualist, before the visit to the Netherworld in *Setne II*, Setne is described as having performed a purification in preparation for a festival at the court: *stne wʿb r hrwṯ r-ḥ* [...] *nȝj=f ʿwj.w* "Setne was purified for the festival in the way [...] his house" (*Setne II*, 1.13). At the end of this narrative, he is also presented as never failing to make burnt offerings (*gljl*) and libations (*wdne*) for the spirit (*šj*) of Horus son of Paneshe (*Setne II* 7.11). In P. Carlsberg 207 he makes a libation (*gll*) and a burnt offering (*wdn*) to Isis and Osiris-Sokar at his arrival to the temple in Abydos (P. Carlsberg 207 x+2.17-18). However, he is not attached to any particular temple. The most important characterization of Setne is as a magician. Despite the loss of the beginning of the story, the parallel character of Setne and Naneferkaptah's stories helps us assume that similar phraseology to that used for the latter would have been part of Setne's story as well[273]. This probably included the epithets used to describe both characters. As in the case of other magician-types, Naneferkaptah is designated as *sḫ nfr rmṯ rḫ m-šs* "a good scribe and a very wise man" twice in the text (*Setne I* 4.3, 4.24) and one as *pȝ sḫ nfr pȝ rmṯ rḫ* "the good scribe, the wise man" (*Setne I* 4.21)[274]. Although Setne is not designated as such in the preserved part of the narrative, Naneferkaptah recognizes him as a magician, since he asks Setne if he will be able to obtain the book of Thoth using *ḏr n sḫ nfr* "the

[273] For a diagram of the parallels in the stories of Setne and Naneferkaptah, cf. BOTTA 1998: 235-236.
[274] S. Vinson notes that the use of the expression *rmṯ rḫ m-šs* put in the mouth of Ihweret "may be consciously ironic" since this is an expression typical of the language of wisdom texts (VINSON 2008: 346).

strength of a good scribe" (*Setne I* 4.27) or by playing a game[275]. Therefore, the beginning of the narrative might have included that same designation for Setne as well. In his performance as a magician, books and magical tools are given especial prominence, to the point that Setne seems to be unable to do any magic without them[276]. In *Setne I* he is only able to obtain the book of Thoth after asking his brother Inaros to bring him the amulets of Ptah and his scrolls of taking security (*nꜣ sꜣ.w n pṯḥ pꜣj(ꜣj) ỉt.ṯ ỉrm nꜣj(ꜣj) ḏmꜥ.w n tꜣj-ỉwe.t*, *Setne I* 4.31-32)[277]. This dependence on the materiality of magical tools and books is not an exclusive element of the Setne cycle, and appears some fifteen hundred years earlier in P. Westcar, when Djedi asks for his "children[278] and his writings" to be brought with him to court (*ḫrd.w.ꜣ<j> ḥr zḫꜣ.wꜣj*, P. Westcar 8.3-4). As Ritner has pointed out, however, once the magical texts are brought, there is no indication that they are read or used, but "the mere presence of the text has amuletic force"[279]. Although this might be just an ellipsis of the text, since in other instances the mention of the books is followed by the recitation of a formula (cf. the recitation of a spell by Horus son of Paneshe after bringing his scrolls and amulets in *Setne II* 5.5), the protective power of the actual manuscripts is clear from passages such as *Setne II* 5.9-15, in which not only the text of the "Book of Magic" (*tꜣ mḏj n ḥjḳ*, *Setne II* 5.13) written by Thoth seems to be magically powerful,

[275] After posing this disjunctive, Naneferkaptah immediately chooses the second option, avoiding a magical confrontation. This might indicate that Naneferkaptah does not consider Setne at his same level as a magician, and gives him a chance by offering the game as the preferred option. S. Vinson has qualified Setne as "a not-overly-competent magician" (VINSON 2008: 307). On the symbolism of the game and of this particular episode in *Setne I*, cf. PICCIONE 1994. Piccione has indicated that, in playing the game, Setne would not only just play for the book of Thoth, but would also be gambling with his own life. He considers that both him and Naneferkaptah would have been aware of the implications of the game due to their religious training (PICCIONE 1994: 200-201. For the possible inspiration of this episode in PT 254, cf. RITNER 2010.

[276] Other magicians, such as Naneferkaptah or Horus son of Paneshe, seem to be able to perform specific magical feats in reaction to unexpected events without the consultation of books. An example of this is Naneferkaptah's lifting up from the water and temporal resuscitation of his son and wife (*Setne I* 4.8-15), or Horus son of Paneshe's magical response to each of the attacks of Horus son of the Nubian Woman (*Setne II* 6.13-28). The contrast of these performances with those of Setne might be intentional, in order to highlight the magical proficiency of the former.

[277] On *tꜣj-ỉwe.t* cf. RITNER 1993: 68-69 and footnote 311. This type of magical books is mentioned in *Setne II* 2.27 as well.

[278] W. K. Simpson interprets *ḫrd.w* as "students" (SIMPSON 2003: 19). Since these characters are not mentioned again in the story it is hard to say if they are actually Djedi's biological children or his disciples.

[279] RITNER 2010: 426. Already mentioned in TAIT 1995: 175.

but also the book itself, even if it is not the original one written by the god's own hand (*Setne II* 5.12-13). It is significant that the name of the book is cited, a practice that appears several times in the Setne cycle. Another instance is the "Book of Exorcising Spirits" (*mḏj n sḫr iḫj*, *Setne II* 2.26). This points to the importance of the materiality of the book in Demotic literature not just as a magical object, but as an element of identity and prestige. The reference to specific compositions points to a bibliographic knowledge shared both by author and audience, a level of understanding of the text that is not necessary for the comprehension of the story[280], but which reflects shared knowledge of a particular social class of Egyptian society, the temple-educated scribes. This is also reflected in the indication in *Setne II* that Setne owns a personal library, located in the basement or ground-floor of his own house (*p3 ỉtn n n3j=k ˁwj.w*, *Setne II* 3.19)[281]. It is interesting to note that the texts of the Tebtunis Temple Library were found in two subterranean rooms located in a house built against the inside of the temenos wall of he temple at Tebtunis[282]. Another example of the connection of priestly characters with libraries and bibliographic knowledge is the already mentioned offer of Peteisis to either provide secret books or interpretations of them in order to increase the reputation (*sḳ-ḥr*) of the temple of Heliopolis (P. Petese Tebtunis A 3.8). Thus, the knowledge and ownership of books can be considered as an important symbol of the membership in the priestly class. In the *Book of Thoth*, which describes the initiation into the scribal office, the Master praises the library as a treasury: "A collection of the papyrus rolls, they being collected as a teaching, they will make a treasury of the House of

[280] The existence of different levels of appreciation of the Demotic narratives has been indicated by different scholars (cf. PICCIONE 1994: 203; JASNOW 2001: 77).
[281] It is interesting to note that the word *itn* (ERICHSEN 1954: 47) is the same used in the *Story of Peteisis* to refer to the area of his house in which Peteisis performs his own funerary rituals (P. Petese Tebtunis A 5.20).
[282] RYHOLT 2013b: 27.

Books" (*Book of Thoth* 305)[283]. This connects directly with an important element in *Setne I*: the manifestation of thirst for knowledge as a defining trait of Setne and Naneferkaptah. As I indicated above, the parallel character of Setne and Naneferkaptah's stories allows the assumption of the existence of similar or even identical phraseology in some episodes, and thus, the analysis of Naneferkaptah's acquaintance with the book of Thoth gives clues as to how this episode might have been in the case of Setne. In the beginning of his book of Thoth episode, Naneferkaptah is described as roaming around the necropolis of Memphis and having nothing to do on earth but reading inscriptions (*Setne I*, 3.9-10). It is in this context when he finds an old priest[284] that tells him about the location of the book of Thoth. A similar situation is presumably how Setne found out about the book and its location within the tomb of Naneferkaptah. It has been widely commented that this interest in old writings and monuments is most certainly inspired by the real Khaemwaset, the historical son of Ramesses II, who restored different monuments in the necropolis of Saqqara, leaving on them inscriptions commemorating his work[285]. In the case of *Setne I*, R. Jasnow has commented that it is "a study in obsession"[286], since both characters take their thirst for knowledge beyond the limits of what was considered pious, stealing from the god of wisdom himself. Although they are both trying to reach the pinnacle of all possible knowledge[287], none of them appears in his actions as a wise man. In *Setne II*, however, Setne's performance of magic is positive, and in the two cases in which he is mentioned to perform a spell, it is for protective purposes (*Setne II* 1.6[288] and 2.25-26[289]).

[283] The words *pr-mḏ3.t* "library" and *pr-ḥḏ* "treasury" are sometimes used indistinctly, as appears to be the case in P. Florence PSI inv. D 102, which among other things describes the process of copying papyri [personal communication from Fabian Wespi, email of 12/08/2015].
[284] For the old priest, cf. *infra*.
[285] Cf. GOMAÀ 1973: 61–66.
[286] JASNOW 2001: 73.
[287] HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 138: "Setne, der das Grab betreten hat, will das dort niedergelegte und vom Gott Thot eigenhändig geschriebene Zauberbuch stehlen, um so den Gipfel der möglichen Erkenntnis zu erreichen."
[288] The spell is here accompanied by the use of amulets, in order to protect Setne's wife during her pregnancy.

This takes us to the analysis of Setne's personality traits. In *Setne I* his main characteristic is the fact that he does not act in the manner expected of a wise man, which is explicitly stated by his father, Pharaoh, in 4.37: *ỉn pȝj ḏmꜥ r tȝ ḥ.t n nȝ-nfr-kȝ-ptḥ n md*(*.t*)*-rmṯ-rḫ* "Bring the book to the tomb of Naneferkaptah in wisdom (lit. "the thing of a wise man")." On the contrary, not only Setne does not bring the book back, but he transgresses the secrecy of the knowledge contained in it by divulging it to all[290]: *ḫprꜣf ỉw mn mtw stne wp.t n pȝ tȝ m-sȝ prḫe pȝ ḏmꜥ mtwꜣf ꜥš n.imꜣf ỉ.ir-ḥr rmṯ nb* "It happened that Setne had no occupation on earth except for spreading the book and reading from it before everyone" (*Setne I* 4.38). In the temple of Kom Ombo, we read the following prescription concerning knowledge of the gods: "Do not reveal what you have seen in privacy / of all the secrets of the gods and goddesses!"[291]. The Tabubu episode that takes place right after this moment represents an escalation in his bad behavior. Setne acts following his lust[292] and ends up having his own children murdered. This can be interpreted as his own annihilation of the form of his future self through his children. After this ultimate example of wrong behavior, Setne wakes up from Tabubu's episode, which is revealed to have been a dream, and symbolically awakes to the realization of the nature of his own actions. Setne thereupon begins to make good for his previous transgressions through the returning the book in penitence[293] to Naneferkaptah's tomb. An interesting point to reflect on concerns the different

---

[289] This spell, pronounced by Setne over Si-Osiris after they have left the Netherworld, is said to come from the "Book of Exorcising Spirits."

[290] On the concept of secret knowledge cf. BAINES 1990.

[291] Cf. QUACK 2012: 124.

[292] S. Vinson has talked of Setne's obsessive attitude in Tabubu's episode as evoking "the specific stereotype of the lustful magician, an attested motif of Egyptian folklore" (VINSON 2009: 301). However, in the footnote attached to this sentence (n. 97) he only provides the fictional Nectanebo II in the *Alexander Romance* as another instance of this "stereotype." Without further examples, creating a character model of the "lustful magician" seems to be unjustified.

[293] *ỉw wn wꜥ.t šlt.t šbte n ḏr*(*.t*)*.ṯꜣf ỉw wn wꜥ ꜥḫ n ste.t ḥr ḏȝḏȝf* "there being a forked stick in your hand and a brazier of fire on your head" (*Setne I* 4.35-36). The penitence is mentioned first by Naneferkaptah after Setne has left his tomb with the book, and is again described by Pharaoh when Setne tells him about the what had happened (4.37). After Tabubu's episode, Pharaoh once again tells Setne how to atone for his transgression, and the penitence is

consequences of Setne and Naneferkaptah's actions. While Naneferkaptah is actually punished with the death of his family, and ends up drowning himself, the murder of Setne's children ends up being a dream. Despite the fact that both characters' stories run parallel, Naneferkaptah's crime is committed against the god Thoth himself. Naneferkaptah transgresses a series of religious boundaries represented in the layers of protection of the book of Thoth. In his protest before Re, Thoth summarizes Naneferkaptah's wrongful actions in the following way: *šm=f r pꜣj(=j) pr-ḥḏ ḫl=f s tꜣj=f tꜣj(=j) tbe.t ḫr tꜣj(=j) ḳnbe.t ḫdb=f pꜣj=j mnḫ r-wn-nꜣ.w ḥrḥ r.r=f* "he went to my treasury and he plundered it. He took my chest having my document[294]. He killed my doorkeeper who was guarding it" (*Setne I* 4.6-7). Naneferkaptah's transgression thus expressed is threefold: first he has entered into a sacred space (the treasury of Thoth) without having permission; secondly he has desecrated it by opening the chests and by removing the book from it; and lastly, he has killed the eternal snake (*ḥf n ḏ.t*, *Setne I* 3.20 and 3.32). Given the importance of solar imagery in *Setne I*, this snake is equated with Mehen, the snake protecting Re in his barque during his journey through the Netherworld[295]. Thus, by killing it, Naneferkaptah is positioning himself as a Sethian element[296], disruptor of cosmic order. His punishment, accordingly, is death for him and his family. In the case of Setne, his transgression is not directly against a deity, but against Naneferkaptah. Since we lack the beginning, it is not possible to say exactly how Setne learned about the book of Thoth. In the story, Setne realizes after waking up that the Tabubu episode has been a dream sent by Naneferkaptah[297]. However, it has been proposed, very reasonably in my opinion, that the whole involvement of Setne in the

fulfilled according to what Naneferkaptah had instructed (5.37-39). On the significance of this episode, cf. BOTTA 1998: 239-241.

[294] For the use of legal jargon in *Setne I*, cf. JASNOW 2001: 77-78.

[295] Cf. PICCIONE 1994: 201-203.

[296] Cf. VINSON 2010: 464: "Setne is an anti-Horus, a Sethian character who has assaulted the Osiris-like Naneferkaptah and who, like Seth in P. Jumilhac, has futilely attempted to sexually claim the Isis-Hathor-like Tabubu."

[297] *Setne I* 5.32: *nꜣ-nfr-kꜣ-ptḥ pꜣ i.ir irw=w n=j ḏr=w* "Naneferkaptah is the one who did everything."

story is actually a machination of Naneferkaptah himself. As S. Vinson has written: "the reader is left with the distinct impression that Naneferkaptah had arranged everything as an elaborate scheme to reunite himself with his family – indeed, that it was probably he who tempted Setne to steal the book in the first place"[298]. Thus, Setne seems to be a puppet in the hands of Naneferkaptah, who might have recognized in him a similar figure to himself, and therefore is able to manipulate his weaknesses (such as the thirst for knowledge). It is also possible that Setne might not have been acting completely out of his own volition, since especially during the Tabubu episode he seems to be under a spell, which is broken once he wakes up and realizes what he has done. I would even propose an appearance of Naneferkaptah in disguise (as in the episode in the necropolis of Coptos) and perhaps the casting of a spell on Setne in the lost beginning of the story. As a consequence of all this, Setne's punishment is actually the fulfillment of Naneferkaptah's plan in order to have his wife and son's bodies brought to his tomb in Memphis from Coptos, where they had originally been buried. This puts the consideration of his foolishness in *Setne I* in perspective.

In the other Setne stories we see a different approach to some of the same elements of Setne's personality that appear in *Setne I*. The analysis of the contrast between these stories might show further evidence that his behavior in *Setne I* is the result of a spell from Naneferkaptah rather than his normal ethical conduct. The best example is the difference in his reaction to the stories told by the ghost characters, Ihweret in *Setne I*, and the son of the prophet of Amun in P. Carlsberg 207. The parallels and differences between the two stories have been emphasized by J.F. Quack and K. Ryholt in their edition of the new fragments of the manuscript[299]. While in *Setne I* he does not seem to be moved at all by Ihweret's narrative, he is

[298] VINSON 2008: 310.
[299] QUACK and RYHOLT 2000: 162-163.

eager to help the ghost in P. Carlsberg 207, seeking to do justice in the form of vengeance against those who murdered him and his family.

Concerning his attitude towards his father, the Pharaoh, if in *Setne I* he ignores his advice concerning the book of Thoth until after the Tabubu episode (and possibly the end of the influence of the spell under which he had been), something that is highlighted by Pharaoh himself[300], in *Setne II* he maintains a very respectful attitude towards him: *ḫbꜣf s r pꜣ ỉtne wšdꜣf* [*pr-ꜥꜣ dwn*]*ꜣf s ꜥḥꜥꜣf r-rd.wjꜣf iwꜣf ỉr n nꜣ smꜥ.w n tꜣ wšd n pr-ꜥꜣ* "He bowed to the ground, he venerated [Pharaoh], he [raised] himself, and he stood on his feet making the greetings of the veneration for Pharaoh" (*Setne II* 3.1)[301]. Both in *Setne I* and in P. Carlsberg 207 Setne tells his father about his conversation with the ghosts. In the former story, however, he has already taken action after the story, stealing the book, while in the latter, he only executes the ghost's request after Pharaoh has instructed him to do so. In this case, P. Carlsberg 207 resembles the atonement episode of *Setne I*, where Setne finally follows Pharaoh's instructions. Setne also displays a very respectful attitude towards the ghost of the son of the prophet of Amun in P. Carlsberg 207, as J.F. Quack and K. Ryholt have noted[302].

Setne's attitude towards his children is also different in *Setne II*. In *Setne I*, his children are only relevant to the story in order to show Setne's last act of debauchery. They are not named, and appear as an undifferentiated group. In *Setne II*, however, Setne starts the story being childless, and the whole narrative focuses around his son, Si-Osiris, to whom he behaves as a loving father. His affection for the child is clearly stated in the text. In *Setne II* 1.11 it is said that

[300] *Setne I* 5.37: *bn-pwꜣk sḏm nꜣj šꜥ tꜣ wnw.t ꜥn* "You have not listened to me until now, again."
[301] The reconstruction of the lacuna was already proposed by F. Ll. Griffith (GRIFFITH 1900: 164).
[302] QUACK and RYHOLT 2000: 161.

that he loved the child so much that he could not stop looking at him[303]. Setne wants to show off the child's exceptional intellectual abilities before Pharaoh, making him answer all of Pharaoh's questions (*Setne II* 1.13-14)[304], and is described as being exceedingly proud of him when they return from the Netherworld (*Setne II* 2.25)[305]. He is also manifestly devastated at the end of the narrative when Si-Osiris is revealed to be Horus son of Paneshe and disappears (*Setne II* 7.7-9).

In this same tone, there are several instances in which signs of depression are indicated for Setne. In *Setne II*, when Setne receives the order of Pharaoh to figure out how to meet the challenge of the Nubian sorcerer, he is described as lying in bed in despair (*Setne II* 3.7-8)[306]. He is further portrayed as having bundled himself up in his clothes, from head to feet, an image that has funerary connotations, reinforced by the fact that, when his wife touches him, he is cold and motionless and he seems to be about to die from grief: *jʿbȝ tḥȝ n ḥȝt.ṯ* "Illness and grief are in the heart" (*Setne II* 3.9). As noted in the previous paragraph, he also grieves at the disappearance of his son Si-Osiris at the end of *Setne II.*

In summary, the evidence from stories other than *Setne I* seems to depict a more sensitive Setne, a good son and a good father, willing to use both his magic and his connection to Pharaoh in a positive way, for protection and for the solution of an unjust situation. In *Setne I,* as I have

---

[303] [... *n*]-*wš-n nw r pȝ ḫm-ḫl sȝ-wsir iw nȝ-ʿȝ pȝ* ⸢*mr*⸣ [*r-wn-nȝ.w-iw⸗f n.im⸗f*] *n-pȝ-m-šs* "[...] without looking at the child Si-Osiris, the love [that he had for him] being great." Griffith already proposed the reconstruction "And it came to pass that Setme never passed an hour" for the lacuna (GRIFFITH 1900: 147).

[304] This setting is similar to the beginning of the frame story in the *Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*, in which Harsiesis is taken to the House of Physicians and asked a series of questions to all of which he gives the right answers (*Ankhsheshonqy* 1.x+6-x+12). For Harsiesis and this episode, cf. section 3.2 in this chapter. This appears to be a common way of describing the upbringing of a child prodigy (cf. section 4.4 in this chapter).

[305] Setne's reaction is quite emotional: *ir stne pȝ trjȝ* [*n nȝ*] *md.t ntj-iw⸗f ḫn⸗w iw⸗f ḏd iw⸗f r rḫ ḫpr nȝ iḫj špsn rmṯ ḫr nṯr* [*iw⸗j m*]*šʿ irm⸗f iw⸗j ḏd pȝj*(*⸗j*) *šr pȝj* "Setne marveled (lit. "made a wonder") of the things in which he was, saying: "he will be able to become a noble spirit of a man that belongs to god, while I go with him, saying "He is my son"." Vittmann notes that *nȝ* stands for *n* (http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/S02?wc=124197&db=1 [last accessed on 04/23/2017]). D. Agut-Labordère and M. Chauveau, in their translation, interpret this sentence as meaning that only by walking with Si-Osiris Setne himself will become a noble spirit (AGUT-LABORDÈRE and CHAUVEAU 2011: 48).

[306] These are similar terms as when, in the frame narrative of the *Story of Peteisis,* Peteisis is told by the ghost in his courtyard that he only has 40 days to live (P. Tebtunis A 2.24-25), cf. *supra*.

noted before, Naneferkaptah seems to be exploiting Setne's weaknesses, amplifying them in order to put him in an extreme situation that will make him accomplish Naneferkaptah's purposes. Apart from Setne's thirst for knowledge, which might have brought him, as in the story of Naneferkaptah, to read inscriptions in the necropolis in the lost beginning of *Setne I*, we get a hint as to Setne's possible desire to reveal secret knowledge in *Setne II* 2.27, after he has returned from the Netherworld: *iw n3 md.wt n rn=w 3tp* [...]*=f n p3 m-šs iw bn-pw=f rḫ wn r rmṯ* [*nb n p3 t3*] "The aforementioned things weighed down [...]him very much, he not being able to reveal them to [any] man [on earth]." Nevertheless, he does not share the information with anyone, unlike his attitude with respect to the book of Thoth in *Setne I*, which he is said to be continuously reading aloud in public (*Setne I* 4.38).

4.2. Naneferkaptah

Naneferkaptah's character goes is parallel to Setne's, as is illustrated by mainly traits which I have already discussed above. I will therefore only briefly summarize them here, adding any new elements particular to him. Concerning Naneferkaptah's name, the interpretation of its meaning fluctuates between "Beautiful is the bull of Ptah" and "Beautiful is the Ka of Ptah." Although the name is constructed on the old pattern *nfr-k3*-(name of god), in existence since the Old Kingdom[307], the element *k3* as "life force" is reinterpreted in some of the manuscripts as *k3* "bull"[308]. Apart from the obvious connection with the Apis bull, S. Vinson has highlighted the Osirian aspects of Apis (as Osiris-Apis or Serapis), and in general of bull-imagery, since he sees

[307] The prefix *n3* is the way Demotic forms adjective verbs (SPIEGELBERG 1925: §117).
[308] S. Vinson notes that P. Cairo 30692 and P. Florence PSI inv. D6 + P. Carlsberg 423 write the name with the *k3*-arms (VINSON 2009: 287 footnote 22).

the story of Naneferkaptah as inspired by the Osiris myth[309]. His name is never accompanied by any particular titles. As in the case of Setne, Naneferkaptah's main identification in the narratives is as son of Pharaoh, and he is designated as such by Thoth when the god is making his complaint before the tribunal of Re (*Setne I* 4.6). The other designation, already noted in the discussion about Setne, is as "a good scribe and a very wise man," which identifies him as a magician. However, in the case of Naneferkaptah, when he jumps from the boat in order to commit suicide, he is called *pȝ sẖ nfr pȝ rmṯ rḫ ntj iw bn pw kj ḫpr m-ḳdj.ṯ=f* "the good scribe, the wise man, like whome no other has existed?" (*Setne I* 4.21)[310]. This shows that he was considered as a particularly exceptional magician. In fact, the narrative presents him as a much more accomplished magician than Setne through a series of episodes. The first characteristic of Naneferkaptah presented in the narrative is his interest in reading ancient inscriptions, as he is described wandering around in the necropolis of Memphis and perusing the texts on the tombs of the pharaohs and the stelae of the scribes of the House of Life, even during a feast in the temple (*Setne I* 3.9-10). As in the case of Setne, his thirst for knowledge leads him to the book of Thoth searching for the culmination and perhaps origin of all knowledge, since the book is described as having been written by Thoth with his own hand *iw=f nˁ.k r ḫrj m-sȝ nȝ nṯr.w* "as he came down after the gods" (*Setne I* 3.12)[311]. This knowledge is of magical character, since the book of Thoth is described as composed of two magical spells (*ḥp 2 n sẖ*, *Setne I* 3.12) that basically give the

[309] Vinson has analyzed the Osirian elements that he sees in Naneferkaptah's story, together with the differences between it and the Osiris myth in two studies (in VINSON 2008: 326-351; VINSON 2009: 287-288 and 303). Another parallel that Vinson sees in the story of Naneferkaptah is with the Greek novels, noting the possibility of *Setne I* as having influenced the narrative environment that would originate the Greek novels (VINSON 2008: 348-351). I have already indicated that one of the short stories in the *Story of Peteisis*, the story of the son of a prophet of Horus of Pe in Buto (P. Petese Tebtunis 8.4-30), might have somehow inspired Heliodoros' story of Charikles in the *Aithiopika* 2.29, cf. section 2.2 in this chapter.

[310] Horus son of Paneshe receives a similar designation at the end of *Setne II* (7.6-7), cf. *infra*, on Horus son of Paneshe.

[311] F. Hoffmann and J.F. Quack have suggested that this intriguing expression may refer to the time when the gods ruled on earth (HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 139 footnote 241). They also connect this sentence with l. 38 of the Metternich Stela: "Ich bin Thot. Ich bin aus dem Himmel gekommen, um Horus zu schützen."

magician control and insight over everything on heaven, earth, and the netherworld, the ability to go and come back from the netherworld, and to see the order of the universe.

Throughout the narrative, Naneferkaptah performs a series of magical rituals, starting with the retrieval of the book of Thoth. In order to reach the point in the river where the book rests, Naneferkaptah creates a *rms*-boat and a crew for it out of pure wax, and gives them life by reciting a spell over them (*Setne I* 3.27-28)[312]. He attaches to it the *shre.t*-boat in which he had traveled to Coptos, and fills it with sand[313], which he uses to keep the water away to create a hole in the river, and later on in order to kill the eternal snake. The box that contains the book is guarded by snakes, scorpions, and other creepy-crawly creatures, together with the eternal snake, against which Naneferkaptah initiates a magical confrontation using spells to immobilize the former and fight against the latter. After he has obtained the book and read the two formulas, he takes it to Ihweret and performs a procedure in which he copies the text in a new piece of papyrus, burns it with fire and dissolves the remains in water, which he drinks and makes Ihweret drink in order to learn its contents[314]. The next magical performance takes place when Naneferkaptah's son Merib falls to the water and drowns. Naneferkaptah recites then two spells, one to lift him from the water, and another to temporarily bring him back to life in order to learn what had happened. I already discussed this procedure with respect to the scribe of the House of Life in the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros*. Following the death of his son and wife, Naneferkaptah kills himself by drowning in the same place where the two previous deaths had taken place. Before, however, he ties the book to his body with royal linen (*šrṯ n šs-n-nsw*, *Setne I* 4.19), which was the same material used as bandages in the embalming process. When the boat arrives

[312] This is the same magical procedure used repeatedly by Peteisis in the *Story of Peteisis*, cf. section 2.1.1 in this chapter.
[313] On the implications of sand in Egyptian magic, cf. RITNER 1993: 155-157 and references there.
[314] On this procedure, cf. RITNER 1993: 102-110. On the question of Ihweret's literacy in this passage (*Setne I* 4.3), cf. a recent analysis in VINSON 2010: 451-453.

to Memphis, his body is discovered attached to the rudders through magic (*r-ḏbꜣ tꜣj=f wp.t n sḫ nfr* "through his deed of a good scribe," *Setne I* 4.23).

Even after his death, Naneferkaptah as a ghost does not stop performing magic. The next example of this is his game with Setne, in which, by hitting Setne with the game box, he buries him deeper and deeper into the ground. He is also able to send Setne the dream about Tabubu, making it appear as reality. This ability to send dreams appears also as a characteristic of Nectanebo in the *Alexander Romance* (1.5), where we see the preparation of this procedure: "So Nectanebo left the queen's chamber and collected from a desert place certain herbs which he knew to be reliable in dream-divination. He made an infusion with them, then molded a female figure out of wax and wrote on it the name of Olympias. He lit torches <and sprinkled on them the infusion> of herbs, and called with the appropriate oaths on the demons whose function is, to bring an apparition to Olympias."[315]. This magical procedure as presented here involves the use of herbs and of a wax figurine, a feature of Egyptian magic that also appears in *Setne I*, *Setne II*, and the *Story of Peteisis.* Dreams were considered to be messages from the gods that had to be deciphered, and thus the procedure of sending a dream on the part of the magician involves the use of the same divine channels[316]. In the beginning of *Setne II*, both his wife and Setne receive dreams on how to become pregnant, and concerning the name and future exploits of the baby, respectively (*Setne II* 1.1-9). In this same narrative, Horus son of Paneshe goes to the temple of Thoth in Hermopolis in order to learn from Thoth how to protect Pharaoh (*Setne II* 5.8-15). While those instances are framed in the normal practice of incubation, the dream sent by Naneferkaptah to Setne in *Setne I* is unusual in the fact that he does not perceive that it is a

[315] STONEMAN 1991: 39. On the *Alexander Romance*, cf. chapter 3, section 1.
[316] The Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri include some spells labeled as dream divination: *PGM* VII. 795-845 ("Pythagoras' request for a dream oracle and Demokritos' dream divination"); *PGM* VII. 1009-1016 ("Divination by a dream"). Descriptions of the spells from BETZ 1992: xi-xxii).

dream until he wakes up. The Graeco-Egyptian magical handbooks include spells concerning dreams; some of them are specifically labeled as spells for sending dreams[317].

The second example of magic performed by the dead Naneferkaptah is his transformation into a very old priest in order to help Setne find the tombs of Ihweret and Merib. He later reveals his identity to Setne (*Setne I* 6.17-18). The practice of magical transformation appears in other Demotic narratives, and is performed by Egyptian and non-Egyptian characters. In the case of the Egyptian characters, apart from Naneferkaptah, we find Horus son of Paneshe, who is reborn as Si-Osiris, a feat that could be seen as a sort of transformation. A common trait that these two characters share is that they are dead, and thus have access to powers that are not at the disposal of living magicians. It might also be significant to observe that these transformations are into humans. However, foreign magicians seem to be able to experience a transformation into other creatures as part of their typical magical repertoire. In *Setne II*, both Horus son of the Nubian Woman, and his mother, the Nubian Woman, transform at the end of the magical contest into an evil bird[318] and a goose respectively[319]. In the *Inaros Epic*, an Assyrian sorceress turns into a gigantic griffin (*srrf*) in order to fight Inaros[320]. In all these cases the transformed foreign magicians are defeated by their Egyptian contenders. Transformation is, however, a normal trait of Egyptian gods, and appears very frequently in mythological narratives[321]. The *Book of the Dead* also includes a series of chapters the transformation of the deceased into a series of

[317] *PGM* XII. 107-121 ("Charm of Agathokles for sending dreams"); *PGM* XII. 121-143 ("Zminis of Tentyra's spell for sending dreams"); *PDM* xiv. 1070-1077 (No title, spell to send dreams and make a woman love); *PDM* Supplement 1-6, 7-18, 19-27, 28-40; 40-60, 60-101, 101-116, 117-130 (all titled "Spell for sending a dream"). Descriptions of the spells from BETZ 1992: xi-xxii.

[318] On the interpretation of the *ipt b(j)n* "evil bird," cf. HOFFMANN 1992: 13-14.

[319] R.K. Ritner has noted that these animals represent demonic forces of chaos, which are linked to the enemies of Egypt (RITNER 1993: 160-161).

[320] On this narrative, cf. RYHOLT 2004: 493-494, and 492 footnote 48 for bibliography on the *Inaros Epic*. The text is largely unpublished, and I have not had access to it.

[321] Apart from the adoption of the form corresponding to the animals associated to them, the gods also take different other shapes, including human ones, in mythological narratives. This transition marked by the verb *ḫpr*. On the transformations of Isis in the *Contendings of Horus and Seth*, cf. VINSON 2008: 336-338.

entities[322]. In certain magical procedures, the magician takes the role of a particular god in order to exercise a particular power. This is not exactly a transformation in terms of shape, but more like an acquisition of magical powers and the reenactment, in some cases, of a particular mythological event to cause a parallel effect in the present to that described in the myth[323].

Apart from these clear displays of magical proficiency, Naneferkaptah also appears in some passages described performing more typical ritual acts such as going to the temple to worship during the feast of Ptah (*šm nꜣ-nfr-kꜣ-ptḥ ḫn ḥ.t-nṯr r wšde* "Naneferkaptah went in the temple to worship," *Setne I* 3.10), and requesting animals and sacrificing them at his arrival at Coptos (*tj nꜣ-nfr-kꜣ-ptḥ inꜥw iḥ ipd irp irꜥf gljl wdn m-bꜣḥ ꜣs.t n ḳbṯ ḥr-pꜣ-ḫrd.ṯ* "Naneferkaptah caused cattle, fowl, and wine to be brought. He made a burnt offering and a libation before Isis of Coptos and Harpocrates," *Setne I* 3.26). However, as in the case of Setne, he is not described as being attached to any temple in particular, and he also does not seem to have any priestly titles as part of his identity.

Naneferkaptah's family is represented by his father the Pharaoh, his wife Ihweret, and his son Merib. His relationship with Pharaoh in the story is limited to two instances: his telling him what the priest had said and request for a boat to sail to Coptos, without Pharaoh expressing any particular objection, unlike in the case of Setne when he tells his father the Pharaoh about his acquisition of the book of Thoth (*Setne I* 3.22-24); and Pharaoh's performance of Naneferkaptah's funerary rites and burial after his body found attached to the rudders of the boat at his return to Memphis from Coptos (*Setne I* 4.21-25). The relationship of Naneferkaptah with

[322] Chapters 76-88 of the *Book of the Dead* are spells destined to transform (*ḫpr*) the deceased into different entities: chapter 76 (any shape one may wish to take), chapters 77, 78, 83, 84, 86, 87, 88 (animals: falcon of gold, divine falcon, benu-bird, heron, swallow, snake, and crocodile respectively), chapters 79, 80, 82, and 85 (divine beings: an elder of the tribunal, a god (*nṯr*), Ptah, and the soul of Atum respectively), chapters 81A and 81B (a lotus). For updated transliterations and translations of these chapters, cf. QUIRKE 2013: 179-204.

[323] SAUNERON 1966: 37. This procedure continued in Christian magic with the assimilation of the magician to Christian figures such as Jesus or Mary, cf. i.e. the London Oriental Manuscript 5987, in which the performer says "For I am Mary" (MEYER and SMITH 1999:131).

Ihweret is more fleshed out, and he, through her own narration, is described as a loving husband (*ir rmṯ mr pȝj=f irj n.im=n* "each of us love the other," *Setne I* 3.7), who even makes her partake of the knowledge contained in the book of Thoth (*Setne I* 3.40-4.3). When Ihweret advises him against taking the book of Thoth after hearing about what the old priest had said, however, Naneferkaptah does not listen to her (*Setne I* 3.22). Here she performs the role of ignored voice of reason, as does Pharaoh with respect to Setne. An interesting point with respect to the relationship of Naneferkaptah with his wife and son is that, when they die, while the crew of the boat is represented in a clear state of distress (*ʿš rmṯ nb r-wn-nȝ.w ḥr mr.t sgp*[*e*] *ḏr=w* "Every person who was on board uttered a cry," *Setne I* 4.9 and 4.14), he does not seem to display any particular emotion. His only distress seems to concern his having to report the deaths of Ihweret and Merib to Pharaoh (*Setne I* 4.18-19), which makes him decide to commit suicide. Nevertheless, ultimately he wants them back with him and this seems to be the reason of his involvement of Setne in the story. He has kept them in ghostly shape with him in his tomb, but asks Setne to go to Coptos and bring their mummies to Memphis, to be buried with him (*Setne I* 6.3-4). The presence of Merib is passive throughout the story, as in the case of Setne's children[324]. Unlike in the case of Setne and Si-Osiris, there is no reference to Naneferkaptah's appreciation of his child.

4.3. The old priest

An enigmatic priestly character in *Setne I* is the priest that Naneferkaptah encounters in the temple of Ptah, and who tells him about the book of Thoth (*Setne I* 3.11-20). He is described as

[324] S. Vinson considers that his presence in the story is just meant to present Ihweret as a mother, and connects their burial in Coptos with the advocation of the temple of the locality to Isis and Harpokrates (VINSON 2008: 342-343).

an old priest in his first appearance[325]. The first reaction of the old priest is to laugh at Naneferkaptah's interest for the inscriptions in the shrines of the temple, which he considers of no value[326]. With this statement, the old priest creates a hierarchy in written knowledge[327], and right after he reveals the existence of secret knowledge of high value to Naneferkaptah, and offers him the possibility of accessing it in exchange of a payment. The first element to consider here is the old priest's laughter. As R. Jasnow has suggested, the contexts of laughter, as it is the case here, can be quite intriguing, and qualifies laughter in this episode in particular as negative[328]. This enigmatic laughter precedes the revelation of a piece of information unknown to the character that is laughed at, and highlights the superior knowledge of the laughing character. A similar reaction occurs in *Setne II* 3.10-18, when Setne is lying in bed depressed due to his incapacity to accomplish what Pharaoh had asked him, and Si-Osiris asks him to tell him what the problem is. Setne answers that Si-Osiris is too young to be able to understand, but when Setne finally tells him about the challenge posed by the Nubian sorcerer, Si-Osiris' reaction is to laugh at Setne's unnecessary worries. Although in this case Si-Osiris' intervention is positive, his reaction is parallel to that of the old priest in its mysterious character and in its foreshadowing

[325] The beginning of line 3.11 is not preserved, and only the two last signs (R6 and H2 of Erichsen's Schrifttafeln, ERICHSEN 1937) of what was already recognized by F. Ll. Griffith as *ms* remain, before *r.rɜf*. (cf. GOLDBRUNNER 2006: plate 1). Griffith proposed the reconstruction [*gm s wˁ wˁb iwɜf ˁj-n-ms*] *r.rɜf* and translated "[... It happened that there came (?) a priest greater in age] than he" (GRIFFITH 1900: 90-91). G. Vittmann, in TLA, reconstructs the verb *nw* in the beginning of the sentence and considers *r.rɜf* as its prepositional object, and not a comparative: [*nw wˁ wˁb iwɜf ˁj-n-⸢ms¹*] *r.rɜf* "An old priest saw him" (http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/GetCtxt?u=guest&f=0&l=0&tc=388&db=1&ws=483&mv=4 [last accessed on 04/27/2017]). The difference between these interpretations would be the age of the priest. Griffith's reconstruction implies that the priest was more aged that Naneferkaptah, but it does not need to imply that he was very old. The second interpretation indicates that the priest is old and this appears as his distinctive characteristic. I prefer to follow Vittmann's reconstruction (this is also the translation in RITNER 2003c: 456 and in HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 139 and 344, with credit to Vittmann in note *h*).

[326] The old priest tells Naneferkaptah that he is wasting his time reading *hjn.w sḫ.w iw mn-mtw* [... ⸢*ḥw*¹] "some writings that have no [value(?) ...] (*Setne I* 3.11-12). I follow here Vittmann's reconstruction of *ḥw* in the lacuna (TLA: http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/GetCtxt?u=guest&f=0&l=0&tc=388&db=1&ws=564&mv=4 [last accessed on 04/21/2017]), but I remain more conservative concerning the rest of his reconstruction. Both RITNER 2003c: 456 and HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 139 interpret *ḥw* as missing in the lacuna, although the latter indicate its tentative character with a question mark.

[327] On the restrictions of access to knowledge in ancient Egypt, cf. BAINES 1990.

[328] JASNOW 2001: 63 footnote 8, and 75 footnote 86.

(and postponing) the revelation of information essential to the development of the narrative. Both Si-Osiris and the old priest are characters of exceptional nature. Si-Osiris is able to move between the world of the living and the world of the dead, knowing how to access the netherworld in the necropolis of Memphis. The old priest is indeed a much more enigmatic character, since his identity is never clarified, together with the origin of his knowledge. His sudden appearance in a sacred space such as the temple, and his knowledge of what exists in the necropolis places him in close relation to Si-Osiris' character, and is perhaps a clue to his possible otherworldly nature. Returning to the narrative, in order to reveal this knowledge (the location of the book of Thoth), the old priest requires a payment of a hundred pieces of silver for his burial and that his two brothers to be made priests without fee. The demand of payment in exchange for the revelation of secret knowledge is something that we have encountered already in the *Story of Peteisis* (P. Petese Tebtunis A 3.12-13), where Peteisis offers either the provision or the interpretation of books in order to increase the prestige of the library of the temple in exchange for 500 pieces of silver for his burial. The reward for the revelation of or practice based on secret knowledge is present already in P. Westcar, in which Djedi is rewarded for his performance of several magical feats and for his revelation of the location of the shrines of the enclosure of Thoth. He is allowed to live in the house of prince Hordedef, another of the traditional sages of ancient Egypt, and given very generous rations (P. Westcar 9.19-21). Djedi, however, does not ask for anything in exchange, unlike the old priest in *Setne I* or Peteisis. The second part of his demand, the priesthood for his two brothers without fee, also appears in the frame story of *Ankhsheshonqy*, in which Harsiesis' brothers (or children, depending on the version) given this privilege when he becomes chief physician (*Ankhsheshonqy* 1.x+14). In *Eine neue demotische Erzählung* the young priest supports his claim to Pharaoh to the income of the

two positions that he holds as priest of Amun-Re and Harsaphes by mentioning that he wrote mortuary texts for the previous Pharaoh[329]. Thus, he is justifying his claim of money on the basis of his possession of special textual knowledge. In P. CtYBR 422, Peteisis is rewarded for interpreting a manuscript written by Imhotep for king Nechepsos[330]. The final question concerning the old priest in *Setne I* is who he actually is. No affiliation to a particular temple or god is mentioned in the text, and his description as old together with his request of money for his burial and his access to secret knowledge place him in the same category as old sages such as Djedi or Peteisis. As I have already mentioned, the enigmatic character of his appearance might indicate that he is not an entity of this world, but the story is probably intentionally ambiguous in this sense.

4.4. Si-Osiris

Moving on to *Setne II*, the next important character that displays priestly traits is Si-Osiris/Horus son of Paneshe. At the end of the story an effective twist in the plot reveals that Si-Osiris, the exceptional son of Setne, is actually the magician Horus son of Paneshe, who had returned to earth in order to save Egypt from the attack of the Nubian sorcerer Horus son of the Nubian woman. Both characters, nevertheless, have their own distinctive traits, and it is worth looking at them individually.

Si-Osiris is described as an exceptional being from his conception. Despite the fragmentary character of the beginning of the story, it is possible to infer from it that Setne's wife Mehweskhe was having problems becoming pregnant (thus the need of a *phre* "remedy," *Setne II* 1.1), and

[329] RYHOLT 2011: 63.
[330] ERICHSEN 1956: 49-81; RYHOLT 2005b: 13.

receives instructions in a dream. These involve taking different parts of a plant, grinding them, and mixing them with water in order to prepare a potion[331]. She then has to have intercourse with Setne that night, and she will get pregnant. This episode is clarified at the end of the story once Si-Osiris reveals that he is Horus son of Paneshe, who had requested Osiris to return to earth in order to fight Horus son of the Nubia woman[332]. This explains the name of the child, "son of Osiris," which is revealed to Setne in a dream shortly after Mehweskhe gets pregnant, together with the wonders he will perform in his life (*Setne II* 1.6-8)[333]. The reason for Horus son of Paneshe's return is that at the time of Setne there was no magician good enough to defeat the Nubian sorcerer, which plays on the idea that magicians of the past had been more powerful[334].

The description of Si-Osiris' childhood is an example of the upbringing of a child prodigy. Demotic literature offers a series of examples of the description of the education of

[331] The plant, *bꜥe(.t) n šw*, has been identified with a melon vine (GRIFFITH 1900: 142-143; RITNER 2003d: 472) and with a persea seedling (HOFFMANN 1992/1993: 11-12; HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 119; AGUT-LABORDÈRE and CHAUVEAU 2011: 64). Although F. Hoffmann accepted the translation of *bꜥe(.t)* as "tree" in his reinterpretation of the meaning of the plant (HOFFMANN 1992/1993: 11), he later reconsidered how the plant is used in the text (being taken whole with the roots), and proposed that if it is a persea tree, it must have been a young one, or perhaps, if it is not to be interpreted as a persea tree, *bꜥe(.t)* should be understood as bush (HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 340 note *e*). Against the interpretation of "persea tree" due to the mention of the roots (*nnj.w*), cf. QUACK 1999b: 45.

[332] The passage that explains how Horus son of Paneshe came back to life is quite interesting and poses some interpretation problems. When Horus son of Paneshe's return to earth is commanded, he says: *nhs≠j* "I awoke" (*Setne II* 7.2). The verb *nhs* in Demotic has the general meaning "to awaken, to rise up" (ERICHSEN 1954: 222; CDD_N (04:1): 100), but also the specialized meaning "to awaken" the dead, already present in early stages of the language (*nhsj, Wb*. 2, 287.4). The translation of the following sentence, *w3ḥ≠j r swḥ.t-ḏ3ḏ3*, has been object of debate. Griffith translated it as "I flew to the crown of the head," suggesting the meaning "I flew right up" (GRIFFITH 1900: 204-205). Ritner translates "I settled in a skull," and gives parallels in Coptic both for the idea of a soul setting in a part of the body of another individual, and for *swḥ.t-ḏ3ḏ3*, "egg of the head" for "skull" (RITNER 2003d: 488 footnote 44). Hoffmann and Quack, however, translate "(ich) begab(?) mich(?) nach(?) oben(?)," against Ritner (HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 136 and 343 note *bz*). This is basically Griffith's suggestion, which they do not reference. The text continues saying that Horus son of Paneshe tried to find Setne *ḥr t3 ḫ3s.t n iwnw t3 ḫ3s.t n mn-nfr* "upon the necropolis of Heliopolis, the necropolis of Memphis" (*Setne II* 7.2). The connection between both places has been interpreted as an implicit disjunction generally, except in the case of Ritner, who proposes that Horus son of Paneshe might have occupied a skull in two necropoleis (RITNER 2003d: 488 footnote 44). He then grew up as the plant mentioned in the beginning (either a melon vine or a persea tree, cf. footnote 331), and entered in Mehweskhe's body through her ingestion of the plant. In the *Tale of the Two Brothers*, Bata takes the shape of two persea trees, and when the Lady commands them to be cut down, she swallows a splinter and becomes pregnant (cf. HOFFMANN 1992: 11).

[333] The reconstruction of the beginning of line 8 following *n3-ꜥš3* at the end of line 7 as "numerous [are the marvels that he shall do in the land of Egypt]" was proposed by Griffith in translation (GRIFFITH 1900: 145) and it has been generally accepted.

[334] Cf. chapter 5, section 3.

children. I have already examined above that of the child of the prophet of Horus of Pe in Buto in one of the short stories included in the *Story of Peteisis* (P. Petese Tebtunis 8.4-30), which K. Ryholt has labeled as the story of a doomed child prodigy. However, the prodigious character of the child is not clear from the text[335]. The upbringing of Ankhsheshonqy and Harsiesis is described in the beginning of the frame story of the *Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*, and in this case Harsiesis exceptional prowess in the field of medicine is emphasized in the description of his accession to the House of Physicians (*Ankhsheshonqy* 1.x+6-x+12)[336]. In *Setne I,* the infancy of Merib is portrayed in one sentence the meaning of which has been taken to be either that he was inscribed in a birth registry, or that he was taught to write letters in the House of Life[337]. In the case of Si-Osiris it is clearly stated that he was superior to the children of his age both physically and intellectually. He is described as looking twice as old as he actually was (*Setne II* 1.10)[338] and, having been sent to school, as quickly surpassing his teacher. He seems to have joined then the scribes of the House of Life[339], reciting writings with them, and leaving everyone in awe at his proficiency (*Setne II* 1.11-13). After the Netherworld episode, Si-Osiris is described as a twelve year old boy who, however, has already surpassed every scholar and magician in Memphis in the recitation of spells for protection (*Setne II* 2.27). This point is relevant, since the

[335] Cf. section in this chapter 2.2.
[336] F. Hoffmann has noted the similarity between these both episodes, correcting the reading of *ḥr* to *wꜣḥ* in *Setne II* 1.13, and interpreting that Setne wanted to bring Si-Osiris to the festival of Pharaoh so that he could answer to all his questions, in a very similar phrase as that used in *Ankhsheshonqy* 1.x+9) when Harsiesis is taken to the House of the Physicians (HOFFMANN 1992/1993: 12).
[337] Cf. RITNER 2003c: 455 footnote 5.
[338] For the re-reading of number 3 as 4, cf. QUACK 1999b: 45-46. This interpretation is incorporated to the translation in HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 120, and by G. Vittmann in the TLA (http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/GetCtxt?u=guest&f=0&l=0&tc=381&db=1&ws=313&mv=4 [last accessed on 04/29/2017]), but not in RITNER 2003d: 472.
[339] Line 12 ends with *pr-ꜥnḫ ḫn*, and the lacuna in the beginning of 13 would have specified the location of the House of Life. Griffith proposed in his translation, following the location in which the story takes place, "the temple of Ptah (?)" (GRIFFITH 1900: 147). Both RITNER (2003d: 472) and Vittmann in the TLA follow Griffith, although Ritner does not include a question mark in his translation. HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 120) are more cautious in assigning the House of Life to a particular temple, and just reconstruct "Memphis (?)" in the lacuna.

verb used is *ꜥš* "to recite, to read"[340], which brings back the issue of the actual knowledge of spells from memory, or their recitation from a book.

Returning to the description of Si-Osiris' childhood, a jug with a school exercise preserves a different narrative of the childhood of Si-Osiris (Jug B 1-9)[341]. The name of Si-Osiris does not actually appear in the text, but the name of the mother is Mehweskhe, as in *Setne II*. This text is intriguing, since instead of the clear description of the child's exceptional characteristics in *Setne II*, it contains a series puzzling statements, such as *gmꜣf ꜥnꜣf m-šs* "He found that he was beautiful/pleasant" (Jug B 7), which contrasts with the evaluation of Harsiesis in the frame story of the *Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*: [*gm pꜣ wr-swnw pꜣ ḫpr* [*iw ... rmṯ-*]*rḫ pꜣj* "The chief physician recognized the fact that he was a knowledgeable man" (*Ankhsheshonqy* 1.x+9). In the case of Harsiesis his intellectual abilities are being highlighted, while in the case of Jug B it is not clear what characteristic of, presumably, the child, is being refered to. In the following section Mehweskhe asks the school teacher *in-nꜣ.w pꜣj*(*ꜣj*) *šrj lḫ* "Is my son dumb?" (Jug B 7), which is followed by a description of beating limbs while the speaker (presumably the teacher) was writing, probably explaining that he also had to be beaten while he was in school in order to be encouraged to learn. *Setne II* and Jug B show thus two very different versions of the childhood of Si-Osiris, and the latter does not display any particular elements in order to highlight the child's exceptional qualities. However, since Jug B is a school exercise, it is possible that it used the known character of Si-Osiris, whose status as child prodigy would have been widely known, in order to show that beating in order to encourage the learning process was something that even the best students, such as Si-Osiris, had to go through, thus, as J. F. Quack

[340] ERICHSEN 1954: 71.
[341] SPIEGELBERG 1912: 18-19, 52, and plates 5-6. Translation in RITNER 2003e: 490-491.

has pointed out, giving solace to less brilliant students[342]. This popularity would have made the mention of Si-Osiris' qualities unnecessary, and this intertextuality points once more to a common scribal literary culture.

The exceptional character of Si-Osiris, foreshadowing the final revelation of his identity as Horus son of Paneshe *redivivus*, is further confirmed both by the child's actions and by his demeanor. The two main sections of the narrative revolve around two special abilities of Si-Osiris: first, he is able to go into the Netherworld and come back, and more importantly, he can do it taking a living person with him; and second, he can read from a book roll that has not been opened. In the first episode, Si-Osiris is presented as a very enigmatic character. It starts with Setne and Si-Osiris witnessing the funerary procession of a rich man being taken to the necropolis, and after it the corpse of a poor man being carried out of the city without any pomp. Although the passage is very damaged, the remaining fragments and the text in column 2 allow a reconstruction in which Si-Osiris wishes for Setne the fate of the poor man, and seeing his distress, Si-Osiris takes him to the Netherworld to see the fate of both the poor and the rich man. Si-Osiris is portrayed as being able to know the fate of the deceased individuals, which is something that we saw already in the case with the ghost with whom Peteisis talks in the beginning of the *Story of Peteisis*, who knows how many days Peteisis has left to live (P. Petese Tebtunis A 2.1-24). A similar situation occurs in the cases in which characters who were dead are temporarily resuscitated, such as in the beginning of the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros*, when the scribe of the divine book is brought back to life by the scribe of the House of Life, or in the case of Ihweret and Merib when Naneferkaptah brings them back to the boat. In all three cases they have special insight into the circumstances of their death, surpassing what they would have known from their personal experience. In the case of the scribe of the divine book the contents of

[342] QUACK 2009a: 47.

his explanation are badly preserved, so it is only possible to know that he talks about the meeting of the gods and his death in the hands of Anubis, but not the details (P. Carlsberg 456 3.1-3.12; P. Krall 1.28-2.2)[343]. Merib's speech is more illuminating, since apart from the circumstances of his death, he also tells that the cause of it was Thoth's complaint before Re, information to which he would not have had access as a living person[344]. Thus, returning to Si-Osiris, he is represented displaying abilities that are granted only to the dead, giving a hint as to his real nature[345].

One of the most interesting aspects of Si-Osiris is his way of interacting with Setne during the Netherworld episode. As a response to Setne's comment on the status of the rich and the old man, Si-Osiris makes a statement about Setne's fate, using language that is intentionally vague. Setne misinterprets the meaning of Si-Osiris' words, and Si-Osiris then proceeds to take him to the Netherworld. During this journey, Si-Osiris explains in detail to Setne not only the fates of the rich and the old man, but also those of other individuals who are represented as suffering different punishments. However, once they leave the Netherworld, Setne remarks that the place from which they are exiting is different from that through which they accessed the Netherworld. The text says then that: *bn-pw sꜣ*-[*wsir*] [*w*]*šb n stne n md.t n pꜣ tꜣ* "Si-Osiris did not answer to Setne anything at all" (*Setne II* 2.25). It is only during their visit to the Netherworld that Si-Osiris seems to be able to break his secrecy and openly give explanations to Setne. The knowledge that Si-Osiris gives to Setne belongs to the Afterlife, and it is therefore transmitted only in the context of the Netherworld. The fact that the information that Si-Osiris gives Setne in the Netherworld is different from that which he had given him before is

[343] Parallel edition of P. Carlsberg 456 and P. Krall in RYHOLT 1998b: 159-161 for the transliteration, 165-166 for the translation.

[344] *twꜥf sḏjꜥf i.ir-ḥrꜥf n md*(*.t*) *nb* (*i.*)*ir ḫpr n.imꜥf ḏrꜥw irm pꜣ gj n smj r-ir ḏḥwtj m-bꜣḥ pꜣ-rꜥ* "He caused that he told before him everything that had happened to him and the nature of the complaint that Thoth had made before Re" (*Setne I* 4.10).

[345] O. D. Berlev has noted that "The Pharaoh's grandson retains the peculiar perception of the Blessed, combining it with that of the living" (BERLEV 1998:774).

highlighted by Si-Osiris' repetition of his first sentence concerning the rich and the old man punctuating that he had said it "on earth" (*ḥr pȝ tȝ*, *Setne II* 2.14). This barrier can be trespassed through the practice of incubation, since the dream is a liminal space that allows communication between the living and the dead, together with the gods, and the use of magic in the case of the practice of necromancy[346]. Despite its fragmentary state, the beginning of the frame narrative in the *Story of Peteisis* gives some more hints on the secret character of the information that belongs to the Netherworld, in the ghost's refusal to tell Peteisis about his fate. The ghost seems to imply that he is not able to reveal that information, and the context of this revelation is placed "before pharaoh Osiris-Wennefer"[347]. The information is labeled as *md.t ỉwꜥs ḥp r-bnr* "a matter that is hidden" (P. Petese Tebtunis A 2.18), and Osiris is later mentioned again, presumably as the one who reveals it to every ghost (P. Petese Tebtunis A 2.19-20). It might be possible to connect this passage with that of Si-Osiris and Setne's visit to the Netherworld, where the revelation of the information is made before Osiris. The secret character of the knowledge that Si-Osiris has imparted on Setne is further reinforced by Setne's reaction after the episode: *ỉw nȝ md.wt n rnꜥw ȝtp* [...]*ꜥf n pȝ m-šs ỉw bn-pwꜥf rḫ wn r rmṯ* [*nb n pȝ tȝ*] "The aforementioned things weighed [...] him[348] greatly, because he was not able to reveal (them) to anyone [on earth]" (*Setne II* 2.26-27). Thus, he feels burdened by the weight of the revelations that he has experienced, being aware that he cannot share this knowledge with anyone else on earth.

The intentional silence of Si-Osiris in connection with Setne's question once they have left the Netherworld is also a significant element of his portrayal in the narrative. In the Roman period, the combination of childhood, extraordinary (divine) abilities, and silence, would

[346] Cf. the analysis of the scribe of the House of Life from the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros*, *supra*. For a definition of necromancy in ancient Egypt, cf. RITNER 2002.

[347] *pȝj-dj.t-ỉs.t sȝ pȝ-dj.t-ỉtm bn ỉwꜥj rḫ ḏdꜥs n sḫ-*[*nfr ...*] *m-bȝḥ pr-ꜥȝ wsir wn-nfr* "Peteisis, son of Petetum, I am not able to say it to a [good(?)] scribe [...] before pharaoh Osiris Wennefer" (P. Petese Tebtunis A 2.13-14).

[348] HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 123) reconstruct "sein(?) Herz(?)" in the lacuna. RITNER (2003d: 476) reconstructs "upon."

probably have elicited the image of Harpocrates in the mind of the readers of *Setne II*. Ph. Matthey has studied the sign of Harpocrates and its connection to silence throughout history[349]. He concludes that this association is only attested for the first time in Varro, in the 1st century BCE, and it did not exist in Pharaonic Egypt. However, its attestation in the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri (albeit only once, *PGM* IV, 556-561) seems to indicate that this association had been incorporated into the characteristics of Harpocrates also in the Egyptian religious sphere at least in the Roman period[350]. This association of Si-Osiris with Harpocrates also connects with the concept of divine child[351], which has already been mentioned in the context of the young priest of Horus of Pe in Buto of the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros.* There I mentioned the connection that M. Stadler makes between the supposedly prophetic child of P. Wien D. 12006 recto and Harpocrates[352]. Divine children have also been associated with prophetic children, such as the mysterious child of P. Dodgson, whom C. Martin identifies with a deceased individual due to his identification as "the Osiris" before his personal name[353]. In his analysis of this child, Martin lists references in Classical authors such as Plutarch indicating that the Egyptians considered that children had the power of divination[354], and mentions the role of children in the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri as media for divination. He suggests that the attribution of this prophetic character to children might be due to their purity. In the case of deceased children because premature death may therefore be connected to a special status of the deceased in the

[349] MATTHEY 2011.
[350] "Manifestement, le motif littéraire du signe d'Harpocrate était bien connu des prêtres de tradition égyptienne qui ont mis par écrit cette formule dans le courant du IVe s. apr. J.-C." (MATTHEY 2011: 548).
[351] For a detailed analysis of different aspects of the concept of divine child, cf. VERHOEVEN 2002; BUDDE, SANDRI and VERHOEVEN 2003; BUDDE 2011.
[352] For the problems of the translation of *ꜥl* as "(divine) child," cf. footnotes 55 and 56.
[353] On P. Dodgson cf. the translation by C. Martin in MARTIN 1996. For an analysis of the mysterious child, cf. MARTIN 1994.
[354] "the Egyptians believe that children have the power of divination, and they take omens especially from children's shouts as they play near the temples and say whatever occurs to them" (*De Iside et Osiride*, chapter 14; translation in GRIFFITHS 1970: 140-141). C. Martin also cites Aelian and Xenophon of Ephesus (MARTIN 1994: 206).

afterlife[355]. However, we have already seen that ghosts of deceased adults also appear to have prophetic powers. The element that all these characters have in common is in fact their liminality. The ghosts are entities that move between the world of the living and that of the dead, and children are creatures that are between birth and adulthood. Dead children would then be the epitome of liminality, and by adopting the shape of a child, Si-Osiris fully embodies this image. This is further reinforced by his intentional silence, which connects him to Harpocrates, the divine child *par excellence*.

The journey to the Netherworld itself is the clearest proof of Si-Osiris' exceptional character, and the one that hints best at his real nature. Not only has he been able to come back to earth in order to save Egypt, but he seems to have the capacity to reenter and leave the Netherworld at least one more time, and to take a living person with him and return him to earth safely. In connection with this, it is interesting to note that in *Setne I*, the second spell of the book of Thoth gives the magician the power to be in the Netherworld: *iw=k ꜥš pꜣ hp mḥ-2 iw=f* (*r*) *ḫpr iw=k ḫn imnṯ iw=k n pꜣj=k gj ḥr pꜣ tꜣ ꜥn* "If you read the second formula, it will happen that you are in the Netherworld, while you are again in your form on earth" (*Setne II* 3.14)[356]. This seems

[355] The idea of "premature death" was referred to in the expression *ḫm ꜥḥꜥ*, which occurs in mummy labels (MARTIN 1994: 207). For the expression, cf. CHAUVEAU 1990: 5-6.

[356] The interpretation of the grammar of this sentence is problematic, and has lead to different understandings of what the formula is meant to do. Following HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 140) and Vittmann in TLA (http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/GetCtxt?u=guest&f=0&l=0&tc=388&db=1&ws=564&m
v=4 [last accessed on 05/05/2017]), I understand *iw=f ḫpr* as a future in which the preposition *r* has been omitted, as apodosis of *iw=f ꜥš*. The next two clauses have to be understood taking the adverb *ꜥn* in consideration (cf. HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 344 note *j* on the problem in Lichtheim's translation, which ignores this adverb). Hoffmann and Quack translate this passage as "Wenn du den zweiten Spruch rezitierst, wird es geschehen, daß du in der Unterwelt bist, indem du wieder in deiner Art auf der Erde bist" and Vittmann follows this interpretation but translates *ꜥn* as "wiederhin" instead. The understanding of the text appears to be that the magician would be both in the Underworld and on earth in his own form (i.e. alive) at the same time. A problem for this interpretation is the emendation of the preposition *r*, which is consistently written in the text (JOHNSON 1976: 100). Other scholars, however, such as LICHTHEIM (1980: 128-129), RITNER (2003c: 456), and AGUT-LABORDÈRE and AGUT-LABORDÈRE and CHAUVEAU (2011: 23), have interpreted *iw=f ḫpr* as the conditional and understood this passage as a second protasis, followed by *iw=f r nw pꜣ rꜥ* "you will se Re" as the apodosis. This interpretation considers the fact of being in the Netherworld or on earth as two circumstances under the following apodosis will be true. In favor of this interpretation, when the contents of the formulae are repeated as Naneferkaptah reads them, the two clauses after *iw=f ḫpr* are not mentioned.

to suggest that through magic that belongs to the divine sphere, a living person can access the Netherworld without dying. Tales like the *Story of Merire* (P. Vandier) show that the return to earth after accessing the Netherworld was not something granted to everyone[357], and Si-Osiris is definitely an exception here. His return has as its goal the protection of the order of Egypt against her enemies, so it is inserted in a cosmological scheme. Another interesting element with respect to this visit is Si-Osiris' knowledge of the topography of the Netherworld, a feature that appears in funerary literature already in the Pyramid Texts, and specially in the *Book of the Two Ways* of the Middle Kingdom, which showcases the first graphic representation of the Netherworld, something that will become common and more detailed in the New Kingdom Books of the Afterlife[358]. In his last explanation to Setne, Si-Osiris declares that what Setne has seen in the Netherworld (*dw3.t*) of Memphis also happens in the other 42 nomes, and mentions specifically Abydos as an example (*Setne II* 2.22-23). This seems to imply a division of the Netherworld in regions that parallels that of Egypt itself, with an understanding that entrances to it would be located in each necropolis. M. Smith has written that the description of the different chambers that Setne and Si-Osiris visit in their journey makes the Netherworld in *Setne II* resemble a temple, and he mentions a shroud in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts that depicts the entrance to the Netherworld as a temple entrance[359]. Thus, each city temple would be a reproduction of the actual structure of the Netherworld of that region.

Ritner understands those two clauses as an indication that the formula is meant to be used by the living and by the dead (RITNER 1993: 63).

[357] For P. Vandier, cf. section 5 in this chapter.

[358] For a concise description of this literature, cf. HORNUNG 1999.

[359] SMITH 2009: 3. Briefly on the location and topography of the Netherworld, cf. SMITH 2009: 2-3. For the shroud, I believe that Smith is talking about Pushkin Museum 4229/I 1a 5749. For a good b/w image of it, cf. BUDDE 2011: plate 10.

The second episode that demonstrates Si-Osiris' exceptional character is that in which he reads from a closed and sealed book, in response to the challenge of the Nubian sorcerer. He actually performs this feat twice, first in Setne's house to prove that he can do it, and for the second time in the royal court. In his introduction to Demotic literature, J. F. Quack directs our attention to two interesting references in connection with this passage[360]. The first one is a reference to P. Louvre E 3229 6.25-7.14, a magical formula the goal of which Quack interprets to be reading a book which is closed[361]. The second reference is to a book review by O. D. Berlev, in which he refers to Si-Osiris' ability as deriving from his status as Blessed Dead[362]. According to him, reading from a closed book without opening it is a routine performed by the dead, who are able to access this way their funerary texts, be it on papyrus, or on the walls of their tombs. He takes this interpretation all the way back to the Old Kingdom, and hypothesizes that since reading for the dead is not something based on seeing, it must be based on hearing the signs speak to them. However, considering the content of the two formulas of the book of Thoth in *Setne I*, this last explanation might be unnecessary, since through his special status, Si-Osiris would have special insight into not only the future, but also into hidden things, such as a closed text.

4.5. Horus son of Paneshe

The exceptional character of Si-Osiris can be explained not just because of his acquired abilities as a deceased person, but also because of who he was during his original lifetime. Horus son of Paneshe, the real identity of Si-Osiris, was a magician that lived, according to *Setne II*, 1500 years before the time of Setne. In his case, his identity as a priest and magician is made clear

[360] QUACK 2009a: 43 footnote 75.
[361] The passage is 6.25-26: *r n ˁš šˁj.t iwꜥs iˁ*, which J. Johnson translates as "A spell for reciting a document which is ..." (JOHNSON 1977: 73). Quack, however, does not indicate his reading for the problematic word that Johnson transliterates as *iˁ*.
[362] He suggests that this is the reason why the later *Pyramid Texts* and *Coffin Texts* have the phrase *ḏd-mdw* in the beginning of every column. BERLEV 1998: 774-775.

from his first appearance. He is described as a *ḥr-tb* "chief lector priest" (*Setne II* 5.3), the common designation for "magician" in ancient Egypt[363]. He is also designated as *ḥr-tb n pr-ꜥ* "chief lector priest of Pharaoh" (*Setne II* 5.10-11), which can be interpreted as "court magician"[364]. This indicates that Horus son of Paneshe's location was normally next to Pharaoh in the royal court[365]. Another epithet that he receives the first time he is mentioned is *rmṯ-rḫ n-pꜣ-m-šs* "a very wise man" (*Setne II* 5.3), which is used with priestly characters in Demotic literature more often than priestly titles themselves. After the revelation of Si-Osiris' identity as Horus son of Paneshe at the end of the story, and his disappearance, Pharaoh and his great men proclaim the prowess of Horus son of Paneshe indicating that he is the best "good scribe and wise man" of all times: *mn sḫ nfr rmṯ rḫ m-ḳdj ḥr sꜣ pꜣ-nše* "There is no good scribe or wise man like Horus son of Paneshe" (*Setne II* 7.6-7). The fact that he, in particular, had to come back from the dead in order to defeat the Nubian sorcerer is sufficient proof of his excellence.

Horus son of Paneshe seems to have been a character that had his own cycle of narratives, of which a hint is given during the contest with the Nubian sorcerer, where an allusion to previous adventures is made (*Setne II* 6.9). The identification of Horus son of Paneshe with a character called Horus Pwenesh that appears in an Aramaic papyrus from the Persian period seems to be certain[366].

---

[363] Cf. RITNER 1993: 220-222. On the term *ḥrj-tp* and the correctness of the translation "chief lector priest" for *ḫrj-ḥb*(*.t*) *ḥrj-tp* cf. QUAEGEBEUR 1987.

[364] Designation used by Quack: "Hofmagier" (QUACK 2009a: 44).

[365] The first appearance of Horus son of Paneshe is not absolutely clear (*Setne II* 5.3-5). The passage contains a series of 3rd person singular masculine pronouns that make the identification of where the action is taking place and who is going where quite ambiguous. GRIFFITH (1900: 182-183) and RITNER (2003d: 482) leave the situation within this ambiguity. HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 130) indicate in a series of footnotes who they think these pronouns refer to, and consider that it is Pharaoh the one who goes to see Horus first, and tells him to come to court, with the exclamation "Hurry to me!" and Horus' action of bringing his scrolls and amulets. AGUT-LABORDÈRE and CHAUVEAU (2011: 56) interprets that it is Horus the one who goes to see Pharaoh and that Pharaoh is telling him to hurry to go back to him after gathering his things. In any case, the identity of Horus as court magician would place his living quarters probably within the palace.

[366] On the contacts between Egyptian and Aramaic literature, cf. QUACK 2011b. For the presence of Horus son of Paneshe as Hor bar Punesh in P. CVI AB, also known as "The Bar Punesh Papyrus," cf. PORTEN 2004.

Horus son of Paneshe makes during the narrative a display of his magical prowess that matches his reputation. In his first appearance, after seeing Pharaoh, he immediately identifies the kind of magic that is affecting him ([*ḥ*]*jḳ.w n nꜣ iǵš*[*.w nꜣ.w*] "[These] are [s]orceries of the Nubian[s]," *Setne II* 5.4). As in the case with other magicians, Horus son of Paneshe, despite his exceptional knowledge of magic, needs the recourse to his books and his amulets in order to protect Pharaoh. He does so through the recitation of a spell and the binding of an amulet to Pharaoh. After receiving instructions from Thoth, he makes a more powerful protection for Pharaoh: *irꜥf nꜥf sꜣ n nꜣ ḥjḳ n nꜣ sḫ* "He made for him protection/an amulet of the magic of the writings" (*Setne II* 5.15)[367]. It is interesting to observe that the magical acts that Horus son of Paneshe performs throughout the story go in parallel, and in response, to those of the same kind done by the Nubian sorcerer. In the same way as the Nubian sorcerer had created a litter and four footmen of wax in order to carry Pharaoh to Nubia to be beaten up, and had insufflated life into them by giving them "the breath of maltreatment" (*ṯꜣw n hblꜥ*[368], *Setne II* 4.16, and 5.20), Horus son of Paneshe creates a litter and four footmen and does the same to the chieftain of Nubia. In the magical contest, the Nubian sorcerer is also the one who starts the attacks, which are always repelled by Horus son of Paneshe, proving the superiority of Egyptian magic, despite its similar procedural character. The same dynamic appears in the *Life of Imhotep* (P. Carlsberg 85), in

[367] Although it is clear that Horus son of Paneshe is making some kind of amuletic protection from the Book of Magic for Pharaoh, the exact translation of the sentence is not clear. GRIFFITH (1900: 186-187) was confused as well by the grammar of the sentence and translated "He made for him amulet against sorceries in writing (?)." RITNER (2003d: 483) translates "He made amuletic protection for him against the sorceries by the writings." HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 131) interpret the sentence as "Er machte für ihn Schutz mit den Zaubern der Schriften." Finally, AGUT-LABORDÈRE and CHAUVEAU (2011: 57) translate "il lui fit une protection avec les charmes des écrits (du *Livre*)." In a note to his translation, Ritner refers to his analysis of magic for *sꜣ* "amulet/protection" (RITNER 1993: 49-51).

[368] For this expression, cf. QUACK 1994: 70-71.

which Imhotep fights an Assyrian sorceress, responding to her magical attacks, but never being the one initiating the fight[369].

Apart from purely magical acts, Horus son of Paneshe is also depicted as a ritualist. After Horus son of Paneshe discovers the kind of magic that has attacked Pharaoh, the description of an episode in which he travels to Hermopolis to consult with the god Thoth follows (*Setne II* 5.6-15). The narrative starts with the preparation of burnt offerings and libations to take with him in order to propitiate the god before invoking him. In other narratives, such as Naneferkaptah's journey to Coptos and Setne's trip to Abydos, they also make offerings to the local gods before doing what they have gone to do in those places. It is interesting to see that only Horus son of Paneshe seems to prepare these offerings and take them with him in advance. This might be due to the fact that, in his case, the offerings are part of the specific ritual in order to invoke the god. The invocation that he recites is similar to the pleas to Thoth and other deities, which seek protection from, normally, problems with other living people, but also against demonic forces[370]. It first calls for the attention of the god[371], and then presents the problem and the cause of it, asking, in this case, not for protection directly from the god, but about the method to defeat the Nubian magic. After this invocation, Horus performs an incubation in the temple in order to have the god Thoth reveal to him in a dream the requested information. The process is described in detail, indicating that Horus lay down in the temple and fell asleep, seeing himself in a dream

[369] On the unpublished text of the *Life of Imhotep*, cf. RYHOLT 2009b.
[370] An example of a plea to Thoth for protection against a demon was published by G. R. Hughes, cf. HUGHES 1968.
[371] On "Thoth the five/eight times great", cf. RITNER 1981a and RITNER 1981b. In his translation of the text, Ritner has opted for "the [eight times] great" (RITNER 2003d: 482) following Griffith's original reconstruction (GRIFFITH 1900: 184-185). HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 131 and 342 note *bc*, citing Ritner's 1981a and 1981b articles) translate "dem [Fünf]malgrößten," and AGUT-LABORDÈRE and CHAUVEAU (2011: 56) follow Griffith and Ritner and read "huit fois grand." It is relevant to note that Ritner does not make a decision in his article on how the epithet should be read in *Setne II*: "it would seem that the epithet given to Thoth in Setne Khamuas II, *however restored*, is but one further example (and perhaps the most elaborate) in the series of exalted titles which the god received, and from which thrice-greatest was selected for a Greek audience as 'Trismegistos.'" (RITNER 1981b: 67. The italics are mine).

and hearing from Thoth himself[372] the instructions that he needs to follow. Once he wakes up, Horus son of Paneshe recognizes the dream as a divine revelation: *gm=f pꜣ ḫpre md.t nṯr nꜣj* "He discovered the fact that they were divine things" (*Setne II* 5.15).

The instructions that Thoth gives to Horus son of Paneshe in the dream link this passage with the aforementioned bibliophilic culture of the Egyptian priestly class. Thoth directs him to go to the library (*pr-mḏj*, *Setne II* 5.11) of the temple of Hermopolis, in which he will find a *ḳnḥ.t* that is locked and sealed. This word has been understood as "chamber" or "shrine"[373], and the description brings to mind the small shrine-like library of the temple of Edfu[374]. In it, Horus son of Paneshe will find a chest (*tbe.t*) with a book inside. This is the Book of Magic, which Horus son of Paneshe has to copy; he must then return the original back in its place of keeping. The idea of the book kept in a chest derives from actual book-keeping in ancient Egypt[375], but it became also an image for secret knowledge that appears in other literary narratives, such as *Setne I*, in which the book of Thoth is kept in a series of nested boxes protected by Thoth's guardians, and it is also mentioned in Plutarch[376], and even in Pseudo-Demokritos' *Physica and Mystika*[377]. Thoth's instructions, however, stand as a clear contrast to the way Naneferkaptah obtains the book of Thoth in *Setne I*. Not only is Horus son of Paneshe authorized by Thoth to access his book, but he also proceeds in the correct way and does not take the original book from the place it belongs to, as Naneferkaptah does, but makes a copy of it.

---

[372] *pꜣ sšṯ n pꜣ nṯr-ꜥꜣ ḏḥwtj* "the form of the great god Thoth" (*Setne II* 5.10). On *sštꜣ* "secret image," cf. SMITH 1980, and SMITH 1984 specifically for the instance in *Setne II*.

[373] ERICHSEN 1954: 541; WESTENDORF 1977: 66.

[374] For the translation of the texts on the walls of the library of Edfu, cf. KURTH 1994: 140-147.

[375] Cf. i.e. the find of the Ramesseum Papyri. For a description of the box with the papyri, cf. PARKINSON 2009: 141-142.

[376] Referring to the Bearers of the Sacred Vessels and the Keepers of the Sacred Vestments: οὗτοι δ᾽ εἰσὶν οἱ τὸν ἱερὸν λόγον περὶ θεῶν πάσης καθαρεύοντα δεισιδαιμονίας καὶ περιεργίας ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ φέροντες ὥσπερ ἐν κίστῃ "These are they who carry in their soul, as in a box, the sacred lore about the gods which is pure of all superstition and vain curiosity" (*De Iside et Osiride*, ch. 3; edition and translation by GRIFFITHS 1970: 120-121). The soul that keeps sacred knowledge is here paralleled to a box.

[377] For Pseudo-Demokritos, cf. chapter 3, section 3.2.2.1.

The Setne narratives incorporate a series of minor priestly characters with different functions in the stories. In *Setne I*, two distinct groups of priests are mentioned, the priests of Ptah led by the lesonis of Ptah, and the priests of Isis and Harpocrates, showing the prominence of the priestly communities in the social scene of both Memphis and Coptos respectively. These priests are not individualized; their purpose is just to help set the scene[378].

Other priestly characters have more prominence in the development of the story. In *Setne I*, Tabubu is referred to as the daughter of the prophet of Bastet. Her identity, however, is not absolutely clear. She is presented as being in Memphis in order to worship Ptah, something that does not necessarily indicate that she is also a priestess (*Setne I* 5.3). In her repeated response to Setne's advances, she represents herself as: *ink wʿb bn ink rmṯ-ḫm in* (*Setne I* 5.8-9). Some scholars have reconstructed a feminine ending in *wʿb*[379], and translated it as "priestess"[380]. Others, however, prefer the translation "pure"[381]. She is contrasting the status of *wʿb* to that of *rmṯ-ḫm* "a small person," and therefore this appears to be a moral distinction rather than an actual indication of a title[382]. I have already analyzed the relationship between physical and moral purity in the

[378] R. Jasnow has pointed out that "There is a strong sense of place in Setne I" (JASNOW 2001: 74 footnote 73). The description of the particular priesthoods of each place contributes to the geographical verism of the story.
[379] The word appears in all the instances without the feminine ending (*Setne I* 5.19, 5.23, 5.25). Nevertheless, the orthography without the feminine ending in cases where a priestess is clearly meant is quite common, cf. ERICHSEN 1954: 83; CDD_W (09:1): 52-53.
[380] HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 148): "Ich bin Priester<in>. Ich bin kein geringer Mensch;" G. Vittmann in TLA: "Ich bin eine Priesterin. Ich bin keine geringe/gemeine Person" (http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/GetCtxt?u=guest&f=0&l=0&tc=388&db=1&ws=4507&mv=4 [last accessed on 05/02/2017]); AGUT-LABORDÈRE and CHAUVEAU (2011: 33): "je suis une prêtresse et que je ne suis pas une prostitué."
[381] GRIFFITH (1900: 125): "I am pure, not am I a mean person," although he indicates that it could be translated as "priestly" as well (GRIFFITH 1900: 124 note to l. 9). The translation "priestly" is also the one chosen by LICHTHEIM (1980: 134): "I am of priestly rank, I am not a low person;" and VINSON (2014: 311): "I am priestly; I am not a small person;" RITNER (2003c: 464) chooses a more neutral translation: "I am pure; I am not a lowly person;" as also does GOLDBRUNNER (2006: 21): "Ich bin rein, ich bin kein geringer Mensch."
[382] G. Vittmann has also suggested a moral undertone for *rmṯ-rḫ* in this context (cf. VITTMANN 1998b: 340 footnote 397).

priesthood, and how they go hand in hand[383]. However, if a priest on duty was required to be morally pure, this does not mean that a morally pure person had to belong to the priestly class. I believe that the contraposition presented by Tabubu is meant to emphasize this moral distinction, which is the theme of the whole episode, rather than being an indication of her office.

P. Carlsberg 207 mentions a series of prophets (*ḥm-nṯr*) of different gods (Amun-Re, Isis, and Osiris-Sokar)[384]. The ghost that appears to Setne in order to ask for his help in avenging his family is a prophet of Osiris-Sokar in Abydos, who has been wronged by the prophet of Isis, Peteisis. Together with Setne, this seems to be the only character with an explicit personal name. The prophet of Osiris-Sokar was the son of the prophet of Amun-Re, who had also been killed by Peteisis. All these characters set the action of the story in a priestly environment, in which one episode happens during a religious festival "the feast of those of the lake" (P. Carlsberg 207 x+1.17), and the following one in the temple of Abydos. The association of each one of the priests with a god also helps localize the episodes. The festival in which the prophet of Amun-Re is killed takes place in Thebes, the city of this god, while the priests intervening in the action at Abydos belong to the cults of Osiris-Sokar and Isis. A third location is provided by the royal court, which is in Memphis. Although this is not mentioned, it is clear from other Setne stories that the location of the royal court was Memphis, and in P. Carlsberg 207 x+2.3 the ghost asks Setne to go south to Abydos. All these priests display a variety of moral behaviors that are familiar from other priestly characters in the Demotic narratives already analyzed. Thus, both evil (the prophet of Isis, Peteisis) and good priests (the prophet of Amun-Re, the prophet of Osiris-Sokar) interact, with their priestly titles setting them in the same social environment.

[383] Cf. the analysis of Peteisis in this chapter, and esp. QUACK 2012.
[384] For the edition of the text, cf. TAIT 1991; a new translation and interpretation of the text in QUACK and RYHOLT 2000.

Finally, although they are not Egyptian priests, I want to refer here briefly to the Nubian sorcerers and sorceress from *Setne II*. These are not the only foreign magicians that are mentioned in Demotic literature, and I have already alluded previously in this chapter to the Assyrian sorceresses in the *Life of Imhotep* and the *Epic of Inaros.* An interesting aspect of these characters is that the magical procedures that they perform are very similar to those of the Egyptian priestly characters. Thus, I have already pointed out practices such as the use of wax to create figurines in which life is insufflated, and the magical contests in which they fight against Egyptian magicians. In all the cases, the foreign sorcerers are the ones initiating the aggression, which is always stopped and countered successfully by the Egyptian magicians. The one element that seems to be exclusive to foreign sorcerers is the transformation into animals, such as that performed by the Assyrian sorceress of the *Epic of Inaros*, who takes the shape of a griffin. In every case, Egyptian magic and its performers are presented as superior to the foreign ones, but *Setne II* is interesting in the sense that, if in the past an Egyptian magician had been clearly superior to its Nubian counterpart (Horus son of Paneshe and Horus son of the Nubian woman respectively), in the time of Setne the knowledge of magic seems to have declined, being inferior to that of the Nubians in the previous period. Naneferkaptah, who also belongs to a previous period, is depicted as a much better magician than Setne as well.

5. Papyrus Vandier

Although it is somewhat outside of the chronological frame of this study, P. Vandier deserves some comment here, since it features a priest and magician as its main character, which can considered close to the representations of priestly characters that we find in the Graeco-Roman

Period. The manuscript dates to the 27th-30th dynasties, and the text is written in a stage of the Egyptian language that is closer to Demotic than it is to Late Egyptian, although the script used is Late Hieratic. This has suggested a dating for the composition of the narrative in the 25th dynasty[385]. The narrative tells the story of a king called Sisobek who starts feeling ill, and consults with his priests, who tell him that only a young priest and magician called Merire, of whom he had never heard before, will be able to save him. Merire is called to court, and Sisobek asks him to save his life, although Merire tells him that in order to do so he will have to die. He agrees to do it after making the king swear that he will protect his family, and goes to the underworld, where he has to remain. In order to see if Sisobek has kept his part of the agreement, Merire asks the goddess Hathor to check for him when she goes to earth for her festival. At her return she tells him that Pharaoh has taken his wife and killed his son, following the advice of the priests. He then creates a man with clay and insufflates him with life, commanding him to go to earth and tell pharaoh to kill his priests. The end of the story is not preserved, but it appears that Merire may have been able to somehow return to earth[386], and that he interacts again with his wife and with pharaoh Sisobek. He also talks with another pharaoh, Meneptah, in the Netherworld.

5.1. Merire

The story starts with a presentation of Merire before moving on to the action (P. Vandier 1.1-2). In it, he is introduced as a scribe (*zḫꜣ.w*)[387], and his name is preceded by the title *ḥr*(*.j*)*-tp*, which is generally used to refer to magicians, as I have written above. An important element in his

[385] HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 153.
[386] Perhaps thanks to the flower bouquet of Re brought to him by the earthman.
[387] Posener notes that the use of this term does not indicate an administrative office, but describes Merire as a learned man with textual knowledge. He then remarks on the use of the term combined with the adjective *nfr* in Demotic literature as synonym of skilled magician (POSENER 1985: 16-17).

description is his young age, despite which he was already considered to be a very good scribe (*jw nꜣ-nfr=f n zḫꜣ.w m-sš*, P. Vandier 1.1). Posener remarked in his edition of the text that this indication of age is relative, in connection with Merire's magical knowledge, in order to highlight the amount of knowledge that he had been able to acquire despite not being an older, more experienced magician. He notes that he is described as being married and having a child[388]. His excellence is emphasized by the court magicians' jealousy and their keeping of Merire's identity hidden from the king, lest he may cause them to lose their privileged position. Confronted with pharaoh's illness and their inability to extend his lifetime, they finally point out Merire's prowess as scribe (*pꜣy=f nfr n zḫꜣ.w*, P. Vandier 1.11). Going back to the issue of Merire's age, he is not a child like Si-Osiris in *Setne II*, but can be placed in parallel with other young priestly characters from Demotic literature such as the young priest of Horus of Pe in Buto from the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun*, or Harsiesis in the frame story of the *Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*. Merire is probably in his early twenties[389].

It is interesting to observe that from the beginning of the text to 2.13 Merire is referred to just by his name or as *ḥr*(*.j*)*-tp mri-rˁ* "magician Merire." However, from 3.2 to the end of the narrative, the title used with Merire's name is consistently *mr-šs* (*mr-šˁ*) "general." Posener considered that this last designation connects this Merire with the one mentioned in P. Deir el Medina 39, a Ramesside period narrative that features a general Merire who also interacts with gods[390]. As for the switch in the designation within the story, Posener hypothesizes that the title of general might be honorific and given to Merire by Si-Sobek as reward, but he acknowledged

[388] POSENER 1985: 24.
[389] According to D. Montserrat, medial marriage age for men in Graeco-Roman Egypt was 25 years old (MONTSERRAT 1963: 82), although it could also be younger.
[390] Posener considers that general Merire in both stories is the same character (POSENER 1985: 18), and QUACK (2009a: 80) notes that this provides evidence of the continuity between Late Egyptian and Demotic literature. In the introduction to their translation of P. Vandier, HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 153) propose the possibility of there being a literary cycle with Merire as its hero.

that the text does not preserve any evidence of it (POSENER 1985: 17). The combination of priestly and military titles was not unusual, and the young priest of Horus of Pe in Buto in the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun* is an example of a character that actively combines both aspects.

The reputation of Merire as a skilled magician is demonstrated throughout the story. First, once summoned by Si-Sobek, he confirms the court magicians' claim by proving that he knows how to extend the king's lifetime, but also what the consequences of this act will be (i.e. his own death) (P. Vandier 1.13)[391]. After agreeing to it, and making Si-Sobek swear that he will meet his conditions, Merire's preparation for the ritual is described (P. Vandier 2.13-14). This takes place in his house, where he is shaven and dressed with fine linen, which are basic priestly purifications. The ritual is described as a "request in the presence of Re" (*smj m-bꜣḥ pꜣ rˁ*, P. Vandier 2.14[392]), and accordingly it takes place in Heliopolis. An interesting point in this respect is that Merire has to ask Si-Sobek to go to Heliopolis to reveal the entrance to the Netherworld: *pꜣy=j nb ˁꜣ jmi jw ˁnḫ-(w)ḏꜣ-s(nb) r jwn.w r ḏi.t rḫ=[w n]=f [pꜣ]* ⌜...⌝ *[n] šmj r dwꜣ.t n.tj jw=[j] r jri=f* "My great lord! May Pharaoh l.p.h. come to Heliopolis to cause that the [...] to go to the Underworld be known, which I shall take" (P. Vandier 2.14-15)[393]. This perhaps points to the idea that this kind of secret knowledge would be restricted to the king and, as in the case of Si-Osiris in *Setne II*, to deceased people[394]. Si-Sobek is also the one who performs a series of rituals, including offerings, to propitiate Merire's entrance to the Netherworld. Once in the Netherworld, Merire shows knowledge of the religious calendar of Hathor, mentioning her visit to earth for the

[391] Posener lists a series of examples in Egyptian and Greek literature of the salvation of a person who is about to die through the sacrifice of another (POSENER 1985: 25).
[392] This formula is the one used in letters as an interior address, cf. DEPAUW 2006:175–183.
[393] The text is fragmentary at this point, so it is not absolutely clear if Si-Sobek is actually the one who has the knowledge about the entrance to the Underworld, or if it will be revealed to him at his arrival to Heliopolis. Posener's translation of the sentence is: "Mon grand seigneur! Puisse le pharaon, v.s.f. se rendre à Héliopolis pour faire que [je] connaisse ... le chemin par où je vais aller à la dat" (POSENER 1985: 55). Quack translates: "Mein großer Herr! Möge Pharaoh nach Heliopolis gehen, damit [man sich für] ihn kundig macht über den Zugangsweg zur Unterwelt, den ich nehmen soll" (HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 156).
[394] Thus, once Merire partakes of this restricted knowledge, and enters the Netherworld, he is not allowed to leave.

festival of the sixth day of the month[395]. The main magical act of Merire, however, is his creation of a man with clay, whom he animates by opening his eyes and mouth, using basically the same procedure described for wax figurines in the previously analyzed stories. J. F. Quack has remarked that the use of earth should not be given too much thought, since it is probably due to the lack of other materials, such as wax, in the Netherworld[396]. Both wax and clay were used in ancient Egypt in similar ways due to their malleable nature, but they also had important differences, such as their reaction to fire, which destroys the former, but hardens the latter. Although the end of the story is not preserved, and the last section is fragmentary, the appearance of the flower bouquet brought by the earthman to Merire seems to be significant. As a ritual element brought from earth, it may create a connection that could have enabled Merire to go back to earth later in the story, an element that has Greek resonances, and reminds of the myth of Persephone and the pomegranates[397]. There might also be a wordplay with the word for bouquet in Egyptian, which is *ꜥnḫ*, written with the plant determinative (i.e. P. Vandier 5.15), and *ꜥnḫ* "life." That something like this might have been the continuation of the story can be understood from the mention of Merire's wife in the last preserved sections of the narrative. Another element that reminds one of Greek descriptions of the Netherworld such as Odysseus νέκυια in *Odyssey* book 11 is the conversation with figures of the past. In a fragmentary section, Merire appears talking with a king called Men-Ptah, who has been understood as Merneptah[398].

Merire's personality is also developed through his reactions, presenting a nuanced character that shows emotions. His reaction when Si-Sobek asks him to expand his lifespan is to

[395] On the festivals of Hathor, cf. CAUVILLE 2002.
[396] QUACK 2009a: 80. On the use of clay in ancient Egyptian magic, cf. RAVEN 1988: 240–241.
[397] On the myth of Persephone, cf. POWELL 2009: 220-235.
[398] QUACK 2009a: 80.

cry (P. Vandier 1.13)[399]. His despair is further emphasized by the fact that he turned to talk with his heart[400] and cried again. The next sentence characterizing his crying has been understood in different ways, but its meaning in any case is to highlight the severity of his depression[401]. In his following reply to Si-Sobek he declares that he considers himself too young to die: [...] *r pȝ m(w)t jwꜣj šr.kw n ms m-sš* "[...] to death while I am (still) very young" (P. Vandier 2.3). Merire is also depicted with very human traits, displaying his resentment to the court magicians, who knew of his existence but never revealed it to pharaoh until that very moment, and in order to cause his death. Together with the protection of his family, Merire requests the assassination of the court magician's children (P. Vandier 2.10) in revenge for their actions, and later demands the death of the court magicians themselves for advising pharaoh to take his wife and kill his son (P. Vandier 5.7). Merire is also depicted as an intelligent character, who uses his ritual and magical knowledge to stay in contact with the world of the living. First, he obtains information about his family's situation through Hathor, being well-informed of her religious calendar. Secondly, through the creation of the earthman he is able to manipulate the events taking place on earth, and if the bouquet has the significance proposed above, he might even have provided himself with a way to go back to the world of the living. We would see here a progression in Merire's involvement with the world of the living since his arrival to the underworld.

[399] This seems to be the normal expression of despair in this text, since a few lines above, the court magicians have the same reaction when Si-Sobek asks them why they do not do anything to save his life (P. Vandier 1.9).
[400] Posener remarks that in P. Rylands IX the meaning of conversing with one's heart is to be anxious (P. Rylands IX 4.15, cited in POSENER 1985: 49. Cf. also VITTMANN 1998b)
[401] Merire is compared to water in his crying, and a second circumstantial sentence, *jwꜣf šʿd*, "he/it being cut" (P. Vandier 2.1) has been interpreted as referring to him or to the water. POSENER (1985: 49) originally interpreted as referring to Merira and translated: "il pleura étant comme l'eau et abattu." HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 155) attribute the circumstantial clause to *mw* and translate: "Er weinte, indem er wie aufgestautes Wasser war." Popko in the TLA agrees with Posener and interprets *šʿd* as "schluchzend"(http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/S02?wc=87797&db=0 [last accessed on 05/08/2017]).

5.2. The court magicians

The other priestly characters in P. Vandier are the court magicians. Posener has remarked that this is the first time that a group of magicians appear as advisors to pharaoh in Egyptian literature[402]. They act in fact as a sole person, and none of them is individually identified. They are designated as *ḥrj.w-tp* (i.e. P. Vandier 1.2), and they are from the beginning characterized as antagonists of Merire. Posener emphasizes that this is the first time that professional jealousy seems to be represented in Egyptian literature[403]. This is in fact an interesting point, since although differences in the abilities of magicians appear in Demotic literature, as has been observed above, there does not seem to be a competition among them (except for the duels between Egyptian and foreign magicians in *Setne II* and the *Inaros Epic*, but these are instances of national pride more than professional jealousy). The court magicians appear as an advising council that pharaoh seems to consult for everything. Their knowledge is connected to books that record the deeds of previous kings and magicians, and for the treatment of Si-Sobek's illness they turn to a similar case that happened to a previous pharaoh called Djedkare, probably Djedkare Isesi from the 5th dynasty, in the Old Kingdom[404]. The text does not indicate where these books are kept, but since no mention is made of a different place, this might indicate that a history of previous kings was kept in the palace archives. The books in question presumably described the symptoms of Djedkare's illness, and the text implies that they also recorded its development, and that an anonymous magician was able to extend the king's lifespan (P. Vandier 1.6-8). This type of narrative reminds one of the type of history told by Herodotus and recorded by Manetho, which was based on temple and perhaps palace records, and for which parallels in

[402] POSENER 1985: 19.
[403] POSENER 1985: 22.
[404] Cf. VERHOEVEN 1997.

Demotic literature have been found in recent years[405]. In contrast to the court magicians, Merire is never depicted as using books or any kind of magical prop, except for the earth man.

6. *Amasis and the skipper*

Another story that features a priestly character is *Amasis and the skipper* (P. Bib. Nat. 215 vso.), a story written on the back of the manuscript that contains the *Demotic Chronicle,* dating to the early Ptolemaic period. The narrative features a priest of Neith called Psamtek[406], who is said to belong to the council (*srj.w* "officials," P. Bib. Nat. 215 vso. 12) of pharaoh Amasis. As priest of Neith and member of the royal court, he must have been part of the temple of the goddess in Saïs, the capital of the 26th dynasty and which is probably the location of the story. In order to entertain Amasis during a bad hangover, Psamtek tells him a story, using the same framing device as in P. Westcar. Psamtek is described as "a very wise man" (*rmṯ-rḫ* [*m-šs*], P. Bib. Nat. 215 vso. 13), using the common expression for other knowledgeable priestly figures in Demotic literature. These are all the details given about this priest, who might have appeared again at the end of his narrative, which is unfortunately lost.

7. The magician Hi-Hor

In another of the jugs published by Spiegelberg, together with the one narrating the childhood of Si-Osiris, there is a story about a magician called Hi-Hor (Krug A- Jug Berlin 12845). It seems to be just an episode of a longer story, copied in a scribal exercise. The story starts with the title

[405] Cf. i.e QUACK 2013. On Manetho, cf. chapter 3, section 2.1.
[406] HOFFMANN and QUACK (2007: 161 and 347 note *e*), which fits with the Saite context of the story. Ritner reads it as "Panetti" and indicates that Spiegelberg originally read "Pet-sotem(?)" (RITNER 2003b: 452 footnote 7).

ḥj-ḥr pꜣ ḥr-tb "Magician Hi-Hor," and he is also referred to on line 3 with a word that has been read as *mr sẖ*, "chief scribe" or *sntj*(?). In the story Hi-Hor is in prison in Elephantine, and receives the visit of two birds, a duck and a hen, that he has taken care of. He is able to understand these birds when they talk to him, something that is reminiscent of the first formula of the book of Thoth in *Setne I*, which allows the magician who pronounces them to understand the language of different animals, including birds[407]. The text does not contain more information about this magician Hi-Hor[408].

8. The Saqqara Demotic Papyri

The Saqqara Demotic papyri published by H. S. Smith and W. J. Tait contain some stories that feature priestly characters. These are P. Saqqara 1[409] and P. Saqqara 2. The manuscripts date to ca. 4th century BCE[410]. P. Saqqara 1 is preserved in five fragments, written on the recto and verso, and of the at least 16 original columns, only 4 columns are more or less completely preserved. Thus, the plot of the narrative is not very clear[411]. The story seems to feature a conspiracy, and although many priestly characters are featured, they do not seem to perform any ritual or magical acts. The first priestly character that appears in the story is called Djedseshep, and is identified in col. 9.11 as prophet of Horus, Lord of Heliopolis. As the editors already have seen, the fact that another character is said to have been made prophet of Horus in the next line (9.12) makes the

[407] *iw=k r gm nꜣ ntj-ˁiwˀ nꜣ ipd.w n tꜣ p.t irm nꜣ ḏdfe.w r ḏd.t̰=w ḏr=w* "You will find everything that the birds in the sky together with the reptiles say" (*Setne I* 3.13).
[408] M. Betrò has connected the story of Hi-Hor to the *Story and Wisdom of Ahiqar*, a text written in Aramaic that actually comes from the island of Elephantine, where Hi-Hor is imprisoned (BETRÒ 2000). J. F. Quack, however, considers that the similarities between both narratives are too broad to have any actual connection (QUACK 2011b: 388-389).
[409] P. Saqqara 1a contains the same story, but the section preserved does not add much about the priestly characters.
[410] Cf. section 2 for a discussion of the dating of the papyri and references.
[411] For the reconstruction of the story according to the editors, cf. SMITH and TAIT 1983: 58-60.

identification of what happens to him unclear[412]. He appears to be the victim of the conspiracy, and to have had to flee together with his fellow priest (9.14) leaving his wife and children (9.21). He is thus portrayed as the head of a family and the center of a group of priests (*wꜤb.w*). In col. 14.27 the text confirms that Djedseshep is dead, and he is called *wꜤ rmṯ Ꜥȝ* "a great man," while his wife is also referred to with the statement: *gy n rmṯ Ꜥȝ tȝy* "she is some kind of great person" (P. Saqqara 1 9.30). Other elements with respect to this character are not unequivocally connected to him. A second character of importance is Hormaakheru, whose name does not appear accompanied by any titles, but that the editors suggest could be the priest (*wꜤb*) mentioned in 14.30[413]. The editors propose to see in him the hero of the story, being the person who is in charge of righting the injustice of the dead of Djedseshep and of recovering his body and those of his companions, together with saving his wife and children. His priestly character, however, is not confirmed. A character called Ptahhotep Setem is mentioned in col. 14.20-21, and just as Setem in 7.3. The first character is dead and is mourned by Pharaoh and the women of the Royal Harem, which implies that he must be an important person. The Setem in 7.3 is still alive and speaks giving a negative order (*m-ir*), followed perhaps by *ḫdb* "to kill"[414]. If this is the same character, he dies between columns 7 and 14, although the editors think that there is no reason for this identification[415]. Concerning the name, the editors consider that Setem should be understood as the title sem-priest, despite the fact that it is written after and not before the name[416]. Nothing else can be known with certainty about him. There is at least another character who is ordained prophet of Horus, Lord of Letopolis, as I indicated above, and the editors have

[412] SMITH and TAIT 1983: 59.
[413] SMITH and TAIT 1983: 46.
[414] SMITH and TAIT 1983: 10 note *e*.
[415] SMITH and TAIT 1983: 46.
[416] SMITH and TAIT 1983: 33 note *dm*, where they refer to *Setne I* and *Setne II* as examples of the title being written before the name. On the question of its consideration as name or title, cf. footnote 271.

noted that he seems to have been proclaimed through the mediation of the chief scribe of Moeris[417]. This prophet of Horus together with his family and fellow priests appears to be executed on a brazier in 13.31-32, and the editors speculate about the possibility that he could be Djedseshep's son, pointing out that they were probably closely related[418]. Once again, not much can be said about this character. In the case of the chief scribe of Moeris, nothing is said about him having a priestly office apart from his administrative one. Finally, other priestly characters are briefly mentioned, such as a Fourth Prophet (of Amun) in Thebes, who is mentioned in connection with Hormaakheru (16.3-5). In P. Saqqara 1a (referred to by the editors as col. x), two doubtful references are listed to a magician or doctor (x.7)[419] and a prophet of Thoth (x.9)[420]. Although part of the temple personnel, the *pastophoroi* were not priestly figures. This story features a *pastophoros* of Horus and his wife (9.20, 9.26-31, 10.21, and 10.28), and a group of *pastophoroi* of Horus (10.25).

9. The story of Padipep

J. Tait has edited three manuscripts kept at the British Museum, which might correspond to the same narrative (P. BM EA 69531a, EA 69531b, and EA 69532)[421]. The best preserved section is EA 69532, which contains a frame narrative in which Pharaoh seems to be in distress about the death of a young woman, and asks for advice from a prophet of Mehyt called Padipep (*pꜣ-dỉ-pp ḥm-nṯr n mḥy*, EA 69532 3). This priest resides in the so-called "House of the Servants" (*pꜣ ꜥ.wj*

[417] SMITH and TAIT 1983: 50-51.
[418] SMITH and TAIT 1983: 43-45.
[419] SMITH and TAIT 1983: 67 note *f*.
[420] SMITH and TAIT 1983: 67 note *h*.
[421] Edition in TAIT 2008. J. Tait has proposed that the stories might be connected through the common theme of the death of an innocent character because of Pharaoh's actions (cf. TAIT 2008: 134).

n nꜣ sḏm.w[422], EA 69531 3), which in P. Saqqara 1 9.5-6 seems to be a part of the royal palace where the people under the direct rule of Pharaoh live[423]. Padipep consoles Pharaoh using language similar to that of the instructions: "Good fortune is what the god shall cause to follow after ill fortune; other things that are better than them shall follow after them" (EA 69532 5)[424]. Then he proceeds to tell him the story of Djedhor. It is not possible to know if this character reappeared in a return to the frame story at the end of the narrative. The only elements that are certain are that Padipep is a trusted figure to whom Pharaoh goes for advice. Pharaoh is said to be a young man (*ḥm-ḫl*, EA 69532 2), but the age of Padipep is not mentioned. He could be a father figure to him, but also a friend, since young prophets appear often in Demotic literature, as we have already seen. The protagonist of the story told by Padipep is also a priestly character, in this case a *wʿb*-priest of Re called Djedhorpatjaihat (which is shortened to Djedhor). He is described as a great man (*rmṯ ʿꜣ*, EA 69532 6) and as being very rich (*ʿšꜣ n sʿnḫ*, *idem*). His possessions are elucidated in detailed, indicating that he would not even know their amount, and his lifestyle is luxurious (EA 69532 6-9). J. Tait has asserted that the richness of Djedhor is shown as something exceptional because he is just a *wʿb*-priest[425], but it should be considered that *wʿb* may be used in a generic way here, since in the previous cases where a priest is said to have fellow priests, he tends to be identified as a *ḥm-nṯr*, as in the case of Djedseshep and his successor as prophet of Horus in P. Saqqara 1, or the young priest of Horus of Pe in Buto in the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun*, who is also a *ḥm-nṯr*, but is also called *wʿb* in some instances[426]. He has ten sons and ten daughters, who are said to be priests (*wʿb.w*) of Re, and all of them get

[422] J. Tait reads *sḏm*(-ʿš).*w* here and in P. Saqqara 1 9.5 and 14.11 (TAIT 2008: 115 and 119; TAIT 1983: 12 note *o*, 118 note *br*). G. Vittmann in TLA, however, reads just *sḏm.w* (http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/GetCtxt?u=guest&f=0&l=0&tc=248&db=1&ws=225&mv=2 [last accessed on 05/12/2017]).
[423] P. Saqqara 1 9.6 mentions guards, generals, and the great men of Pharaoh as its residents (SMITH and TAIT 1983: 5 and 36).
[424] TAIT 2008: 117.
[425] TAIT 2008: 121.
[426] Cf. section 1.1.1. in this chapter.

married to daughters of priests (*wʿb.w*) of Re or priests of Re, respectively. In the case of the men married by Djedhor's daughters it is said that they were priests of Re among the great men (*rmṯ ʿȝy.w*, EA 69532 12) of Heliopolis, which might be an indication that *wʿb* is used here as a generic for "priest" as well. Djedhor makes all of them live in houses built in his courtyard and the result of this situation is expressed as *ḫprꜥf r rmṯ nb r-wn-nȝ.w ḫn ỉwnw fȝj n pȝ mȝj n ḏd-ḥr* "It happened that everyone who was in Heliopolis carried the *mȝj* of Djedhor" (EA 69532 15). This must be seen as a negative thing, since Djedhor's fate together with that of his family is to be punished by a demon (*sšr*) sent against him by Re (EA 69532 17)[427]. Another character that appears in this section is a scribe who has a vision of Djedhor's demise. This scribe might be related somehow to the priesthood of Re, since after *sḫ* and a possible *rḫ*[-*iḫj*] suggested by Tait, follows an indirect genitive *n pȝ rʿ* "of Ra" (EA 69532 15). The story told by the prophet of Mehyt Padipep is thus a tale set completely in a priestly setting, in which all the characters are priests or directly related to priests. This can be considered as an element of self-reference with respect to the real priests who composed the Demotic narratives, which, as we have seen in this chapter, are profusely populated by priestly characters.

P. BM EA 69531 contains a story that features priests prominently as well. In it a young priest (*pȝ šr wʿb*, EA 69531a 6) is mentioned, who seems to be about to be burnt in the area of Elephantine. His name is not given in the fragment, and it is not clear if he is saved by Pharaoh's expedition. Nothing else apart from the age of the priest is said about this character. Another character called Bakrenef is accompanied by fellow priests (*irj.w n wʿb*, EA 69531a 5), which leads to the conclusion that he is probably a priest as well, and according to the aforementioned interpretation, perhaps a prophet. Bakrenef and his fellow priests are said to be brought out from

[427] This same dynamic of punishment is the one that appears in the beginning of the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros* and in the story of Naneferkaptah in *Setne I*.

a place (the boat?) and he talks with the young priest (EA 69531a 5-6), so they might have been imprisoned together. This conversation is fragmentary and it is not clear what Bakrenef's attitude towards the young priest is[428]. As in the case of EA 69532, this story happens as well in a priestly environment exclusively.

10. *Eine neue demotische Erzählung*

Another text that features a priest is P. Berlin 13588, edited by W. Erichsen as *Eine neue demotische Erzählung*[429] and to which should be added P. Carlsberg 710 rto, which is another manuscript of the same composition[430]. The Berlin manuscript is from Abusir el-Melek and has been dated to the 1st century BCE, while the Tebtunis manuscript dates to the 1st/2nd century CE[431]. The text tells the story of a young priest from Daphnae who claims the income from his two priestly offices, as priest of Amun-Re and Herishef, before pharaoh Necho II[432]. In order to back his claim, he says that he wrote funerary texts for the king's predecessor, Psammetichus I, who died during a lunar eclipse[433]. The main character of this story is therefore the young priest, who is described as *pȝ ḥl n wʿb* (P. Berlin 13588 1.1), the same designation given to the young priest of Horus in the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun*. He claims that he has a golden ring (*glt.t,* written

[428] Tait considers that it is more possible to consider Bakrenef as being in the same danger as the young priest than to consider him a villain (cf. TAIT 2008: 127).
[429] ERICHSEN 1956.
[430] RYHOLT 2012: 131-141 and plate 18. K. Ryholt also provides here new readings for P. Berlin 13588, cf. pp. 137-138.
[431] RYHOLT 2011: 63.
[432] P. Carlsberg 710 rto. contains the first published attestation of the name Nechepsos in Egyptian (*na-kȝ.w pȝ-šš* "Necho the Wise"; cf. RYHOLT 2012: 135) Another attestation noted by Ryholt appears in P. CtYBR 422 vso and P. Lund 2058, on which cf. the section on the *Story of Peteisis* in this chapter. On Nechepsos cf. RYHOLT 2011.
[433] For the interpretation of the eclipse as lunar, and a proposal for its date, cf. SMITH 1991. Although this interpretation was contested by Krauss, J. F. Quack considers that his claim is not based on firm evidence (cf. QUACK 2017a: 193-194 footnote 20).

with the gold determinative[434]) that contains two engravings, of the sky and of the earth (*wꜥ mtn n p.t wꜥ mtn* [*n*] *tȝ* "an engraving of the sky, an engraving of the earth", P. Berlin 13588 2.2), referring to Herakleopolis and to Thebes, respectively. This is a reference to the rings that priests used to wear with a symbol of the god or gods to which priesthood they belonged. Evidence of this appears, for example, in the Rosetta Stone[435]. The right to these priestly offices comes from his father, who is a priest of Herishef, although the whole justification is not preserved. Daphne is mentioned as the young priest's hometown (P. Berlin 13588 3.1), which might be the reason for his claim to the priesthood of Amun-Re in this city. He is represented going personally to collect his priestly income, but the priests in both temples refuse to pay him on the basis that he is a priest of the other god (P. Berlin 13588 2.11). His qualifications as a priest are supported in his second intervention, in which he recounts that at the death of king Psamtek I he performed a series of purifications, avoiding wine, meat, hot water for washing himself, and eating presumably bread and drinking only marsh-water, during the seventy days of the king's mummification process[436]. During this period he wrote a series of texts (*wꜥ.t mḏj.t n ḏmꜥ wꜥ.t knj.t n sḫ wꜥ tȝ.wj* (l. *twȝ*)[437] *n snsn* "a papyrus roll, a written record, and a hymn for breathing", P. Berlin 13588 7-8) for the bindings[438] of the deceased king. The response of Pharaoh is to ask for

[434] Cf. ERICHSEN 1956: plate 2, line 2; remarked by Erichsen on p. 64.
[435] The reference to the Rosetta Stone is given by ERICHSEN (1956: 64). This appears on lines 12-13 of the hieroglyphic text ("The priests of the shrines in every temple in question are to be called servant of the God who appears, possessor of goodness, in addition to their (other) priestly titles, it being written [...] the office of priest of the God who appears, possessor of goodness, on the seals (*ḫtm*) thereof [on (?)] their fingers"); on line 30 of the Demotic text ("The priests who are in the temples of Egypt, in each and every temple, are to be called the priests of the God who appears, whose goodness is perfect, in addition to the other priestly titles; and it is to be written on legal documents of every kind; and they are to write the office of priest of the god who appears, whose goodness is perfect, on their rings (*glṯ.w*), engraving it on them"); and on lines 50-52 in the Greek text ("[The priests, those in each temple, are to be] called also priests of the god Epiphanes Eucharistos in addition to the other names of the gods whom they serve; and to record on all formal documents and on the [rings which they bear to inscribe] his priesthood"). Translation by QUIRKE and ANDREWS (1988: 22).
[436] Quack has noted that "the mourning period required abstention from the usual condition of purity as a sign of personal pain and sympathy, accepting impurity as a mortification" (QUACK 2012: 144).
[437] For this reading cf. SMITH 1985.
[438] The reading of *mnḫ* "bindings" is doubtful (ERICHSEN 1956: 72).

these texts, which the priest is able to bring. This demonstrates that he kept the copies on papyrus after they were written on the bindings, and therefore they would be part of his personal library. During the discussion of these documents, Ra and the disk (the moon?) are mentioned twice (P. Berlin 13588 3.10, 3.16), which might imply that a description of celestial phenomena, en possibly the eclipse, was included. As K. Ryholt has written, Necho II is a king who was associated with astronomy, which he thinks that might be connected with the idea of his father having died during an eclipse[439]. This might also indicate that the young priest had astronomical knowledge and could make predictions through the vision of the eclipse, as those collected in the Vienna Omina Papyrus[440]. His reaction to it might indicate that he saw a bad omen, which made him go to the embalming place and write the texts. This would be supported by the sentence *t3 ḥtj.t n p3 w3ḥ-mw* "the fear of the Choachytes" (i.e. the embalming priests, P. Berlin 13588 3.6). This is interesting, since it would be the only reference to a priest specialized in astronomy in the published Demotic literature[441]. This episode also shows that a priest should be pure not just to perform rites, but also in order to compose texts for a cultic or funerary setting. The narrative mentions other priests, including a *ḥr-tb* (P. Berlin 13588 3.12), who seems to be the one examining the texts written by the young priest for Pharaoh, or the scribes of the House of Life (*n3 sḫ.w pr-ˁnḫ*,[442] P. Berlin 13588 2.13-14), but their characters are not developed enough to provide any elements to this analysis.

[439] RYHOLT 2012: 136-137.
[440] Cf. PARKER 1959.
[441] It is interesting to note, however, that the second formula of the book of Thoth in *Setne I* gives the magician a vision of the movement of the celestial bodies, perhaps destined to understanding it for divination: *iwꜥk r nw r p3 rˁ iwꜥf ḫˁ.w n t3 p.t irm t3jꜥf psḏ.t irm p3 iˁḥ n p3jꜥf gj n wbn* "You will see Ra as he shines in the sky with his Ennead and the Moon in its form of rising" (*Setne I* 3.14). In the first book of the *Alexander Romance* king Nectanebo II is presented as a magician and astrologer (cf. section 1 in chapter 3).
[442] Originally read as *pr-ḥḏ* "treasury" by ERICHSEN (1956: 14), this word has been reread as *pr-ˁnḫ* by RYHOLT (2012: 138). It is worth noting that the orthography of both words is very similar, and they might be interchanged in some context intentionally (cf. i.e. the *pr-ḥḏ* of Thoth in *Setne I* 4.6, where the book of Thoth is kept).

11. Narratives from the Tebtunis Temple Library

The collection of texts from the Tebtunis Temple library published by K. Ryholt in 2012 includes some fragments of narratives that feature priests. Text 1 (P. Carlsberg 159 + PSI inv. D 10 vso.), dates to the first or second quarter of the second century CE[443] and it is titled *Hareus son of Pahat*, is another story located in the environment of the priests of Heliopolis[444]. This text tells the story of the adoption of Hareus son of Pahat (*p3-ḥḏ* "the money" (1.3) by Hareus of the Children, his marriage to the daughter of the prophet of Atum, the conception of their daughter, and a dispute with other children of Hareus of the Children. Apart from the father of the woman whom Hareus son of Pahat marries, who is a prophet of Atum, but does not appear in the action of the story, none of the other characters is given any priestly titles. However, as K. Ryholt has seen, since in col. 1.16 Hareus son of Pahat and the children of Hareus of the Children purify themselves in the shore of the sacred lake of the temple of Heliopolis, it should be assumed that they belong to the priestly class[445]. Another element that points in this direction is the mention of a fellow priest (*irj n wʿb*)[446] on 2.13. Although little of the story is preserved, Hareus son of Pahat is described in a similar way to other characters analyzed above, including his upbringing (1.4), which does not include any indications of the child being a prodigy, as in the case of Si-Osiris. He is shown in despair in two occasions, when he falls in love with the daughter of the prophet of Atum (1.8-11) and when the other children of Hareus of the Children talk to him in the temple (2.1-4). In both cases his reaction is to cover himself with his clothes from head to feet[447], and he

[443] RYHOLT 2012: 1.
[444] Edition in RYHOLT 2012: 1-21. In pp. 13-15
[445] RYHOLT 2012: 12.
[446] On this term cf. section 1.1.1 in this chapter.
[447] The verb used is *slwlw*, which according to K. Ryholt is not attested as such anywhere else. For his interpretation of it as "to adorn" and his connection of this passage to the description of Setne's despair in *Setne II*, cf. RYHOLT 2012: 5.

refuses to talk when he is approached concerning his sorrow by Hareus of the Children and his wife, respectively, although he finally explains his concern. The other children of Hareus of the Children are presumably also members of the priestly class, and are not portrayed in a positive way. K. Ryholt has proposed that perhaps they are disputing with him because of the money their father paid for Hareus son of Pahat[448]. In the very fragmentary column 2 there is a reference to the casting of a spell (ꜥš *sḫ*, 2.12), which points to the use of magic in this story. Unfortunately, the section is too fragmentary to say who the person performing magic might be. Some priests are mentioned going to a tomb on 2.15, but once again, nothing else can be inferred due to the fragmentary state of the text.

12. The *Life of Imhotep*

To conclude, an important text that has not been published yet is the *Life of Imhotep* (P. Carlsberg 85, 1st or 2nd century CE, from the Tebtunis Temple Library). The information provided here relies on the description of the text by K. Ryholt, who is preparing the edition[449]. The protagonist of the story is Imhotep, who was considered, as Ryholt notes, as "The greatest sage of all in Egyptian literary tradition"[450]. Ryholt indicates that the name of Imhotep does not appear together with any titles or epithets. His family (divine father Ptah, mother Khereduankh, and little sister Renpetneferet) is mentioned in the text, and Ryholt points out that his mother and sister also appear in other sources, such as two reliefs in Philae and Deir el-Bahari[451]. Although the text is poorly preserved, Ryholt has distinguished a series of episodes in it. He has named the

[448] RYHOLT 2012: 12. He notes as parallels of literary texts with financial disputes the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun* and *Eine Neue demotische Erzählung*, which have been analyzed above.
[449] RYHOLT 2009b.
[450] RYHOLT 2009b: 305.
[451] RYHOLT 2009b: 308 and footnote 14 for references to the texts in WILDUNG 1977.

first one as *The Quest for the Divine Limbs*. In it Imhotep is in charge of finding a series of relics, perhaps associated with the limbs of Osiris, and he fights an Assyrian sorceress. The fight consists in the use of a series of magical devices, which present Imhotep as an experienced magician. All these devices are known from other Demotic stories, such as the creation and insufflation with life of figures, and Imhotep displays a defensive attitude, limiting his magical actions to the successful response to the sorceresses' attacks. Ryholt writes that in a short speech Imhotep states his superiority: "He addresses a third party named Seshemnefertum and apparently states that he has not yet made a serious effort to fight her and that there is nothing she can do if he chooses to do so"[452]. As part of the second part of this episode, a court magician (*ḥr-tb*) interprets a dream that king Djoser has had[453]. Another episode, titled *Imhotep's Little Sister* includes another priestly figure called Osirsobek, who is identified as *ḥr-tb* and *mr-ḫnw.t*[454], and he might be related to the death of Imhotep's sister. The next episode, *Fragments about ghosts and the mr-ḫnw.t,* describes the latter as having been killed, and he perhaps can be identified with Osirsobek, who held the same title. In the following episode, *Pharaoh's blindness*, the medical knowledge of Imhotep, for which he was famous in the Graeco-Roman period, is presented as he provides a cure (*pḫr.t*) for the eyes of Pharaoh. Finally, in the episode *The royal tomb*, there is a mention to the tomb of pharaoh, that might be a reference to Imhotep's work as the architect of the Step Pyramid, but Ryholt says that the section is too fragmentary to know this for sure[455].

From what Ryholt explains in this article, Imhotep seems to be represented in this narrative in accordance with the elements that characterize magicians in Demotic literature, as

[452] RYHOLT 2009b: 309.
[453] RYHOLT 2009b: 310.
[454] K. Ryholt does not translate the term (cf. RYHOLT 2009b: 310-311).
[455] RYHOLT 2009b: 311.

described above in this chapter. Ryholt cites in the chapter other references to Imhotep in different Graeco-Roman period sources. He was considered the author of astrological manuals. Ryholt remarks that four astrological manuals from Tebtunis are ascribed to him[456]. He is also presented as the instructor of astrologers such as Petosiris and king Nechepsos, which have been referred to previously in this chapter[457].

[456] RYHOLT 2009b: 313.

[457] In the section on Peteisis in this chapter I already referred to the unpublished P. CtYBR 422 vso. and P. Lund 2058 vso., an astrological treatise that is attributed in its frame story to Imhotep, and was deciphered by Peteisis and presented to king Nechepsos. Ryholt considers this Peteisis as the same of the *Story of Peteisis* (RYHOLT 2012: 13).

[Intended to be blank]

PART 1

CHAPTER 3: GRAECO-EGYPTIAN LITERATURE

In the previous chapter my focus has been the analysis of descriptions of Egyptian priests in texts written in the Egyptian language, created by Egyptian priests themselves for an audience belonging to their same social and intellectual environment. Despite being texts written and read during the Graeco-Roman period, their contents are firmly rooted in the Egyptian cultural context. In the present chapter I will examine the image of the Egyptian priests in a series of texts that scholars have classified as Graeco-Egyptian literature[458]. These texts are mostly written in the Greek language, although in many cases they combine Greek with Demotic and Coptic. An important concept that appears prominently throughout these texts is that of translation, which highlights the fact that two cultures interact and intertwine in them. In the same way that we see this interaction in the characteristics of the art of Graeco-Roman Egypt[459], in which Greek and Egyptian elements are combined, not just in the formal characteristics of the artistic representations, but also in the themes chosen to be represented, this is, both in form and in content, in the literature of the period we also find this combination, with the use of both languages, Egyptian and Greek (form), and themes coming from both cultural milieux (content). By the Roman period, as we will see, this interaction had resulted in a new cultural product that we can classify as Graeco-Egyptian.

In this chapter I will first analyze the priestly characteristics of the figure of king Nectanebo II as portrayed in the *Alexander Romance* and in related Demotic sources. The next section will be devoted to the study of two historical priestly figures, Manetho and Chaeremon,

[458] For a description of Graeco-Egyptian literature, cf. THISSEN 1977.
[459] Cf. the paintings from the tombs at Kom el-Shoqafa in Alexandria, which date to the Roman period. A detailed photographic publication of them is GUIMIER-SORBETS, PELLE and SEIF EL-DIN 2015.

located chronologically in the beginning of the Ptolemaic and the Roman periods respectively, in order to see how their priestly status was fundamental in the use of their works by Graeco-Roman authors as a source of documentation on ancient Egypt and on the ancient Egyptian priesthood. Finally, I will conclude with the examination of the textual corpus attributed to Hermes Trismegistos and classified under the designation of Hermetica, paying special attention to the complex issue of the identification of the milieu in which it was created.

1. The Greek *Alexander Romance*: Nectanebo

The Greek *Alexander Romance* is a narrative of the life of Alexander the Great that uses a core of historical facts, supplemented by a myriad of fictional adventures. Although it has sometimes been included in discussions of the ancient novel due to its similarities with other narratives of this genre[460], the lack of a love story as the central element of its plot makes the designation of fictional biography more fitting for it[461]. The main reason, however, for its inclusion in this chapter, and not in the section on the ancient novel in chapter 4, is that some parts of it, and in particular the Nectanebo episode that is the focus of this section, have an Egyptian origin. This places the creation of the image of Nectanebo as a priestly character in a middle point between those seen in the previous chapter, and the characters that will be analyzed in the next. In this section I will first present briefly the Greek *Alexander Romance*, summarizing the discoveries that have proven the Egyptian origin of some parts of the text, and then I will proceed to the analysis of the figure of Nectanebo in book 1.1-14. Since this figure has recently been the object

[460] It is included in the anthology of English translations of Greek novels edited by REARDON (2008).
[461] HOLZBERG 1995: 14 and 17-18.

of an entire PhD dissertation by Philippe Matthey[462], I will focus here on the elements that concern the present study, referring the reader to Matthey's work for a detailed analysis of other aspects.

The Greek *Alexander Romance* has a very complicated manuscript tradition. From a hypothetical original text, probably composed in Alexandria around the end of the third century BCE[463], different versions and translations into many languages are known[464], making it "antiquity's most successful novel"[465], with the earliest preserved manuscript dating to the 3rd century CE[466]. The various versions that have arrived to us combine materials from different traditions, from real historical information about the conquests of Alexander, to purely legendary elements[467]. Among the latter is the beginning of the book 1, which presents the last indigenous king of Egypt, Nectanebo II, as the real father of Alexander the Great. Early scholars already noticed that the presentation of Nectanebo, together with the claim of his paternity of Alexander, could derive from an original Egyptian text written shortly after Alexander's death, in order to legitimize his accession to the throne of Egypt[468]. A Greek text discovered in 1820 (P. Leiden I 396) as part of the archive of the *katochos* Ptolemaios from the Serapeum of Saqqara[469], written in this case by his brother Apollonios, contains a narrative that has been recognized as being connected to the beginning of the *Alexander Romance*. This narrative is known under the name of *Nectanebo's Dream*[470], and tells a story that begins with king Nectanebo in the temple of

[462] MATTHEY 2012.
[463] STONEMAN 1991: 10.
[464] For the textual tradition of the *Alexander Romance*, cf. STONEMAN 1991: 28-32.
[465] DOWDEN 2008: 650.
[466] STONEMAN 1991: 8.
[467] For a summary of the plot of the *Alexander Romance* with references to the location of each passage, cf. STONEMAN 1991: 5-7.
[468] For references, cf. JASNOW 1997: 97 footnote 15.
[469] On the *katochoi* of the Serapeum cf. LEGRAS 2011.
[470] For the Greek text, cf. KOENEN 1985. Recent German translations are available in GAUGER 2002, and HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 162-165. The title of the story, as was noted already by KOENEN (1985: 191) is Πετήσιος

Memphis having a dream. In it the god Onuris appears bowing in front of Isis and complaining about his temple in Sebennytos being incomplete. When Nectanebo wakes up, he summons his high priest and the prophet of Onuris, and they tell him that only the hieroglyphs of the sanctuary were missing. He then summons all the carvers of hieroglyphs in order to select the best of them, and Peteisis son of Hergeus agrees to finish the decoration of the sanctuary. However, when he goes to Sebennytos, he postpones the work in order to enjoy some days of holiday, drinking wine with the money which he had received from the king. He sees a beautiful woman called Ἀθύρεψε, from the Egyptian *ḥw.t-ḥr-šps.t* "noble Hathor"[471], a name with clear erotic connotations. Unfortunately, Apollonios does not copy the rest of the text[472]. Scholars had suspected that this text was a translation of an Egyptian original[473], written in Demotic, since the discovery of the papyrus, especially since the archive of Ptolemaios and Apollonios contains texts written by them both in Demotic and in Greek. This was confirmed when Ryholt published in 1998 a fragment of a Demotic papyrus (P. Carlsberg 562) containing a parallel of the beginning of *Nectanebo's Dream*[474]. The two manuscripts are separated by around 250 years, attesting to the popularity of the narrative[475]. Apart from this manuscript, Ryholt also identified three other manuscripts with school exercises (P. Carlsberg 424, 499, and 559) that contain a sequel to *Nectanebo's Dream*, in which the hieroglyph-carver, Peteisis son of Hergeus, is said to have suffered terrible things, and king Nectanebo gives instructions to find out about the arrival

---

ἱερογλύφου πρὸς Νεκτοναβὼν τὸν βασιλέα "Peteisis the hieroglyph-carver before king Nectanebo," which is very similar to the title of the *Oracle of the Potter*: Ἀπολογία κεραμέως πρὸς Ἀμενῶπιν τὸν βασιλέα "Defense of the potter before king Amenophis."

[471] For the identification of the name, cf. RYHOLT 2002: 231 footnote 20.

[472] Instead, he doodled a whimsical figure after the last line of copied text, and left the rest of the papyrus blank. For a picture of the end of the papyrus, cf. RAVEN 2012: 45.

[473] "The *Dream of Nektanebos* is clearly a translation or, at least, a free adaptation of an Egyptian original" (KOENEN 1985: 172).

[474] For an edition of the Demotic text including the comparison with the Greek, cf. RYHOLT 1998a.

[475] The Greek *Nectanebo's Dream* dates to the first half of the 2nd century BCE, while P. Carlsberg 562 comes from the Tebtunis Temple Library, and dates to the 1st or 2nd century CE (RYHOLT 2002: 221-222).

of foreigners and how long they will stay in Egypt, which seems to be the content of a prophecy given by Peteisis. Then the text recounts that he went to make offerings and libations before Haroeris in the temple of Wenkhem[476]. Ryholt has also discovered that the decoration of one of the two *naoi* of the temple of Onuris at Sebennytos was, in fact, never finished. This may well have been the cause for the origin to the story[477]. The existence of *Nectanebo's Dream* both in Greek and in Demotic opens the door for the rest of the Nectanebo episode of the *Alexander Romance* to be also derived from an Egyptian narrative. Already in 1997 Jasnow proposed a possible evidence of translation for the episode of the birth of Alexander in the use of the verb συγκλονέω "confound utterly, dash together" as deriving from the Egyptian *p<u>h</u>r*, which depending on its determinative can mean "to enchant" (man-with-hand-to-mouth) or "to go around (walking-legs)[478]. Hoffmann and Quack have even included a summary of the Nectanebo episode from the *Alexander Romance* in their anthology of Demotic literature, indicating that "Ein demotisches Original dieser Erzählung ist bisher nicht gefunden worden [...]. Ein ägyptischer Ursprung darf gleichwohl als sicher gelten"[479].

The figure of Nectanebo in the *Alexander Romance* is modeled after the historical Nectanebo II of the 30th Dynasty (360-343 BCE), who was the last native pharaoh of Egypt. The beginning of the narrative states that Alexander the Great was not the son of Philip II of Macedon, but of Nectanebo. This statement is attributed to "the wisest of the Egyptians" (Book 1.1), which is a reference to the priests. This places the rest of the narrative for the section in a native Egyptian context, and the discovery of the Demotic version of *Nectanebo's Dream* and its sequel are proof that this Egyptian attribution of the origin of the story was correct. Nevertheless,

[476] For an edition of these texts, cf. RYHOLT 2002: 228-232.
[477] Cf. RYHOLT 2002: 240-241.
[478] Cf. JASNOW 1997: esp. 98-100.
[479] HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 165-166.

Nectanebo's appearance as a fictional character was not in fact restricted to these narratives, he also appears in the *Life of Aesop*[480].

The main characteristic of Nectanebo's identity throughout the story is his presentation as a very powerful Egyptian prophet, skilled in the art of magic. In fact, the first description of the character given in the text, right after the first mention of his name in chapter 1, refers to his magical prowess, and appears in a more prominent position than the passage narrating his condition of king of Egypt. Nevertheless, the use of magic in this first section is directed to the protection of the country, which was one of the traditional duties of the king. He performed this through both military actions and as the main priest of the country[481]. It was in this guise that he was represented on the walls of all the temples, symbolically performing all the rituals for the maintenance of order in the land. In the *Alexander Romance* these two facets of the duties of the king, military and religious, are conflated, and it is through his powerful magic that Nectanebo is said to defeat his physical enemies, with particular emphasis on the fact that he did not need an army to do so. Although in the *Alexander Romance* the reason for the loss of favor of the Egyptian gods is not explained, the narrative in *Nectanebo's Dream* shows that he had upset the god Onuris, identified with Ares, god of war, by not finishing the decoration of his temple. This motif of the good and bad rulers, and the anger of the gods, appears in several texts of the Graeco-Roman period such as the *Demotic Chronicle* or the litany of the *Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*[482]. Thus, despite the fact that Nectanebo's main characterization in the *Alexander Romance* is that of an Egyptian prophet, his identity as king is clearly framed in the traditional

[480] The section in question is called "the Babylonian section," which is an adaptation of the *Tale of Ahiqar* in which Ahiqar is substituted by Aesop. The section in which Nectanebo appears is a riddle contest between the king of Assyria and the king of Egypt, in which Aesop helps the former. A recent study of the text by Konstantakos explores the abundant Egyptian elements of the text (cf. KONSTANTAKOS 2011.
[481] For the priestly function of the king, cf. i.e. SAUNERON 2000: 30-32; MATTHEY 2012: 162-169.
[482] Matthey has analyzed this motif in a recent article, cf. MATTHEY 2017.

ideology of Egyptian kingship, and in the need to keep order in the world. It should be kept in mind that this characterization as traditional king of Egypt plays a very important role in the narrative, since it will confer to Alexander his right to the throne of the country. After his departure from Egypt, Nectanebo loses his kingly identity, which will only be regained by his son Alexander later in the story.

Throughout the narrative, however, the main identity of Nectanebo is that of an Egyptian priest, which is the element that is maintained in his characterization in both the first part of the narrative in Egypt and the second part in Macedonia. He is designated as prophet, a high-ranking priest, and is represented performing a series of actions that we normally qualify as magic[483]. In the beginning of the narrative, he protects Egypt through the practice of lecanomancy (divination through a bowl of water), combined with the animation of wax figurines. Both these practices appear often in both the Demotic narratives of the Graeco-Roman period and in the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri, as I pointed out in chapter 2[484]. Nectanebo is also capable of sending dreams[485], and he himself performs an incubation in the temple of Memphis in *Nectanebo's Dream*, in order to communicate with the gods. In book 1.5 there is a detailed description of the process that he used in order to send Olympias a dream, involving the use of herbs, and once again a figurine of wax, in this case representing the queen. In book 1.8 he uses a sea-hawk in order to speak with Philip in a dream, an omen that is then correctly interpreted by a Babylonian dream-interpreter, which shows that Nectanebo's fake omen was good enough to be interpreted as real by other specialists. Another magical practice performed by Nectanebo is the transformation into an animal, which appears in book 1.10. As I have discussed in chapter 2, this

[483] As Matthey has noted, in manuscript A Nectanebo presents himself as μάγος, and in L it is Olympias who gives him that designation (MATTHEY 2012: 184).
[484] For the use of these magical practices in this episode, cf. MATTHEY 2012: 194-228.
[485] On the Egyptian rituals of dream-sending in the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri, and especially those in P. Louvre E 3229, cf. QUACK 2011a.

kind of magic was not typically practiced by Egyptian magicians, and tends to be attributed to foreign magicians, such as the Assyrian sorceress in the *Life of Imhotep*[486]. However, in P. Saqqara 2 front Imhotep appears in the form of a gigantic winged scarab and changes back to human form (P. Saqqara 2 front 6.18-20)[487], although it should be kept in mind that Imhotep at this point had a semi-divine character and thus he was not considered a regular magician. The dreams and his transformation into a snake are used in order to create fake omens, which is an element that appears also in the *Story of Peteisis*, when Peteisis creates the cat and the falcon of wax and sends them to Hareus[488].

Another aspect of his identity as priest is his description as an astronomer/astrologer[489], which is one of the most interesting motifs of the narrative. In book 1.4 and in book 1.14, Olympias and Alexander refer to Nectanebo as μαθηματικός, which apart from its general meaning as "fond of learning," had the particular connotation of someone versed in astronomy[490]. At his arrival to Pella, his occupation is described as predicting "events that were hidden in the stars" (*Alexander Romance* 1.3), and throughout the story he casts the nativities of Olympias, Philip, and himself. He tells her when she has to give birth to Alexander according to the most favorable alignment of the celestial bodies. In this task, he is portrayed with the appropriate tools of the trade, such as an astrological tablet, which can be identified with the few that have been preserved from this period[491]. In book 1.14, Nectanebo is said to use tablets (πίνακα) to examine the heavens. These may be understood as different from the tablet described in 1.4, and could

[486] Cf. chapter 2, section 12.
[487] Cf. SMITH and TAIT 1983: 70-109.
[488] Cf. chapter 2, section 2.1.1.
[489] Nectanebo introduces himself as an astrologer (ἀστρολόγος) in manuscript A (cf. MATTHEY 2012: 184).
[490] *LSJ*, s.v. μαθηματικός.
[491] For an analysis of these tablets, including images of those preserved, cf. EVANS 2004. Matthey studies the astrological elements in the *Alexander Romance* in MATTHEY 2012: 229-280. For a review of the status of astronomy/astrology in Graeco-Roman Egypt, *vid. infra* in this chapter, in the section on the technical Hermetica (3.2).

correspond to astronomical tables with mathematically calculated positions of the celestial bodies, which we know were composed both in Demotic and in Greek during the Graeco-Roman period[492]. These were among the tools used by astrologers in order to create horoscopes. An example of portable tables like those that Nectanebo might have been using here could be the Stobart tablets[493].

The characterization of Nectanebo as a prophet includes, apart from these actions and the magical accouterments used in them, the description of his physical preparation for the ritual, in which he takes the robes of the prophet. While this type of physical description is rather uncommon in Demotic narratives, it is not completely absent. A good example is from P. Vandier, in which Merire's physical preparation for the ritual of extending king Si-Sobek's life is described, consisting in shaving and donning linen clothes. The other element that is mentioned together with Nectanebo's priestly robes is an ebony staff, which is a feature that appears in the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri. Matthey has connected it with a possible Nubian origin[494]. Further information on his appearance is given in book 1.3, when Nectanebo shaves his hair and beard before fleeing Egypt. Although a shaven head was one of the requirements of ritual purity for the Egyptian priests, it is interesting to note that here it seems a means of hiding Nectanebo's identity (καὶ μεταμορφωσάμενος ἑαυτὸν ἑτέρῳ σχήματι "Thus transformed in appearance", *Alexander Romance* 1.3), since he was performing already as an Egyptian prophet before. This appears to suggest that no one would recognize him without his hair and beard, which means that he normally would not be clean-shaven, despite performing rituals as an Egyptian prophet. The

[492] For a classification of the types of astronomical tables existent in this period, cf. JONES 1999a. For more bibliography on the subject, cf. section 3.2 in this chapter.
[493] Cf. NEUGEBAUER 1942: esp. 220-228 and plates 23-26; NEUGEBAUER and PARKER 1969: 232-235 and plates 74-78.
[494] He relates it to the tradition transmitted by Diodoros of Nectanebo's flight to Nubia after his defeat (*Bibliotheca Historica* 16.51.1–2). For references concerning this ebony staff, cf. MATTHEY 2012: 190-193.

significance of this detail is hard to determine, and while it might be there to emphasize Nectanebo's transition from king to prophet, it could also be interpreted as evidence for Nectanebo's neglect of proper purity prescriptions towards the gods, contributing to his demise. His appearance is described once more when he disguises himself as Amun in order to make love to Olympias. The impersonation of gods by priests during rituals has been a subject of discussion in Egyptology, particularly with regard to the possibility of ritual texts being represented in a dramatic way, as in the case of the Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus[495]. We have several examples of masks of Anubis clearly made to be worn, and a description of a priest wearing one of them might be found in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* 11.11[496]. Other details concerning his physical characteristics, such as his age, are not given in the narrative. As in other narratives, when no especial emphasis is placed on the age of the characters, we should assume that this is irrelevant and that the character is probably middle-aged. The section of the *Alexander Romance* set in Egypt does not provide any information about his marital status, an omission that is probably intentional, since stating the existence of a previous Egyptian hereditary line for Nectanebo would defeat the purpose of the presentation of Alexander as his rightful heir.

The emotional and moral characterization of Nectanebo is complex. While he appears to be a wise man, knowledgeable in different areas corresponding to the priestly science, his use of knowledge does not seem to be always directed to higher purposes. Matthey has examined all the instances in which Nectanebo has a morally questionable behavior, especially his lust after Olympias, and his subsequent deceptions of the queen, Philip, and Alexander himself, to whom he only reveals his real identity when he is about to die[497]. This death is caused by Alexander himself, who in manuscript A, after Nectanebo tells him the truth, replies with a speech in which

[495] For a new study of the papyrus, cf. QUACK 2006b.
[496] Cf. GRIFFITHS 1975: 82-83 and 217-218 for references.
[497] Cf. MATTHEY 2012: 184-188.

he casts the blame of Nectanebo's own death on Nectanebo himself, and qualifies his actions as γοητεία "sorcery"[498]. Nectanebo's use of magic for his own selfish goals is reminiscent of that of Setne and Naneferkaptah in *Setne I*, of Peteisis in the *Story of Peteisis*, or of the old woman in Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*, which will be analyzed in chapter 4. In the cases of Naneferkaptah, Nectanebo, and the old woman, and perhaps also of Peteisis, the result of the performance of magic without a higher purpose is the death of the practitioner, as a punishment for a transgression.

The picture that emerges from the analysis of the figure of Nectanebo in the *Alexander Romance* closely resembles that of many of the priestly figures from the Demotic narratives analyzed in chapter 2. The possible origin of the Macedonian section of the Nectanebo episode in Egyptian sources, as Hoffmann and Quack have proposed in their anthology, would explain these similarities. However, each manuscript seems to emphasize different elements in the characterization of Nectanebo, being the result of a particular redaction of the original story, which would have been done already in the Hellenistic context that composed the *Alexander Romance*. One interesting difference is that the magical practices presented in the text are described in much more detail than what is usual in the Demotic narratives, and have direct parallels with spells from the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri[499]. This adds new complexity to the already complicated history of the composition of the *Alexander Romance*, which could have incorporated elements from magical or astrological texts, for example, in the short description of the recipe to send a dream that constitutes the short chapter 5 in book 1, or in the astrological description during Olympias' labor in book 1.12, which is only present in manuscript A[500].

[498] For the Greek text and translation of this section, cf. MATTHEY 2012: 188.
[499] The parallels have been noted by MATTHEY 2012: 194-228.
[500] The section corresponding to manuscript A is indicated in brackets in STONEMAN 1991: 43-44.

2. Manetho and Chaeremon (with a postscript on Horapollo)

The most important consideration that has to be kept in mind at all times in the analysis of Manetho and Chaeremon is that none of their works has been preserved directly. Everything that we know about them derives from more or less literal citations of sections of their works, and possible, but not always certain, references to biographical aspects. The picture that originates from this mosaic of sources is fragmentary, but provides some interesting points to consider in the evaluation of the creation of the image of the Egyptian priests in the Graeco-Roman period, since the reason why both Manetho and Chaeremon were cited as authoritative sources by other ancient writers is, precisely, their status and prestige as authentic Egyptian priests. The importance of Manetho's *Aigyptiaka* in the modern study of the history of Egypt, having provided the structure for its chronological division, has made Manetho the object of many studies, which due to the highly conjectural character of much of the information available has in many cases led scholars to diametrically opposite conclusions[501]. Less has been written about Chaeremon, who, apart from his actual biography, is relevant for my analysis because of his description of the Egyptian priesthood. In the following section I examine the relevant aspects of Manetho and Chaeremon as Egyptian priests, with a special emphasis on the critical analysis of how this information has come down to us and how it should be evaluated. At the end of the section I include a postscript about Horapollo, since although chronologically he falls outside of the frame of this analysis, he provides some clues that relate especially to Chaeremon.

[501] Redford has described the study of Manetho as "a 'no-man's land' whose paths are uncharted though nonetheless discussed widely in current scholarly literature" (REDFORD 1986: 203-204). The latest scholarly debate has taken place between John Dillery and Ian Moyer (cf. criticism to DILLERY 1999 in MOYER 2011: 84-141, and response in DILLERY 2015: xiv-xix, 341-342).

2.1. Manetho

Manetho, as I stated above, has received much scholarly attention, and in recent times many studies have appeared analyzing different aspects of his figure and his work. Thus, in order to avoid unnecessary repetition, in this section I will briefly review the nature of the evidence available for the study of the figure of Manetho, and in doing so I will attempt to clarify what we actually know about him, beyond speculations that have become common knowledge "facts" in the scholarly community, but which in fact sometimes are based on unclear material.

The works of Manetho, and particularly his history of Egypt, *Aigyptiaka,* have been preserved through citations by four later authors[502]. The Jewish historian Flavius Josephus (1st century CE) is the first to mention Manetho's history of Egypt. The context of Josephus' citation of Manetho is his defense of the Jews in his work on the history of his people, written in Greek and generally known as *Contra Apionem*, the title given by Jerome due to its being a response to the anti-Semitic accusations of Apion of Alexandria, who had led in 38 CE an embassy to Rome to complain about the privileges of the Alexandrian Jews. Thus, apart from the chronological frame against which Josephus presented the history of the Jews, he included three narrative sections relevant to his argument. The two next authors derived their citations from an *Epitome* of Manetho's *Aigyptiaka* that seems to have included only the chronological structure with some glosses[503]. These are the Christian chronographers Sextus Julius Africanus (*Chronicle*, 3rd century CE, cited in *Excerpta Latina Barbari*, 6th century CE) and Eusebius of Caesarea (*Historia Ecclesiastica,* 4th century CE, with an Armenian translation in the 5th century CE)[504]. Since the interest of these authors was just to compare the chronology of Egypt to that of the Bible, they

[502] For a more detailed description of these sources cf. WADDELL 1940: xv-xx.
[503] Gozzoli makes a proposal for the transmission of the *Aegyptiaka* in the form of a diagram in GOZZOLI 2006: 223.
[504] For an analysis of the transmission of Greek historiography through the Christian chronographers from Africanus to Syncellus, cf. ADLER 1989.

based their work on an epitome of the *Aigyptiaka* where the narrative sections had been excluded[505]. The latest author who made use of Manetho's work was the Byzantine monk Georgios Syncellos (9th century CE) in his history of the world, *Eklogue Chronographias*. It is important to keep in mind that the first reference to the work of Manetho, that of Josephus, appears three centuries after it was presumably written. This chronological gap has been observed by many scholars, sometimes as a proof for a later dating of the *Aigyptiaka* and its pseudoepigraphic character[506]. This is certainly an important historiographical problem that, due to the sparse character of the evidence available, cannot be solved. The main problem that this history of transmission generates is the reasonable doubt that the fragments preserved may or may not have belonged to Manetho's original work, together with the possibility of modification throughout their transmission due to the particular agendas of those reporting them[507].

The first topic that has been an object of debate in modern scholarship about Manetho is the meaning of his name, which appears written in different forms, and for which an Egyptian origin is accepted[508]. This uncertainty derives also from the uncommon character of the name[509]. Outside of the references to Manetho's works in the aforementioned four authors, and other clear mentions to this Manetho in particular, such as those by Aelian or Tertullian (*FrGrH* 609 F23a and T6b), only three other occurrences of the name exist. However, it is not at all clear if all of them refer to the Manetho of the *Aigyptiaka*. These sources have also been used in order to date Manetho's life. Plutarch refers in *De Iside et Osiride* (28, 362a; *FrGrH* 609 T3) to a Manetho the

[505] Following the reconstruction of the transmission of the *Aigyptiaka* proposed by Laqueur, summarized in REDFORD 1986: 206.
[506] This is the point of view of Hornung, Krauss, and Warburton in a short essay, where they emphasize the absence of Manetho in the works of Pliny, Diodorus, or Strabo, or any Alexandrian scholar (HORNUNG, KRAUSS and WARBURTON 2006: 34-35). The issue of Manetho's existence was also voiced by Bouché-Leclercq in his *Histoire des Lagides* (cited in WADDELL 1940: xiv footnote 2).
[507] Dillery has engaged with all these issues in a series of publications, especially concerning the analysis of the three narrative fragments, cf. DILLERY 1999, DILLERY 2013, and DILLERY 2015. Cf. also MOYER 2011: 84-141.
[508] Cf. THISSEN 1987.
[509] WADDELL 1940: xiii. Thissen concludes that the name is actually fictional (THISSEN 1987: 96).

Sebennyte (Μανέθωνα τὸν Σεβεννύτην[510]) as one of the introducers, with Timotheus the interpreter[511], of the cult of Serapis in Alexandria. In this fragment, Ptolemy I consults specifically Manetho and Timotheus on the identification of a colossus of Pluto that he had seen in a dream. Thus, Manetho, although not identified here by any title, is presented as an expert in theological matters, and as a close figure to the founder of the Ptolemaic dynasty[512]. This is also the earliest source indentifying him as coming from Sebennytos[513]. The name of Manetho also appears inscribed in Greek characters on the base of a statue found in the temple of Serapis in Carthage. This has been connected with Plutarch's narrative in order to support Manetho's association with the Serapis cult. The date of the statue, however, is unclear, and thus it might just derive from the tradition followed by Plutarch in his story, instead of being a proof for its authenticity[514]. Another document that mentions a Manetho is P. Hibeh I 72, which derives from a mummy cartonnage. This dates to 241 BCE and contains a complaint concerning the disappearance of the seal of the temple of Herishef in Phebichis[515]. The text, in lines 6-7, mentions a Manetho to whom official letters could have been sent using that seal (γράφειν Μανέθωνι). This is the only attestation of the name from the Ptolemaic period. In summary, these external sources, if they are to be identified with the same Manetho of the *Aigyptiaca*, and

[510] GRIFFITHS 1970: 28-29.
[511] For Timotheus, who according to Tacitus was a high priest of the Eleusinian rites, cf. GRIFFITHS 1970: 397.
[512] The narrative about the foundation of the Serapis cult is reported for the first time by Tacitus, who places it in the reign of Ptolemy III, and does not mention Manetho. Other references, however, seem to clearly associate this cult to Ptolemy I (cf. *Brill's New Jacoby* online: *FrGrH* 609 T3). Moyer indicates that the authenticity of Plutarch's story has been questioned, cf. MOYER 2011: 86 footnote 7.
[513] The *Suda* (*FrGrH* 609 T1) refers to a Manetho from Mendes, who was a high priest and wrote a treatise on the preparation of kyphi. This is the only mention to a Manetho with that origin. Another entry in the *Suda* (*FrGrH* 609 T2) mentions a Manetho from Sebennytos who lived in Diospolis and wrote a *Physika* (an account on nature. Diogenes Laertius also attributes to him an epitome of a work of the same name, cf. *FrGrH* 609 Fr17) and a *Apotelesmatika* (astrological influences), which seems to be a later attribution (cf. commentary to *FrGrH* 609 T2).
[514] *FrGrH* 609 T5 = *CIL* 8.1007.
[515] *FrGrH* 609 T4. The papyrus was originally published in GRENFELL and HUNT 1906: 222-225.

their authenticity accepted, identify his homeland as Sebennytos[516]. They place him in the context of the Ptolemaic court in the reigns of the first kings of the dynasty, acting as a theological expert close to the king, and perhaps in charge of a section of the administration of the temples.

Apart from the reference to Manetho as a theological expert in Plutarch, he is presented as a priest only in Syncellos (*FrGrH* 609 T11a and T11b, and F25), and the *Suda* (*FrGrH* 609 T1). In both testimonies, dating to the 9th and 10th centuries CE respectively, he is described as ἀρχιερεὺς "high priest." In the introduction of the letter from Manetho to Ptolemy II, transmitted by Syncellos (F25), he is described as ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ γραμματεὺς τῶν κατ᾽ Αἴγυπτον ἱερῶν ἀδύτων "high priest and scribe of the sacred shrines of Egypt," and said to live in Heliopolis[517]. This identification as a member of the Egyptian priesthood and as a scribe does not appear in earlier sources but was clearly derived from the evidence that he had worked with sacred sources in the composition of his works, together with the religious topics he discussed in them. The most important description of Manetho, due to being the earliest preserved, and to the fact that it accompanies what is supposed to be direct quotations of his work, is the one provided by Josephus: ἄρξομαι δὲ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις γραμμάτων. αὐτὰ μὲν οὖν οὐχ οἷόν τε παρατίθεσθαι τἀκείνων, Μανεθὼν δ᾽ ἦν τὸ γένος Αἰγύπτιος, ἀνὴρ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς μετεσχηκὼς παιδείας, ὡς δῆλός ἐστιν· γέγραφεν γὰρ Ἑλλάδι φωνῆι τὴν πάτριον ἱστορίαν ἔκ τε τῶν ἱερῶν <γραμμάτων>, ὥς φησιν αὐτός μεταφράσας, καὶ πολλὰ τὸν Ἡρόδοτον ἐλέγχει τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν ὑπ᾽ ἀγνοίας

[516] The last native dynasty before the Second Persian Period was from Sebennytos. I. Moyer has noted that the descendants of this dynasty seem to have kept a privileged position after the conquest of Alexander, and points to the use of elements derived from the titulary of Nectanebo II in the creation of Alexander's own titulary (cf. MOYER 2011: 87-88). His origin in Sebennytos would probably have facilitated Manetho's access to the inner circles of the royal court.

[517] The identification as high priest of Re at Heliopolis that Gozzoli mentions does not appear in any source (GOZZOLI 2006: 191).

ἐψευσμένον. "Manetho, who was an Egyptian by race, was a man who had gained a Greek higher education; for he wrote the history of his homeland in the Greek tongue, from the sacred records, as he himself says, having translated these, and also he refutes Herodotos frequently since Herodotos, out of ignorance, was often wrong on Egyptian matters" (*FrGrH* 609 T7a[518]). This fragment, despite not giving Manetho any particular titles, provides his most detailed presentation, and some scholars, such as Dillery, have considered that it may derive from a self-introduction or proem by Manetho himself in his original work[519]. This can be deduced from the sentence ὥς φησιν αὐτός "as he himself says," which points to a description of his sources in Manethos original work. The fragment highlights his identity as a native Egyptian, but puts the emphasis on his Greek education and the use of Greek in order to write his history of Egypt. Then it mentions the sources used in the composition of his *Aigyptiaka*. However, the fragment is corrupt. Jacoby, whose edition of the Greek text I follow here, reads the text as ἔκ τε τῶν ἱερῶν <γραμμάτων>. Waddell follows in his edition Gutschmid's emendation of δέλτων "writing tablet" for τε τῶν (ἔκ δέλτων τε τῶν ἱερῶν)[520]. In any case, it is clear that the sources referred to in this sentence are to be located in the environment of the Egyptian temples. A very important element of this description is that Manetho's interaction with these sources is described as a process of translation (μεταφράσας). Finally, Josephus emphasizes that Manetho responds to Herodotos' affirmations and corrects them on many occasions (πολλὰ). Each one of these elements, seen against the few fragments that seem to be quotations from Manetho's works,

[518] Translation from *Brill's New Jacoby* online.
[519] DILLERY 1999: 97.
[520] WADDELL 1940: 76-77. This emendation would be unnecessary considering the parallel of *FrGrH* 609 Fr7b, cf. *infra*. Some scholars have taken this emendation as real evidence and have added "written tablets" to their lists of sources of Manetho (cf. i.e. GOZZOLI 2006: 196). I would be more cautious, since tablets were not the normal medium for recording information in ancient Egypt, and consider Jacoby's "sacred records" as a more accurate depiction of these sources.

and how these are introduced by Josephus, flesh out a bit more the tenuous picture of Manetho obtained so far.

The first point to discuss is the type of sources that Manetho would have used in his works, and his access to them, which constitute the main argument for his identification as a priest. Apart from the fragment cited above, Josephus refers to Manetho's sources again in *FrGrH* 609 T7b = *Contra Apionem* 1 §228, which again suggests that he translated (μεθερμηνεύειν) the history of Egypt from the sacred records (ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων), and again in *FrGrH* 609 T7c = *Contra Apionem* 1 §104 (ἐκ τῶν παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις γραμμάτων). In this last fragment, however, he also adds another source for Manetho's work, "from the anonymous mythological stories" (ἐκ τῶν ἀδεσπότως μυθολογουμένων, *Contra Apionem* 1 §105), which according to Josephus is also specified by Manetho himself (ὡς αὐτὸς ὡμολόγηκεν). The fact that he translated from the original Egyptian sources appears as well in Eusebios (μετείληφεν, *FrGrH* 609 T9). Syncellos contrasts the work of Manetho with an "ancient chronicle" (παλαιόν τι χρονογραφεῖον, *FrGrH* 609 T10), from which he says Manetho has diverged (πεπλανῆσθαι). Nothing more about this chronicle is said, except that it has been transmitted by the Egyptians, perhaps indicating its antiquity. This later tradition also seems to associate the sources of Manetho with the descriptions of ancient Egyptian sacred texts in the context of the Hermetica and other alchemical works. Thus, Syncellos describes these sources as: ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῆι Σηριαδικῆι γῆι κειμένων στηλῶν ἱερᾶι φησὶ διαλέκτωι καὶ ἱερογραφικοῖς γράμμασιν κεχαρακτηρισμένων ὑπὸ Θώθ τοῦ πρώτου Ἑρμοῦ καὶ ἑρμηνευθεισῶν μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς διαλέκτου, εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν γράμμασιν ἱερογλυφικοῖς καὶ ἀποτεθέντων ἐν βίβλοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγαθοδαίμονος, υἱοῦ τοῦ δευτέρου Ἑρμοῦ, πατρὸς δὲ τοῦ Τάτ, ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις τῶν ἱερῶν Αἰγύπτου. "This, he

says, originated from pillars located in the Seriadic land, inscribed in the sacred language and holy characters by Thoth, the first Hermes, and when, after the Flood, this had been translated from holy speech into the Greek tongue in hieroglyphic characters, and arranged in books in the shrines of the sanctuaries of Egypt by Agathos Daimon, son of the second Hermes and father of Tat" (*FrGrH* 609 T11)[521]. Following this tradition, the texts are described written on stelae in Egyptian language and in sacred script by Thoth and translated after the flood in hieroglyphs. There is a distinction between the first script (ἱερογραφικοῖς γράμμασιν) and the second (γράμμασιν ἱερογλυφικοῖς), which might be a confusion between hieroglyphs and hieratic[522]. The phrase that indicates that it was translated into Greek is considered by Waddell a later addition[523], and it would not make sense here if Manetho is considered to be the first one to have translated these records into Greek. Agathodaimon, the second Hermes, is said to have arranged these texts in books in the shrines of the temples of Egypt. This transfer from stone to papyrus, and the conservation of the resulting books in the temples follows the tradition of textual transmission within the temples of Egypt that is part of the Hermetica as well[524].

Apart from these later references, the analysis of the structure of the *Aigyptiaka* as preserved especially in Josephus, and the three narrative fragments, have provided clues on which actual sources would have been these sacred records. The aspect that has attracted more attention, and was the main reason for the transmission of the *Aigyptiaka*, was its chronological structure as a list of the kings of Egypt. There is general consensus that among the sources used by Manetho were annalistic documents and sign lists such as those carved on the walls of the

[521] Edition of the Greek text and translation by Jacoby through the *Brill's New Jacoby* online. Waddell indicates that this passage, according to W. Scott, may have belonged originally to Manetho's letter to Ptolemy II (*FrGrH* 609 F25), cf. WADDELL 1940: 209 footnote 3.
[522] This is also Festugière's suggestion, cf. FESTUGIÈRE 2014: 91.
[523] WADDELL 1940: 208. Fowden comments on this emendation, cf. FOWDEN 1986: 30-31.
[524] On the genealogy of Hermes as presented here, and in general about the pseudo-Manethonian letter in connection with the Hermetica, cf. FOWDEN 1986: 29-31.

temples of Seti I and Ramesses II in Abydos, the Palermo Stone, or lists of a more documentary character such as the so-called Turin Canon[525]. Although most of these documents date to the late New Kingdom, this tradition of creating king lists seems to have continued up to the Graeco-Roman period[526], and in fact during the Late Period this tradition was maintained through the creation of priestly genealogies[527]. Much has been said about all these sources, but Manetho's *Aigyptiaka,* in the form in which it has been transmitted through Josephus, also contains glosses and narratives, which are not present in these king lists. Scholars such as J. Dillery and I. Moyer have recently undertaken the detailed analysis of these narrative fragments in order to provide a nuanced picture of their composition and sources. In an important article published in 1999, Dillery analyzed the narrative character of Manetho's *Aigyptiaka*, exploring its possible sources. On the Egyptian side, apart from the annalistic sources studied by Redford, he points out the connections of Manetho's work with the so called apocalyptic literature, which he calls, using Ludwig Koenen's terminology "prophetic *Königsnovelle*[528]. He includes here texts such as the *Demotic Chronicle*, the *Oracle of the Potter*, or the *Oracle of the Lamb*, noting their long history in Egyptian literature, going back to the Middle Kingdom with texts such as the *Prophecy of Neferti*[529]. He also incorporates into his study the autobiographies of priests, pointing out the centrality of priests in the three preserved narrative fragments[530]. In his book *Clio's Other Sons: Berossus and Manetho* (2015), Dillery reviews these sources in more detail, but also adds new ones, such as the materials from the Tebtunis Temple Library, mentioning both priestly manuals such as the *Book of Thoth*, the *Book of the Temple*, or the *Book of the Faiyum*, and the Demotic

[525] For a detail analysis of all these types of documents cf. REDFORD 1986: esp. chapter 1. On the study of Egyptian chronology, cf. HORNUNG, KRAUSS and WARBURTON 2006.
[526] REDFORD 1986: 203.
[527] On these priestly genealogies, cf. MOYER 2011: 63-68. This is reflected in P. Vandier, when the court magicians consult documents about past pharaohs in order to find out about the illness of Si-Sobek, cf. chapter 2, section 5.2.
[528] DILLERY 1999: 102.
[529] For an edition and analysis of the Egyptian so-called apocalyptic texts, cf. BLASIUS and SCHIPPER 2002.
[530] DILLERY 1999: 105.

narratives[531]. He mentions Ryholt's interpretation of these narratives as evidence for the Egyptian conception of history in the Graeco-Roman period. Although he values it as an "important insight," he cautions against putting too much emphasis on connecting Manetho's work with "the Egyptian temple library" and prefers to stress the aspects in which he considers that Manetho diverges from the Egyptian narrative traditions[532]. In doing so, he highlights that the *Aigyptiaka* was composed in Greek, and that the king list is not present as a genre in the Tebtunis Temple Library. He stresses as well that, while the narratives in Manetho have many points of contact with those found in the Egyptian temple libraries, these are not placed in a chronological framework[533]. He also observes that Manetho seems to have used Greek texts as sources, since in the entry about Sesostris he mentions traditions that appear in the Greek narratives about Sesostris, including Herodotus[534]. Dillery's conclusion is that there was no "continuous narrative history" in Egypt before Manetho[535], and asserts that Greek historiography provided the model for the *Aigyptiaka*[536].

This interpretation is basically the same that he had presented, with less detail, in his 1999 article, which was criticized by Moyer in 2011. In his chapter on Manetho, Moyer presents a view of the *Aigyptiaka* that goes against the statement that "Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* appears because Greek history and Greek civilization have arrived in Egypt," a view that he attributes to Dillery and other scholar's analyses[537]. Taking a post-colonial approach, Moyer discards views that set Manetho as a collaborator of the Ptolemaic dynasty and argues for an independence of Manetho from the earlier Greek historiographical sources "in terms of both the structural

[531] DILLERY 2015: 170-171. For the priestly manuals, cf. chapter 4 *supra*, for the Demotic narratives, cf. chapter 2 *supra*.
[532] DILLERY 2015: 171.
[533] DILLERY 2015: 171.
[534] DILLERY 2015: 179.
[535] DILLERY 2015: 198.
[536] DILLERY 2015: 199.
[537] MOYER 2011: 98.

principle itself and its chronological function in historiography"[538]. Moyer acknowledges Manetho's familiarity with the works of previous Greek authors such as Herodotus, since his work, as indicated in *FrGrH* 609 T7a, responds to and corrects this author's mistakes. He considers, however, that the fact that Manetho knew Herodotos' work and responded to it does not mean that he did it through the adoption of Greek historiographical ways. On the contrary, according to Moyer, Manetho followed patterns that were already present in the previous Egyptian tradition[539]. One of the main differences that he establishes is that, while the idea of the king list in Herodotos or Hecataeus as a way of representing the past is only a section of their works, Manetho's work "is a king-list from beginning to end"[540]. Moyer recognizes that the combination of a king list with narratives was innovative in the Egyptian context, but he also observes the differences between the way Herodotos wrote a continuous narrative and how Manetho inserted narratives in the king list "using what could be described as an exegetical format: a pattern of lemmata and comments"[541]. Moyer, however, emphasizes that Herodotos used Egyptian records to criticize Greek traditions, but divided the Egyptian past using periods that belong to Greek chronology. He created synchronisms[542], which is something that also appears in Manetho, but according to Moyer's analysis these synchronisms do not depend on Herodotus or other Greek sources[543]. Both Moyer and Dillery, mention the Sesostris tradition that appears in Herodotos as origin for Manetho's mention of the conquests of this king[544]. Concerning the Egyptian narrative sources, Moyer acknowledges them referring to the Tebtunis Temple Library and referencing Ryholt's description of it, and describing in detail prophetic

[538] MOYER 2011: 103.
[539] MOYER 2011: 104.
[540] MOYER 2011: 105.
[541] MOYER 2011: 106.
[542] MOYER 2011: 108.
[543] MOYER 2011: 110-113.
[544] MOYER 2011: 108, and DILLERY 2015: 179.

texts such as the *Demotic Chronicle*, the *Prophecy of the Lamb*, or the *Nectanebo's Dream*[545]. In summary, Moyer's position is that the *Aigyptiaka* does not show any clear dependence on the Greek historiographical tradition, but is based entirely on Egyptian sources. Considering the historical implications of this interpretation, he adds that: "Manetho's work was not the result of a Greek colonization of Egyptian historical consciousness. It was an indigenous attempt both to make explicit the proper historical role of the Egyptian pharaoh, and also to teach the Ptolemies and other Greeks at court to read Egyptian history in an Egyptian fashion"[546]. Thus, Dillery and Moyer use basically the same material and arrive at two different conclusions, which differ in the importance that they give to the influence of Greek historiography in the composition of the *Aigyptiaka*.

Although a detailed analysis of the *Aigyptiaka* falls outside of the scope of my present work, I have summarized both Dillery and Moyer's positions in order to give my own take on this issue, since it is relevant for the consideration of Manetho's sources, and therefore for the clarification of Manetho's context and identity. Although both Dillery and Moyer mention the Demotic narratives, especially citing K. Ryholt's work on the Tebtunis Temple Library[547], none of them goes into detail beyond the so-called apocalyptic literature mentioned above. As I have pointed out, although Dillery refers to the Demotic narratives in his 2015 publication, and to Ryholt's analysis of them especially in his 2009 article about Egyptian historical literature, he proceeds quickly to downgrade their importance, and does not cite Demotic literature in his analysis of the narrative sections transmitted by Josephus. His analysis therefore only focuses on the supposedly Greek elements of these narratives, completely ignoring the fact that many of the elements that he takes as Greek are equally present in Egyptian literature. This biases his analysis

[545] MOYER 2011: 124-138.
[546] MOYER 2011: 140-141.
[547] In particular RYHOLT 2005a and RYHOLT 2009a.

significantly towards the Greek side and helps him support his thesis of Manetho's use of a Greek historiographical framework for the composition of the *Aithiopika*. Moyer gives more importance to the Egyptian evidence in his analysis, and definitely in his conclusion, but does not include in his analysis materials such as the narratives presented by Ryholt in his 2009 article on Egyptian historical sources[548]. An example applicable to both authors in which the consideration of Demotic sources gives a more nuanced picture is that of Manetho's entry for Sesostris. The text is transmitted by Syncellos (*FrGrH* 609 F2) and Eusebius of Caesarea (*FrGrH* 609 F3b). In both cases the entry starts with the placement as third king of the 12th dynasty, the name of Sesostris as a lemma, and a description of his reign and particularly his conquests. The text in Eusebius reads: γ̄ Σέσωστρις ἔτη μη, ὃς λέγεται γεγονέναι πηχῶν δ̄, παλαιστῶν γ̄, δακτύλων β̄· ὃς πᾶσαν ἐχειρώσατο τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν ἐνιαυτοῖς ἐννέα καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης τὰ μέχρι Θράικης, πανταχόσε μνημόσυνα ἐγείρας τῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν κατασχέσεως, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς γενναίοις ἀνδρῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἀγενέσι γυναικῶν μόρια ταῖς στήλαις ἐγχαράσσων, ὡς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων μετὰ Ὄσιριν νομισθῆναι. "3: Sesostris, for 48 years, who is said to have been four cubits, three palms, and two fingers tall. He subdued all of Asia in nine years and Europe as far as Thrace, and everywhere erected memorials to the nature of these races; for noble people he engraved male genitalia on steles, and for cowardly peoples female genitalia, so that he was considered by the Egyptians to be foremost—after Osiris—of their rulers"[549]. Both Dillery and Moyer undestand Herodotus' account of Sesostris[550] as the source for Manetho's narrative, although Moyer is the only one to mention, in a footnote, the existence of Demotic versions of the legend of Sesostris that might influence both Herodotos and

[548] This article is not included in the bibliography of MOYER 2011.
[549] Edition and translation by Jacoby in *Brill's New Jacoby* online.
[550] DILLERY 2015: 179, 206 and 312-315; MOYER 2011: 108.

Manetho[551]. Dillery, however, does not seem to be aware of the Demotic versions of the legend of Sesostris, asserting that Manetho seems to have used Herodotus and Hecataeus of Abdera in his description of Sesostris, which he reasonably assumes must have had a long narrative section in the original *Aigyptiaka*. In this line, he describes Manetho's sources on Sesostris thusly: "It is essential to see that Manetho has taken up a narrative about the greatest of the pharaohs, indeed the world-conqueror, from *Greek* sources, and yet at the same time stated that his conquests were of such a kind "so that, after Osiris he was considered first by the Egyptians""[552]. He compares the Sesostris narrative with the *Alexander Romance* and the Greek *Sesostris Romance* and considers the process of Manetho's description as a "kind of cultural re-appropriation"[553]. The issue is, however, much more complex; the analyses of G. Widmer and K. Ryholt in two articles on the Demotic versions of the Sesostris legend[554] must be considered in conjunction with Ryholt's ideas on the Egyptian historical literature[555].

In 2002 G. Widmer published an article surveying the sources on the cult of Amenemhat III in the Faiyum. She included at the end a summary of the contents of two Demotic papyri, P. Carlsberg 411 and P. Carlsberg 412, which seem to constitute two manuscripts of a narrative about king Amenemhat and his son Sesostris[556]. In these papyri, like in the *Sesostris Romance* in Greek found in Oxyrhynchus[557], foreign lands and peoples are mentioned, mostly those to the south of Egypt (Nubia, Kush), but also places in the east such as Syria or Arabia, and words and

[551] MOYER 2011: 108 footnote 84, citing WIDMER 2002, on which cf. *infra*.
[552] DILLERY 2015: 313. The italics are Dillery's.
[553] DILLERY 2015: 314.
[554] RYHOLT 2010 and WIDMER 2002.
[555] RYHOLT 2009a.
[556] Another section of the Demotic *Sesostris Romance* has been identified by Ryholt in P. Carlsberg 77, which contains an astronomical table in Greek on its verso (QUACK 2013; the edition of the astronomical table has been published by M. Perale and A. Jones, who mention the Sesostris narrative in PERALE and JONES 2011: 42-43 and footnote 5).
[557] Preserved in P. Oxy. 1826, P. Oxy. 2466, and P. Oxy. 3319. For the translation of the text, cf. STEPHENS and WINKLER 1995: 246-266. A short summary of these papyri appears in QUACK 2009a: 32-33.

expressions relating to battle and death[558]. Widmer observes how the Greek sources that refer to Sesostris, such as Diodorus and Strabo, say that Sesostris' first military campaign was against the Arabians[559]. Despite the fragmentary state of the papyri, Widmer concludes that this narrative constitutes the Egyptian version of the *Sesostris Romance*, presenting Sesostris as a great conqueror. In 2010 K. Ryholt published a Demotic ostracon (O. Leipzig UB 2217), preserving five lines of what seems to be a Sesostris story. The most interesting aspect of this ostracon is that it includes a sentence that appears in Diodorus' description of the reign of Sesostris and which Ryholt considers the direct source for Diodorus' wording[560]. In this article Ryholt reviews the Greek sources on the *Sesostris Romance,* remarking especially Diodorus' affirmation that "with regard to this king not only are the Greek writers at variance with one another, but also among the Egyptians the priests and the poets who sing his praises give conflicting stories" (*Bibliotheca Historica* 1.53). This shows that Egyptian stories as well as Greek ones about Sesostris were circulating in Egypt in the Graeco-Roman period[561]. A very interesting point is that Sesostris is also mentioned in the *Inaros Epic* as the father of an Amenemhat, connecting him to an important Demotic narrative cycle in which the central figure, Inaros, is another conqueror that ventures into the east[562]. These sources demonstrate that the *Sesostris Romance* was circulating also in Demotic, and the Greek version is probably a translation of it from the Demotic. These Demotic sources are at the basis of the accounts of Herodotus and Diodorus (perhaps through Hecataeus of Abdera) in their accounts. As for the connections of the *Sesostris*

[558] For a detailed presentation of these, with facsimiles from the papyri, cf. WIDMER 2002: 388-390.
[559] WIDMER 2002: 390.
[560] RYHOLT 2010: 431 note a. The Demotic sentence is *r kmy šbn n in-nfr nb n pȝy=f hȝ* "in whose reign Egypt was overflowing with all good things" (O. Leipzig UB 2217 lines 2-3), which Ryholt connects with Diodorus' ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἁπασαν συνέβη παντοίας ὠφελείας ἐμπλησθῆναι "it also came to pass that all Egypt was filled to overflowing with benefits of every kind" (*Bibliotheca Historica* 1.55.12).
[561] RYHOLT 2010: 432.
[562] RYHOLT 2010: 432. For a description of the *Inaros Epic*, cf. RYHOLT 2004: 492-495. Ryholt notes that when that article was published, the name of Sesostris had not been identified yet.

Romance with the *Alexander Romance*, pointed out by Dillery, K. Ryholt has explored the phenomenon of the *imitatio Alexandri* in the Sesostris and other Egyptian narratives[563]. In his conclusion to this article, Ryholt remarks on the importance of these considerations in the analysis of the accounts of Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, and Tacitus that are attributed to Egyptian priestly sources[564]. In fact, in the case of Herodotus, J. F. Quack has recently published an article bringing attention to the connections between his work and the original Demotic sources that he might have used[565]. In this article, to the aforementioned sources on the Demotic *Sesostris Romance*, he adds conjecturally P. Saqqara 3, which does not mention Sesostris, but features a Thaimos, who appears in the Greek *Sesostris Romance*[566]. This further connects the Demotic Sesostris narratives with the Greek ones, and provides more grounds for the argument that the latter derive from the former, which were already in existence at the time Herodotus visited Egypt and learned them from the Egyptian priests, despite the fact that the written copies that we have at present date to a later period.

Going back to Manetho and to the inquiry about his sources for the *Aigyptiaka*, the example of Sesostris discussed above shows how he did not need recourse to Greek materials for his narrative passages, as proposed by Dillery. The analysis of Quack in his 2013 article mentioned above also provides numerous Demotic materials that point to what may have been the sources of Herodotus, and which would still be available in Manetho's time. In his 2009 article on the Egyptian historical literature Ryholt provides a summary of Demotic materials for

[563] RYHOLT 2013a. This article is not taken into account in DILLERY 2015, despite the fact that Dillery has an article on Manetho in the same volume as Ryholt's.
[564] RYHOLT 2013a: 78.
[565] QUACK 2013. Although Dillery cites this article in DILLERY 2015: 171 footnote 217, he does so in order to refer to other references to other articles by Ryholt on Demotic narratives apart from RYHOLT 2005a, which he indicates he has unfortunately not seen. However, he does not consider Quack's arguments on Sesostris during his analysis of this topic. Apart from Sesostris, Quack analyzes other stories in this article such as the story of Pheros, Rhampsinitos' harrowing of Hell, or the story of Khufu's prostitution of his daughter.
[566] QUACK 2013: 65 and footnote 13.

other rulers ranging from the Old Kingdom to the Third Intermediate Period[567]. I believe that this is enough evidence to refute Dillery's cautioning remark against the overemphasis on the Demotic material[568]. Although this is not the place for a complete discussion of Dillery's 2015 analysis of Manetho's narratives, I will briefly point out another instance in which a deeper knowledge of the Demotic material also allows one to reject the use of Greek sources or to discount Greek influence in Manetho's work. Dillery says that Manetho's reference to "Assyrians" in the context of the Hyksos might be derived from his reading of Greek stories on the "Assyrian" rulers Ninus and Semiramis[569], following E. Meyer's suggestion[570]. Dillery states that: "If Meyer's suggestion is correct, a pair of important and interrelated points emerges: either Manetho was reading Greek historians on Babylon, or he was reading hellenophone Babylonians on Babylon; in either case, he was allowing a non-Egyptian source to shape his own understanding of the first Hyksos king's motivations for fortifying his eastern frontier." Dillery is clearly unaware here of the numerous Demotic literary works that mention the Assyrians, even in connection with the Old Kingdom, as in the *Life of Imhotep* (P. Carlsberg 85)[571]. This literature pertaining to the Assyrians has been surveyed in depth by Ryholt in a 2004 article[572].

The most important aspect in Dillery and Moyer's interpretative confrontation, however, is not the use of Demotic narrative sources in the composition of the *Aigyptiaka,* which both of them accept with different degrees of emphasis, but rather the influence of Greek

[567] For a summary of the kings addressed in the materials of the Tebtunis Temple Library that Ryholt considers in this article, cf. RYHOLT 2009a: 233 table 1.
[568] DILLERY 2015: 171.
[569] Zauzich has explored the similarities between Semiramis in the fragments of the novel of Ninus, and Serpot, the queen of the land of the women in the Demotic narrative from the Inaros cycle *Egyptians and Amazons*, and he proposes an etymological connection between both names (cf. ZAUZICH 2009). For a different opinion, cf. RYHOLT 2013a: 75.
[570] DILLERY 2015: 319, also for the next quote.
[571] For the *Life of Imhotep*, cf. RYHOLT 2009b, and chapter 2 *supra*.
[572] RYHOLT 2004. Dillery includes this article in his bibliography, but does not consider its contents in his analysis of Manetho's mention of the Assyrians here discussed. In the conclusion to this article, Ryholt highlights once more the relevance of the Demotic narratives as sources for Manetho but also for Herodotus and Diodorus (RYHOLT 2004: 505-506).

historiographical sources in the shaping of the composition. In his conclusion to his book, Dillery starts with the question "How can we be sure that Greek historiography inspired Berossus and Manetho to construct the narratives that formed part of their national histories?"[573]. Dillery's main point to support this claim is that the fact that "the first large-scale narrative and chronography" was written both in Egypt (Manetho) and in Babylon (Berossus) after Alexander's conquest, and that they both were written in Greek, means that both events must be connected. From this he deduces that this connection also implies that in this contact Greek historical writing was used by Manetho and Berossus "in order to make their nations' pasts intelligible in the manner they wanted them told to a Greek audience or, at least, a Greek-speaking one"[574]. He also remarks that Manetho differs from Herodotus' account in his attempt at creating a comprehensive history of Egypt, while Herodotus only discussed the kings that he considered important[575]. Finally, he asserts that the reason why Manetho recorded the entire past of Egypt was a reaction to protect the integrity of his culture under the threat of foreign domination. Although Dillery's argument might seem coherent at first, it begins with an assumption that is not actually supported by the evidence. While it is undeniable that the creation of the *Aigyptiaka* cannot be disconnected from Alexander's conquest, for which the main proof is that it was written in Greek, there is no reason to affirm that because it was probably written for the first Ptolemaic rulers, it had to use Greek historical writing as its model. I agree here with Moyer's conclusion that "Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* does not appear to be formally dependent on

[573] DILLERY 2015: 348. This is also the interpretation of GOZZOLI 2006: 224: "Manetho also becomes fundamental for his attempt to write Egyptian history following Greek models. Manetho is in effect a bridge between two cultures. He and Hecataeus of Abdera before him had Herodotus as a model."
[574] DILLERY 2015: 349. Also p. 351: "Berossus and Manetho precisely situated themselves not as uncritical followers of earlier nonnative historiography of their lands who were eager to conceal this connection but as historians engaged in corrective polemic with Greek authors of histories of Babylon and Egypt, in the Greek language and through the adaptation of preexisting native historiographic forms to the requirements of Greek history writing. I contend that in the process of doing this, they became the first to write continuous narrative stories for Babylon and Egypt."
[575] DILLERY 2015: 352.

Greek historiography in any clear way"[576]. The organization of the *Aigyptiaka*, from what can be seen in the fragments preserved, is not a continuous narrative like that of Herodotus, but "a pattern of lemmata and comments" as expressed by Moyer[577]. Not only the general structure (king-list) and contents of the narrative sections (Demotic narratives) are genuinely Egyptian, but also this form of presentation. In order to analyze this it is necessary to go back to the Tebtunis Temple Library.

In Ryholt's survey of the contents of the Tebtunis Temple Library, he shows that apart from the narrative literature, 50% of the material preserved and surveyed corresponds to cultic texts, and 25% to non-cultic texts that could be labeled as scientific for the most part. Many of these texts actually follow in their presentation the structure of lemmata-comments that Manetho uses in his *Aigyptiaka*. Just to cite an example, the hieratic texts from Tebtunis edited by J. Osing show this structure clearly; they even include a series of graphic indications in order to convey the beginning of these commentaries, clarifications on particular concepts, or the existence of variant readings[578]. This system goes back to earlier religious and scientific texts, as in the case of medical texts such as P. Edwin Smith, in which the explanation of each treatment is organized in the form of lemmata-comments as well[579]. A more detailed comparison of the form of the *Aigyptiaka* with respect, especially, to Late Period and Graeco-Roman priestly manuals and scientific texts would certainly produce more details, but it is not my goal in the present study to undertake such an enterprise. These remarks should suffice to highlight the importance of the consideration of the whole contents of the Egyptian temple libraries as known at the moment in order to understand Manetho's context in a more nuanced and less hellenocentric way.

---

[576] MOYER 2011: 140.
[577] MOYER 2011: 106.
[578] cf. OSING 1998, and for these graphic indications esp. 34.
[579] Cf. ALLEN 2005: 70-115 for images of the complete papyrus and a recent English translation. Edition of the text by BREASTED 1930.

Without leaving the temple library, it is relevant to mention here the other works that have been attributed to Manetho. The main one of these is the so called *Sacred Book*, which is cited by Eusebius (*FrGrH* 609 T9). The fragments in Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* in which he refers to Manetho's interpretation of names of Egyptian gods and other theological matters have been attributed to the *Sacred Book*, although Plutarch does not specify it. The explanations given seem to come from real Egyptian sources, and thus Manetho would have elaborated this work using the cultic materials indicated above[580]. Another reference to this book might be Aelian's note on sow's milk, leprosy, and the festival of the Moon (*FrGrH* 609 F 23a). Diogenes Laertius mentions another work by Manetho, an *Epitome of Physical Doctrines*, referring to the identification of the Sun and the Moon with Osiris and Isis, and the use of symbols to refer to them (*FrGrH* 609 F 17), which is also mentioned by Eusebius, implying that Manetho has written on the topic of the Egyptian deities extensively (γράφει δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τούτων πλατύτερον μὲν ὁ Μανεθῶς, *FrGrH* 609 F 18). Other titles for works attributed to Manetho are *On Festivals* (Joannes Lydus, *FrGrH* 609 F 15), *On Ancient Ritual and Religion* (Porphyri, *FrGrH* 609 F 14, also perhaps referred to, but without mentioning the title, by Plutarch, *FrGrH* 609 F 22), and *On the Making of Kyphi* (*Suda, FrGrH* 609 T 1; Plutarch, *FrGrH* 609 F 16c). Eustathius of Thessalonica in his commentary on the *Illiad*, in the 12th century CE, mentions Manetho's *Criticisms on Herodotus*, which might actually refer to the *Aigyptiaka* (*FrGrH* 609 F 13). This is also referred to in the Byzantine *Etymologicum Magnum* (Waddell Fr. 88[581]). However, the authenticity of these works is, of course, impossible to judge.

[580] The fragments correspond to *De Iside et Osiride* chapters 9, 49, and 62 (*FrGrH* 609 F 19, F 20, F 21); cf. Griffiths' commentary for the veracity of the explanations on GRIFFITH 1970: 285, 487-489, and 521-524 respectively.
[581] WADDELL 1940: 204-205.

Returning to the analysis of Manetho's figure and his identification as a member of the Egyptian priesthood, the previous discussion does not leave any room for doubt on his access to the materials kept in the Egyptian temple libraries, and thus on his condition as a high-ranking priest. Another aspect of Manetho's description in *FrGrH* 609 T 7a that needs to be discussed is his Greek education and his role as translator. Apart from Josephus' description, I have observed above that several of the sources referred to Manetho's work specifically as translation. Fowden, in fact, went as far as to say that: "it was really Manetho's linguistic medium that was innovative, far more so than his message. His interests did not stray far beyond those customary for members of his caste, and he clearly intended his material to speak for itself once rendered into Greek. His was clearly the mentality of the translator rather than the interpreter or commentator"[582]. This judgment might not be completely fair to Manetho's work, especially since it seems clear that his use (and translation) of original Egyptian sources was done in the context of the commentary and correction of Herodotus. They would therefore be not just a presentation of the sources, but also a contrast of them with the material presented by the Greek. Nevertheless, his work as translator is important, since he rendered original Egyptian materials into Greek, having knowledge of both languages, and thus avoiding the loss or misunderstanding of concepts in the process of translation. The topic of translation is an important one in Graeco-Roman Egypt, and has been discussed recently especially in the context of the bilingual Magical Papyri[583], but also for other texts of the period[584]. Even specialized cultic materials, such as the *Book of the Temple*, were

[582] FOWDEN 1986: 54.
[583] For the Graeco-Egyptian Magical papyri, cf. section 3.1.2 in this chapter.
[584] Such as the bilingual decrees. This is the topic of E. Cole's dissertation, which I have not been able to consult (COLE 2015). This topic also involves translation from one stage of the Egyptian language to another, and between Egyptian scripts. Examples of such a process are P. Rhind I and II, which include the same text in hieratic script and Middle Egyptian language, and in Demotic script and language. For these papyri cf. SMITH 2009: 302-348, which includes a new English translation of both texts, an introduction, and references.

translated into Greek[585]. Especially relevant for my present analysis is the translation of Demotic narratives into Greek, to which I have referred above in the context of the *Sesostris Romance*. This is not an isolated case, since we have evidence of the translation of other narratives such as the *Dream of Nectanebo*[586], which might be one of the sources for the first book of the *Alexander Romance*[587], the *Myth of the Sun's Eye*[588], or the stories concerning king Nechepsos[589]. From these texts we know that the translator's work was not just a mechanical process, but an interpretative one in which the original text was adapted, modifying the original material[590]. In her analysis of the *Myth of the Sun's Eye*, S. West refers to the aretalogy of Imhotep/Asklepios (P. Oxy. 1381), written in Greek, in which the translator indicates that he "supplied the elliptical and cut out superfluity" (τὸ μὲν ὕστερον προσεπλήρωσα, τὸ δὲ περισσεῦον ἀφεῖλον)[591]. The author of this work would have been an Egyptian priest who, as in the case of Manetho, would have been well-versed not only in Demotic, but also in other scripts (hieroglyphs, hieratic) and other stages of the Egyptian language (Middle Egyptian). Moreover, he would have had a Greek education as well. The analysis of the Greek of these documents, and in particular of the Greek

[585] Cf. QUACK 1997.
[586] Cf. RYHOLT 2002.
[587] For an analysis of the possibility of the first book of the *Alexander Romance* as a translation from an Egyptian original, cf. JASNOW 1997.
[588] For a description of both the Demotic and Greek versions, and references, cf. WEST 2013. For a detailed study of the issue of translation, especially applied to the Demotic and Greek versions of the *Mythus,* cf. THISSEN 2011.
[589] Cf. chapter 2 *supra*.
[590] A common prejudice found especially in analyses written by classicists not versed in Egyptian is that Egyptian religion was a chaotic system in which the Greeks would get lost. Cf. i.e. WEST 2013: "But the lack of systematisation in Egyptian belief systems must have made it immensely hard for Greeks to orientate themselves in the mythology. The production of a Greek version of an important text was a sensible and constructive response." This interpretation can be placed in the same area as the assumption that the use of Greek historiographical methodology was necessary in order to organize the Egyptian materials that were the basis of Manetho's *Aigyptiaka*. The alteration of the original Egyptian text did not necessarily obey to questions of organization, but of translatability of the material, since much of the Egyptian religious material is intrinsically linked to the language, through the use of wordplay or other devices such as unorthographic writings that might convey more than one meaning in the same phrase.
[591] WEST 2013: 87-88. On the issue of translation, concerning in particular the Great Isis Aretalogy, J. F. Quack has reviewed the history of research on the text, which appears partially quoted in Diodorus' *Bibliotheca Historica* 1.27, and has reacted to the hellenocentric interpretations of other scholars. He also provides a hypothetical reconstruction of the Egyptian original of the Isis aretalogy (QUACK 2003a). He discusses the introduction of the Imhotep/Asklepios aretalogy on p. 330.

of Manetho, shows that his command of the language was very good, and scholars such as Dillery have pointed out different aspects of his use of the language that highlight his proficiency, such as the employment of the particles μέν/δέ[592]. His position in the court as a member of the Ptolemaic administration, if the reference in P. Hibeh I 72 is actually to our Manetho, would have exposed him to the continuous use of Greek in formal documents, and perhaps in the elaboration of official bilingual documentation[593]. The topic of translation and bilingualism in Graeco-Roman Egypt could be (and has been) the central topic of a monograph by itself. The previous remarks, however, should suffice to illustrate the context of Manetho's role as translator[594].

In conclusion, although the evidence is very sparse and its reliability not certain in every case, a detailed analysis of the references to various aspects of Manetho's life, together with the contents of his works transmitted by later authors, allows the reconstruction of the image of an Egyptian high ranking priest possessing extensive knowledge of the scholarly Egyptian materials from the Egyptian temple libraries, and with a proficient enough command of Greek so as to transfer the original Egyptian materials to this language, while also contrasting them with the writings on the same topics by Herodotus. This work gained him the appreciation by authors such as Aelian (*On the Nature of Animals,* 2nd century CE), who says of Manetho that he was "a man who had reached the summit of wisdom" (Μανέθωνα τὸν Αἰγύπτιον σοφίας ἐς ἄκρον ἐληλακότα ἄνδρα, *FrGrH* 609 T14b), or Syncellos, who referred to him as "the most notable of the Egyptians" (ὁ δὲ παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπισημότατος Μανεθῶ, *FrGrH* 609 T 10). Along the

[592] Dillery notes that the use of μέν/δέ is a marker of sophistication of the language and of Greekness, and he also highlights the good lexical level of Manetho's Greek (DILLERY 1999: 99-100 and footnote 20; also discussed in DILLERY 2015: 310). Caution is necessary, however, concerning Dillery's references to Egyptian texts, since he uses outdated transliterations and translations by authors such as E. Wallis Budge (cf. DILLERY 1999: 100 footnote 22). Although Moyer agrees with Dillery's evaluation of Manetho's Greek, he makes some remarks on some of his examples (cf. MOYER 2011: 118-119 and footnote 121).
[593] Noted by DILLERY 1999: 100.
[594] For a recent study of the intricacies of the linguistic panorama in Graeco-Roman Egypt, cf. QUACK 2017b.

same lines, but three centuries later, we find the priest Chaeremon, who will be the subject of the following discussion.

2.2. Chaeremon

As in the case of Manetho, in order to learn about Chaeremon we are limited to testimonies and citations by other authors, since none of his works have been preserved in their original form. Fewer authors have engaged with the study of Chaeremon, but he is a particularly interesting figure for the analysis of the image of the Egyptian priests in Graeco-Roman Egypt, since being himself a priest, he provides an insider's description of his office. The sources about Chaeremon have been edited by P. W. van der Horst, and range from the 1st to the 12th century CE[595]. Unlike Manetho's name, the name Chaeremon was not unusual, especially in the 1st century CE[596]. A few events of his life have been preserved through references in various authors, and several authors have attempted a reconstruction of it, sometimes perhaps taking their interpretations too far[597]. In this section I will discuss the available data concerning Chaeremon's life, contrasting these with relevant Egyptian sources in order to illuminate aspects that might not have been properly explored in more hellenocentric approaches.

Although Chaeremon is described as ἱερογραμματεύς (Porphyry, 233-*c*. 305[598], F 4[599]; Tzetzes, 12th century CE, T 6, F 12, F 13), the main designation used to identify him was that of φιλόσοφος (*Suda*, 10th century CE, T 3, T 4), and in particular as Στωϊκός (Martial, *c*. 40-103/4,

[595] VAN DER HORST 1984. Earlier edition, still useful, by SCHWYZER 1932.
[596] According to Trismegistos People, the name Chaeremon is attested 1800 times, especially around the 1st century CE. Of these, most are Greek with different orthographies, being the main one Χαιρήμων (1719 attestations), but also in Demotic as *ḫyrmwn* (4 attestations), and the variants *gyrmn* and *kyrmn* (1 attestation each), and in Coptic, ϫⲁⲓⲣⲏⲙⲱⲛ (1 attestation). There are also two attestations in Latin, as Chaeremon (www.trismegistos.org/name/2555 [last accessed on 06/05/2017]).
[597] An example of this is RODRIGUEZ 2007, which certainly makes some interesting points, but makes assumptions that are not supported by the available sources, and thus are too speculative.
[598] All the dates are from HOWATSON 1989.
[599] I follow here Van der Horst's nomenclature (VAN DER HORST 1984).

T 10; Apollonius Dyscolus, 2nd century CE, F 14; Origen, 185-254, F 3; Porphyry, T 9, F 10; Jerome, *c*. 347-420 CE). The first title identifies him as an Egyptian priest, and within these, as a priest dedicated, among other things, to scholarly endeavors, which implies that he would have been versed in the Egyptian language and scripts, and in priestly knowledge. Nowhere in the sources about him is there any specification as to which temple or god he was associated[600]. The really striking designation, however, is that of philosopher attributed to an Egyptian priest. The specification that he was a Stoic is probably an indication that he was actually a man of "genuinely Hellenic culture"[601]. The *Suda*, in fact, states that he was the tutor (διδάσκαλος, T 3), together with Alexander the Aegaean, of the emperor Nero, an honor that would hardly have been bestowed upon someone who was not of the highest learning. This reference also shows that Chaeremon lived during the 1st century CE. Van der Horst considers that this probably occurred before 49 CE, when Seneca, another Stoic philosopher, took over that same function[602]. Unfortunately, nothing is known about the nature of Chaeremon's tutorship over Nero. Rodriguez proposes an imaginative reconstruction of the possible influence that Chaeramon could have exercised on his young pupil, but caution is desirable in this respect[603]. The fact that he was appointed tutor of the emperor might also imply that he had already written some of his treatises at that point. Another possible event in his life is the participation in the embassy sent to emperor Caligula in 40 CE[604], according to the *Letter of the emperor Claudius to the Alexandrians* (14-20, T 5), dated a year after the embassy, in 41 CE, in which he is mentioned as

[600] P. Rodriguez assumes for reasons unknown to me that he was a priest of Isis (cf. RODRIGUEZ 2007: 59, 72.
[601] FOWDEN 1986: 54.
[602] VAN DER HORST 1982: 62; VAN DER HORST 1984: ix.
[603] RODRIGUEZ 2007.
[604] Van der Horst indicates incorrectly that the embassy was sent to Claudius (VAN DER HORST 1984: xi). The embassy was sent to Caligula in 40 CE, who died assassinated shortly after, in January of 41 CE (cf. RODRIGUEZ 2007: 56 footnote 40).

the third ambassador[605]. This is the previously mentioned embassy led by the grammarian Apion of Alexandria to support a claim against the Alexandrian Jews, represented by another embassy led by Philo of Alexandria. A very controversial testimony is that of the *Suda s. v.* Dionysius of Alexandria (T 4), a grammarian (γραμματικός) of whom Chaeremon is presented as teacher. The entry describes the offices of Dionysius as: τῶν βιβλιοθηκῶν προὔστη καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ πρεσβειῶν ἐγένετο καὶ ἀποκριμάτων "and he was head of the libraries, and of the <department of> letters, and of embassies, and of rescripts"[606]. The intriguing passage is a subordinate clause after the mention of Chaeremon: ὃν καὶ διεδέξατο ἐν Αλεξανδρείαι "whom he had also succeeded in Alexandria"[607]. Scholars have generally assumed that this sentence is meant to indicate that Chaeramon held all the offices mentioned for Dionysius of Alexandria in that same sentence, and have extrapolated from it that he would also had been keeper of the Museum of Alexandria[608]. Van der Horst describes Chaeremon as "head of the Alexandrian school of grammarians (and perhaps also keeper of the famous Museum in Alexandria)"[609], but refers to the discussion on this issue in his notes to T 4. The main argument against Chaeremon's connection with the Museum is offered by W. G. A. Otto, who reconstructs the history of the attested ἐπιστάται of the Museum. He believes that the statement that Dionysius of Alexandria was the διαδοχή of Chaeremon in Alexandria just means that he was his successor as teacher, having been his pupil[610]. In this respect it is important, in my opinion, to keep in mind that this testimony dates to the 10th century, and that the term διαδοχή was used in

[605] Another member of this embassy was Tiberius Claudius Balbillus, who was then named prefect of Egypt by Nero, and who is known for having uncovered the Sphinx of Giza of sand, after which the country was rewarded with a series of good inundations (cf. KÁKOSY 1989: 24; RODRIGUEZ 2007: 69 footnote 81).
[606] Translation from *Brill's New Jacoby* online 618 T 3.
[607] Translation by VAN DER HORST 1984: 3.
[608] RODRIGUEZ 2007: 57 identifies him as ἐπιστάτης of the museum (cf. footnote 43 for references).
[609] VAN DER HORST 1984: ix.
[610] OTTO 1905: 199.

Late Antiquity to indicate the succession of interpreters of Platonic philosophy[611], which is the sense adduced by Otto. Schwyzer, however, while acknowledging Otto's criticisms, proposes that the head of the Museum in some cases followed that of tutor of the prince, as with Apollonius Rhodius, the author of the *Argonautika*, who was tutor of Ptolemy III and also head of the Library of Alexandria[612]. He also declares that no other names are available for the period of time in question[613]. Chaeremon does not seem to be the same man from Alexandria of that name mocked by Strabo (*Geography* 17.1.29), since this one is said to have accompanied prefect Aelius Gallus in Egypt in 23 BCE[614]. Although Chaeremon's date of death is not preserved, Van der Horst refers to Martial's epigram concerning his ascetic life. That poet did not mock, apparently, living or recently deceased people, and thus Chaeremon would have died significantly before the date of publication of the *Epigrams*, in 96 CE[615].

All these references offer intriguing information, which can be complemented through the analysis of what has been preserved of his writings. Three works are attributed to Chaeremon, a treatise called *Hieroglyphika*[616], which seems to have been a treatise on the Egyptian hieroglyphs (*Suda*, T 1, T 2; Tzetzes, T 6, F 12, F 13)[617], an *Aigyptiaka*, which appears to be a history of Egypt similar to that of Manetho (Josephus, T 7, F 1; Cosmas Indicopleustes, 6th century CE, T 8; Michael Psellus, 11th century CE, F 2), an astronomical treatise called *Peri Kometon* (Origen, F 3). Other fragments attributed to Chaeremon do not allow a direct identification with these works. He seems to have written on Egyptian religion, which could be the source of Porphyry's references in his *Epistula ad Anebonem* (T 4, T 5), and of his

[611] FOWDEN 1982: 34.
[612] HOWATSON 1989: 44.
[613] SCHWYZER 1932: 11.
[614] VAN DER HORST 1984: ix.
[615] VAN DER HORST 1984: ix.
[616] I will return briefly to the *Hieroglyphika* in the postscript about Horapollo, *infra*.
[617] In the citation of references I limit myself to Van der Horst's *fragmenta certa* (cf. VAN DER HORST 1984: xv).

description of the Egyptian priests in *De Abstinentia*, which I will analyze in detail *infra* (F 10, also Jerome, F 11)[618]. Fragments of this work might also correspond to the references in Eusebius (F 6, F 7), and Iamblichus (died *c*. 330 CE, F 9). Apollonius Dyscolus cites a fragment of a grammatical work that seems to also have belonged to Chaeremon (F 14). As in the case of Manetho, the types of works cited point to a direct access to the libraries of the Egyptian temples for their composition. With regard to Chaeremon, however, no reference to the way he composed his works is preserved, unlike with Manetho, whose role as translator is repeatedly emphasized[619].

The fragment that has attracted the most attention of Chaeremon's work is the description of the Egyptian priests cited by Porphyry and epitomized by Jerome. This description has generally been characterized by the scholars who have engaged with it as idealized[620], that is, based on some real data, but presenting an image of the priests based on a tradition of ideal descriptions of religious figures[621]. Van der Horst cites, among others, Iamblichus' description of the Pythagoreans in his *De vita pythagorica*[622]. In fact, Fowden actually characterized Chaeremon's account as presenting the Egyptian priests as "not just 'philosophers', but covert Pythagoreans"[623]. Although I do not want to reject any of these interpretations[624], which show that apart from presenting the Egyptian material in Greek language, as Manetho had done, Chaeremon also interpreted it according to his intellectual and philosophical background, I want

[618] This fragment has also been suggested to belong to the *Aigyptiaka* (VAN DER HORST 1982: 62).
[619] Cf. section 2.1 in this chapter.
[620] "bietet uns Chairemon ein Idealbild" (OTTO 1908: 211); "Here Chaeremon's inclination to idealize the way of life of the Egyptian priests is manifest and he clearly superimposes Hellenistic ideals upon an Egyptian situation" (VAN DER HORST 1984: x); "Chaeremon idealizes unashamedly" (FOWDEN 1986: 54).
[621] Festugière characterized it as belonging to "un genre littéraire bien connu à l'époque hellénistique: la peinture idéalisée des castes sacerdotales ou confréries religieuses des peuples barbares" (cited in VAN DER HORST 1982: 62).
[622] VAN DER HORST 1982: 63. Cf. edition of the text with translation and commentary by DILLON and HERSHBELL 1991.
[623] FOWDEN 1986: 56. In his footnote 34 on this page Fowden cites Plutarch's description in *De Iside et Osiride* of Pythagoras' visit to Egypt (chapter 10), and how he adopted from the Egyptian priests the characteristics that would then be attributed to the Pythagoreans: "their symbolism and mysterious manner." He indicates that Chaeremon "can hardly have been unaware of the usefulness of the resemblance."
[624] Van der Horst has noted that many of the elements in the description by Chaeremon appear *verbatim* in Philo's *De vita contemplativa* (VAN DER HORST 1984: 56).

to analyze this description of the Egyptian priests by comparing it to Egyptian materials of roughly the same period, which also refer to aspects discussed by Chaeremon. This analysis will show that this image is deeply rooted in native traditions of priestly presentation. This, however, does not mean that the image is less idealized, since the degree to which the description presented by the Egyptian sources was actually a reality is also an important and not completely solvable question within Egyptology.

The text starts begins by the Egyptian priests as philosophers, devoted to their intellectual endeavors in the context of the temples. Van der Horst has stated in his commentary that the idea of philosophy in the Hellenistic period turned towards a "more ethical and religious sense"[625]. The interpretation of the idea of philosophy expressed here has also been associated to theology, and Egyptian philosophical activities identified with the traditional Egyptian religious thought passed through the filter of Hellenistic philosophy[626]. Cumont identified this concept of Egyptian philosophy as "religious wisdom" and declared that the meaning of philosopher in Late Antiquity was actually closer to a doctor in the occult sciences[627]. This turn was particularly visible in the evolution of Platonic philosophy, especially in Neoplatonism, philosophical movement to which Porphyry, the transmitter of Chaeremon's text, belonged[628]. However, this designation of the Egyptian priests as philosophers is not just entirely based on a Greek interpretation of their activities. The *Book of Thoth*, a priestly manual for the initiation in the mysteries of scribal knowledge and the House of Life, is presented as a dialogue between a master or teacher and a disciple or pupil. Very significantly, the master is called *mr-rḫ*, literally "the one who loves knowledge," which, as Jasnow and Zauzich already wrote in their first

[625] VAN DER HORST 1984: 57 note 2. This evolution has been explored by MALINGREY 1961.
[626] OTTO 1905: 82.
[627] CUMONT 1937: 122.
[628] For an introduction to Neoplatonism cf. WALLIS 1972, and *infra* in this chapter, section on Iamblichus.

edition of the text, is a direct parallel to the Greek φιλόσοφος[629]. The earliest copy attested of the *Book of Thoth* has been dated to the 1st century BCE, but most of the manuscripts were copied between the 1st and the 2nd century CE[630], which makes the main period of circulation of the text contemporary to Chaeremon. The text has survived in a very high number of copies, which is a sign of its popularity. Thus, this text belongs to and portrays the intellectual world of the Egyptian priesthood of the time of Chaeremon. As the editors have noted, the dialogue form of the text goes back to the Egyptian literary tradition[631], but is also reminiscent of the structure of the Platonic dialogues, which is also present in the Hermetica. Thus, Chaeremon's description of the priests as philosophers might not just be an idealization or a Greek interpretation of the activities of the Egyptian priests, but could actually reflect Egyptian intellectual concepts, perhaps as the result of a Graeco-Egyptian synchretistic development. The second part of the description locates the activities of the priests in the context of the temples. Van der Horst has already noted that the temples seem to have had a sort of monastic function in the Graeco-Roman period[632]. K.-Th. Zauzich has recently reedited and analyzed an ostracon from Narmuthis (ODN 216)[633], which seems to contain a series of rules that are reminiscent of the first Christian monastic rules of Pachom[634]. The ostracon contains rules about fasting, keeping silence, against intrusion into areas of the temple like the pharmacy, about morality in the sleeping grounds of the temple, and concerning the preparation of fire and food. These rules ilustrate how life in a sacred community should proceed. Other ostraca from Narmuthis preserve evidence of the

[629] JASNOW and ZAUZICH 2005: 13.
[630] Cf. JASNOW and ZAUZICH 2005: 72 and 77-78. The editors propose the Ptolemaic period as time of composition, but note that some sections might be older.
[631] JASNOW and ZAUZICH 2005: 3.
[632] VAN DER HORST 1984: 57 note 2.
[633] These ostraca date to the late 2nd–early 3rd centuries CE.
[634] ZAUZICH 2014.

instruction in different Egyptian scripts, but also combined with Greek[635], and of the study of astronomy and astrology[636]. All these are elements that are presented in Chaeremon's description as part of the activities of the Egyptian priests (*De Abstinentia* 5.8, cf. *infra*).

Chaeremon's description presents the life of the priests as being quiet and dedicated to contemplation apart from the rest of the world. The temples are described as almost innaccessible to people from outside of the priestly class; access to them requires purifications and abstinence. Van der Horst cites a reference in Clement of Alexandria for the exclusivity of the temples[637]. From the Egyptian side, rules concerning the access to the different areas of the temple are actually preserved in the architectural section of *Book of the Temple*[638], where the description of each area is accompanied by indications such as "[No] man [enters] them, apart from the prophets [of this] house(?)" or "Now the whole temple is marked off with buildings in its square. No person is admitted into it, apart from those who serve as high-ranking priests for the gods' rituals"[639]. More rules of access, connected in most cases with purification instructions, as stated by Chaeremon, are attested on the walls of various temples from the Graeco-Roman period, such as Esna or Philae[640]. It is interesting to observe that Chaeremon describes these rules of purity as "a common law (θεσμός) of the Egyptian temples"[641]. In the ostracon from Narmuthis ODN 216 we find the phrase *ḳt ḫr pȝ rḫ*, which Zauzich translates as "nach der Regel

[635] Cf. i.a. GALLO 1997: 3-22.
[636] For examples of astrological text from Narmuthis, cf. MENCHETTI 2009.
[637] *Stromateis* 5.4.19.3 (VAN DER HORST 1984: 57 note 5).
[638] For a summary of the unpublished *Book of the Temple*, cf. i.e. QUACK 2000, and for a more up to date bibliography, cf. QUACK 2010b: 9 footnote 1. The *Book of the Temple* is a priestly manual that describes the ideal Egyptian temple. It is introduced by a fictional historical frame, followed by two parts, one devoted to the architecture of the ideal temple, and a second one that describes the rules for each type of priest, including actions considered as sins, and the duties of the temple personnel. Fragments of the text are also attested in Greek, cf. QUACK 1997.
[639] Translations by J. F. Quack, from QUACK 2012: 119. Since the text is still unpublished, I have not had the chance to check the original manuscripts.
[640] Compiled and translated in QUACK 2012: 120-122. Many of these sources were already compiled in MEYER 1999.
[641] All the Greek text fragments and translations of Porphyry's text are from VAN DER HORST 1984: 17-23.

Dienst leisten"[642], which might point to these rules of the temple. Chaeremon states that they renounced to any type of employment (πᾶσαν τὴν ἄλλην ἐργασίαν) outside of the temple, which Schwyzer connects in his commentary to the prescription of the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* 71 concerning the prohibition of the priests from doing any other activity outside of the temple[643]. Many of these rules, however, do not seem to be something new, but just record common practices of the priesthood[644]. On an ideological level, Quack has observed that certain professions were seen as negative concerning aspects of purity[645]. The inscription recording the rules of purity and access to the temple of Esna, for example, says that "No craftsperson shall enter into it"[646], referring to the temple. A craftsman, however, appears in the *Book of Thoth* as one of the characters mentioned in connection with the House of Life[647].

The element that has been highlighted most prominently by all authors, and that was mocked by Martial in his epigram about Chaeremon, is the description of the ascetic life of the Egyptian priests. In this description we learn that "They practiced frugality and restraint, self-control and endurance, and in all things justice and freedom from avarice". Van der Horst connects this vocabulary with other descriptions of communities of sages[648], but they are also present in actual purification rules for the priests from Egyptian sources of the time, such as those from the temples of Edfu and Kom Ombo. These texts include moral prescriptions such as "Do not tell lies in this house! Do not snatch through calumny!" or "Do not stretch out your arm for possession in his temple! Do not take any liberty to steal his possession!"[649] To these we must add now also the evidence from ostracon ODN 216, and keep in mind the remark of Zauzich that

[642] ZAUZICH 2014: 140-142.
[643] SCHWYZER 1932: 81, cited in VAN DER HORST 1984: 57 note 8.
[644] Cf. chapter 6.
[645] QUACK 2012: 141.
[646] QUACK 2012: 120.
[647] JASNOW and ZAUZICH 2005: 32.
[648] VAN DER HORST 1984: 57 note 9.
[649] Translations from QUACK 2012: 124.

scholars should not consider that descriptions of asceticism did not exist before Christianity[650]. Particular periods of purification and fasting are also mentioned by Chaeremon, who declares that these were intended for the exercise of "the necessary duties." Before the participation in particular rituals, an Egyptian priest had to prepare himself by fasting and abstaining from certain things and activities, and not doing so could be the cause of punishment, as in the case of the Elephantine scandal recorded on a Demotic papyrus, in which a priest did not complete the necessary period of purification by drinking natron before entering the shrine of the god[651]. The practice of abstinence is emphasized in the *Book of Thoth*, where the disciple says that "I reject (?) the perfume of myrrh. My clothes are worn" (*Book of Thoth* 29), rejecting luxuries, as Chaeremon also advises.

A long section of Chaeremon's description concerns dietary issues (*De Abstinentia* 4 end of 6 and 7), which are also present in the Egyptian purity regulations. In the temple of Philae a text lists the "taboos, which you should not eat"[652]. The *Book of Thoth* also contains a list of taboos (*bw.t*) in the Chamber of Darkness, which have to be known by the disciple: "I know the abominations which are in the Chamber of Darkness" (*Book of Thoth* 28[653]). An interesting point is that the first dietary instruction presented by Chaeremon concerns the avoidance of wine and the first of the abominations listed in the *Book of Thoth* refers to wine as well: "My abomination is wine" (*Book of Thoth* 29[654]). Other prescriptions listed by Chaeremon refer to the abstinence from sex with women and men. All these prescriptions, however, were only required before

[650] ZAUZICH 2014: 142: "Man wird daher künftig nicht mehr uneingeschränkt von der "Bedeutungslosigkeit der Askese im vorchristlich-ägyptischem Glaubensleben."
[651] Translated in QUACK 2012: 122.
[652] Translation from QUACK 2012: 121. He references Chaeremon's descripton in this article only concerning dietary issues (QUACK 2012: 127).
[653] JASNOW and ZAUZICH 2014: 61.
[654] JASNOW and ZAUZICH 2014: 61. The text continues indicating that the ibises of the House of Life, which according to Jasnow and Zauzich represent the disciples or scribes of the House of Life, "They do not become drunk with wine" (*Book of Thoth* 31; JASNOW and ZAUZICH 2014: 62-63).

particular religious events, since priests were tipically married and had children. Chaeramon states as well that not all the rules applied to all the priests, and that some depended on particular gods. P. Jumilhac, a religious text concerning the 17th and 18th nomes of Upper Egypt dating to the first half of the Ptolemaic period[655], contains a list of abominations specific for the 18th nome, which range from dietary indications and contact with menstruating women, to moral issues such as stealing or exercising violence[656].

In the last part of his exposition, Chaeremon mentions the routine of the Egyptian priest and the activities to which they devoted their time. Here they are presented as scientists, and disciplines such as mathematics and astronomy are mentioned among their occupations, together with religious duties. The libraries of the Egyptian temples, in fact, contain, together with cultic materials, documents of scientific character, and recent discoveries have shown that the type of science practiced in them was among the most advanced of its time[657]. An interesting element is the point concerning the avoidance of travel outside of Egypt, in order to avoid luxury. Chaeremon states that this should be the norm except if required by the royal court, which appears to be a justification for his own stay in Rome as tutor of Nero. Chaeremon concludes by differentiating the various classes of priests, citing a list similar to that of Clement of Alexandria (*Stromateis* 6.4.35.3), and differentiating the specialized higher classes from the priests of lower rank, and other temple personnel without religious functions. These had to practice purifications to access the temple, but did not practice the ascetic life of the high ranking priests. The text of an unpublished papyrus, P. Carlsberg 386 + P. Berlin 14938 (which seems to exist also in a Greek translation in P. Washington University + P. Oslo 2 vs.), contains, according to Quack, a

[655] Edition in VANDIER 1961, and Demotic glosses in VLEEMING 2015: 337-341. The dating of the text was corrected by Quack, cf. VLEEMING 2015: 337.
[656] Cf. VANDIER 1961: 123-124.
[657] Cf. HOFFMANN 2014; QUACK 2016; ESCOLANO-POVEDA forthcoming.

list of laws and regulations that refer to different priestly groups. He maintains that, as would be expected, the most complex norms refer to the high ranking priests. These include rules on clothing and food[658].

This analysis shows that, even if we may consider Chaeremon's description as an idealized view of the Egyptian priesthood, the elements described were part of the way priests were supposed to behave in the context of the temples, and especially those in higher-ranking positions, a life dedicated to intellectual and religious pursuits. The previously referenced rules, transmitted through different media (walls of the actual temples, papyri, ostraca) depict an image of the temples and the priesthood who lived and worked in them as a community of almost monastic character, leading a life of virtue and measure, devoted to the veneration of the gods, but also to the study of the universe. The analysis of both the cultic material, as well as the scientific texts and theological treatises from the temple libraries, shows a level of complexity in Egyptian thought, ultimately devoted to the explanation of the physical universe and theological matters (and Van der Horst remarks how theology was considered by the Stoics as the culmination of physics[659]). It is interesting to remark at this point that Derchain published an article about a hymn to Sobek from the pylon of the temple of Kom Ombo, dating to the time of Domitian, in which he identifies the Hellenistic theory of the four primordial elements. He considers that the composer of this hymn was clearly acquainted with Stoic philosophy and intentionally reflected this interpretation of nature in the hymn[660]. Even if Derchain's interpretation of the Kom Ombo hymn is rejected, it is reasonable to think that Hellenized Egyptian priests such as Chaeremon and others could have been familiar with and followed different Greek philosophical schools of thought, and perhaps merged them with traditional

[658] QUACK 2012: 123.
[659] VAN DER HORST 1982: 65 note 33.
[660] DERCHAIN 1998.

Egyptian thought. A result of this combination might have been the Hermetica[661]. Concerning the question of the reality of the image depicted by the Egyptian sources, it has been observed that emphasis on purity seems to have increased since the New Kingdom, reaching its peak in the Graeco-Roman period, where the sources give more detailed descriptions of these matters[662].

To conclude, just like Manetho, Chaeremon was generally considered in a positive way by those who cited him (Porphyry, T10: "a man who was a lover of truth and an accurate writer, and who was among the Stoics a very clever philosopher"; Jerome, F 11: "a very eloquent man"; Michael Psellus, F 2: "the wise Chaeremon, a man noble-minded and high in repute"), with the exception of Martial's mocking epigram. The epigram, however, shows that he probably exercised in his own life the ascetic precepts that he described for the Egyptian priests, as transmitted by Porphyry. Of all these data, the most important point for the present study is the fact that in the early Roman period, an Egyptian priest had a reputation high enough to be head of a school of grammarians in Alexandria, and to be selected as tutor of the emperor. He was not just an Egyptian of Greek culture, but he also highlighted his status as an Egyptian priest, the intellectual elite of Egypt. No only he presented himself and the Egyptian priesthoods as philosophers, but was regarded as such by other authors of Greek culture, and admired in his exercise of philosophy, as the previous statements show. Both Manetho and Chaeremon occupied positions close to the higher powers of their time, and transferred the Egyptian

[661] cf. section 3 in this chapter.

[662] It is necessary to bear in mind, however, that the amount of sources, especially papyrological, from the Graeco-Roman period is much higher than what has arrived to us from other periods. Both in the case of papyri and of inscriptions on the temple walls, a more detailed description of cultic elements seems to have taken place in the Graeco-Roman period, together with the increase in the amount and diversity of texts carved on the walls of the temples.

intellectual and religious tradition to the multicultural world of their time in the *lingua franca* of the eastern Mediterranean of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, Greek.

2.3. Postscript: Horapollo and the transmission of Chaeremon's *Hieroglyphika*

Manetho and Chaeremon are two examples of Egyptian priests living during the Graeco-Roman period, who transmitted an insider view of Egypt using the Greek language[663]. More or less as distant from Chaeremon as he was from Manetho, another Egyptian, Horapollo, wrote a treatise on Egyptian hieroglyphs that, as opposed to what happened with the works of Manetho and Chaeremon, has come down to us in what seems to be its original or near-original form. The treatise starts with a proem identifying its author: "The Book on Hieroglyphs of Horapollo Nilous, which he himself published in Egyptian language, and Philippos translated into Greek."[664] Nothing is known of the identity of this Philippos, but Horapollo has been identified by some scholars with a Horapollo the younger belonging to a family of Platonic philosophers from Phenebythis in the nome of Panopolis[665]. This identification would place him in the 5th century CE, which has led scholars to question how much knowledge of hieroglyphs, if any, he could have had. The first intriguing question about this work is the language in which it was written. According to the assumed date of the work, the 5th century CE, if it was written in Egyptian this would refer to Coptic. In the introduction to his edition of the text, Thissen suggests that the work would have actually been written originally in Greek, since no Greek text is known to have been translated from Coptic; normally Coptic texts actually are translations

[663] Other authors also wrote in Greek on Egyptian matters, and not always it is clear if they were actually Egyptians or not. Cf. OTTO 1908: 217-218 and FOWDEN 1986: 56 footnote 35 for some examples.
[664] The translation is mine, based on the Greek text in THISSEN 2001: 1.
[665] Thissen, who has published an edition and translation of the *Hieroglyphica*, describes the sources available concerning this family, and considers the identification quite certain (THISSEN 2001: XII-XIII). He kept this same opinion in an article on Horapollo published in 2006 (THISSEN 2006a: 154). He provides a list of scholars and works who share this opinion (THISSEN 2001: XIII footnote 31, among which are FOWDEN (1986: 185) and FRANKFURTER (1998: 223, 253-256).

from Greek originals[666]. He also points out that it would not be very plausible that a Copt, whom he equates with a "christicher Ägypter" would be interested in hieroglyphs[667]. An internal argument supporting an original Greek composition would be that there do not seem to be any traces in the language of the text that may point to its being a translation[668]. Some scholars have tried to elucidate the sources used by Horapollo, and a common candidate is the *Hieroglyphika* of Chaeremon, of which a fragment is cited by Tzetzes (F 12[669]). In a 2006 article, Thissen compares the fragment of Chaeremon's *Hieroglyphika* to the 100 lemmata[670] of Horapollo's that correspond to real identification of hieroglyphic signs and meanings, finding that 9 out of 20 seem to appear in both texts. However, he does not believe that this is enough evidence to establish Chaeremon's *Hieroglyphika* as source for Horapollo's. He analyzes each lemma, taking into account not just the description of the signs and their suggested meanings, but also the explanations that Horapollo gives, normally discarded as fruit of his imagination. Thissen proposes three possible sources: (1) a list such as the one given by Chaeremon, which presumably would have included, in its original form, phonetic explanations; (2) a Greek-Coptic glossary; (3) a list of hieroglyphic/hieratic signs with Coptic or Graecized transcriptions[671]. Returning to Thissen's original observations on the language of Horapollo's *Hieroglyphika*, of the three arguments given against an Egyptian original, the last one, concerning the lack of evidence of translation is the most compelling. It is, however, not insurmountable, especially if the translation was not literal. If the lemmata in the second book that do not correspond to real hieroglyphs were added by Philippos, he might have paraphrased the previous lemmata as well.

[666] THISSEN 2001: XI.
[667] THISSEN 2001: XI-XII.
[668] THISSEN 2001: XII.
[669] VAN DER HORST 1984: 24-25.
[670] Thissen points out that of the two books that compose Horapollo's *Hieroglyphika*, the 70 lemmata that compose the first book, and 30 out of the 119 from the second book correspond to correct identifications of hieroglyphs with their meanings (THISSEN 2006a: 154). Cf. also THISSEN 2006b.
[671] THISSEN 2006a: 162.

The first arguments, however, are hard to sustain, especially in light of the sources presented by Thissen himself in his article. The idea that there could not be original Coptic works translated into Greek because no concrete distinguishable example has been preserved is an argument *ex silentio*. If Horapollo's native language was Coptic, he could perfectly well have compiled his work in Coptic, especially if he was using a sign list with Coptic transcriptions. The argument that someone writing in Coptic would necessarily have been a Christian is fallacious, and if we are to follow the identification of the author of the *Hieroglyphika* with Horapollo the son of Asklepiades, we know that both he and his father "immersed themselves enthusiastically in the lore of the Egyptians"[672], which would have been enough motivation to compile a treatise on hieroglyphs. Another argument that is commonly given is that the Greeks in Egypt did not bother to learn Egyptian, and thus could never access the Egyptian sources directly[673]. This argument misses the point that, if any person of Greek culture were to learn Egyptian, they would learn the spoken language of the time, and very rarely the script. Even if they learned Demotic, they would still not have access to most of the original sources on Egyptian religion, since many priestly manuals from the Graeco-Roman Period are written in *égyptien de tradition* and in hieratic script. Furthermore, access to these sources located in the environment of the temple libraries would have not been possible to anyone not belonging to the higher ranks to the Egyptian priesthood. Thus, there is no connection between the access to the knowledge of the hieroglyphic script, which in the Graeco-Roman period was restricted to a very small portion of the priesthood, and a refusal to learn Egyptian, which in this period would have been spoken Coptic. Returning to the composition of Horapollo's *Hieroglyphika,* the citation of works like Chaeremon's treatise by several authors not belonging to the native Egyptian environment up to

[672] FOWDEN 1986: 185.
[673] THISSEN 2001: X, in which he compares the situation of the Greeks in Egypt with modern Americans traveling the world and not learning the native languages because the locals always address them in English.

the 12th century CE indicates that in order to access the sources that Horapollo used he did not necessarily have to be related to the Egyptian priestly environment[674], unlike Manetho or Chaeremon. However, these sources displayed real priestly knowledge, as A. von Lieven has shown in an article, in which she connects some of Horapollo's explanations with Ptolemaic orthographies[675]. She argues that the fact that we cannot identify some of the references given by Horapollo as correct Egyptian sign values does not mean that they were invented, and she refers to the different forms that the Ptolemaic hieroglyphic script took in each temple, and even in different buildings of the same temple complex[676]. Furthermore, R. Jasnow has connected the description of the writing for "sacred scribe" in Horapollo with a passage in the beginning of the *Book of Thoth*[677]. These new discoveries show that Horapollo's *Hieroglyphika* displays more complex priestly knowledge than what had been previously assumed, and places it as a later product of the same world of multicultural textual transmission that earlier on produced the materials that are the subject of the next section of this chapter: the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri and the Hermetica.

3. The Hermetica

The previous analysis of Manetho and Chaeremon has highlighted the importance that their identity as Egyptian priests had in the transmission and survival of their work over the centuries in the form of citations by other authors. Their priestly status conferred upon their descriptions of

[674] The identification of the author of the *Hieroglyphika* with Horapollo the younger, the son of Asklepiades, places him in the 5th century CE and makes it less likely that he could have belonged to a fully functioning Egyptian temple. However, it is necessary to keep in mind that this identification is circumstantial.
[675] VON LIEVEN 2010.
[676] VON LIEVEN 2010: 568.
[677] JASNOW 2011: 316.

the history of Egypt, Egyptian religion, and of the life of the Egyptian priesthood, among others, the authority of being sources based on real Egyptian accounts kept in the temples. However, if with Manetho and Chaeremon we were dealing with the problem of having to draw conclusions about their work from indirect testimonies, since none of their works is extant nowadays, in the present section we will confront the opposite situation, the analysis of a large corpus of materials that have arrived to us in different forms, but the historical context of which is mostly lost: the Hermetica. The evaluation of what these texts say about the Egyptian priesthood, however, will depend on how they are located in the social and historical context of Graeco-Roman Egypt. Fundamental questions will be who wrote them, and how they were used and received in ancient times. Thus, apart from looking at actual references to Egyptian priests in the texts, this section will review the scholarly discussion about the milieu of the Hermetica and the current state of the question concerning their authorship and users.

The so-called Hermetica are a textual corpus that can be vaguely and somewhat inexactly defined as a collection of texts that were identified in ancient times as being authored by Hermes Trismegistos (as well as by a series of his disciples). These texts were created in Egypt in the period that extends roughly from the 2nd century BCE to the 5th century CE[678]. In order to understand and properly represent the contents of this corpus of texts, and their chronological, geographical, and sociohistorical context, it is necessary to pay attention to different aspects. In the next subsection I will identify the types of texts that we classify under the designation of Hermetica, presenting the available chronological information about the different texts, and I will briefly summarize the history of research on the corpus. After this introduction, the rest of the section will be devoted to the study of each part of the corpus focusing on the information that

[678] This chronology corresponds to the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri (BETZ 1992: xli), which are considered as part of the technical Hermetica, cf. section 3.2 in this chapter. The philosophical Hermetica appear to have been composed from the late 1st to the late 3rd centuries CE (FOWDEN 1986: 11).

they offer on the image of the Egyptian priests in this time period, but also reviewing the aspects that let us know more about their historical context. Finally, the conclusions from each part of the corpus will be brought together in order to attempt a more nuanced identification of the historical context of the Hermetica as a whole.

3.1. The Hermetica: texts, chronology, and history of research

As I have noted above, the identification of the group of texts that fall under the designation of Hermetica comes from an ancient attribution, present in the texts themselves, of their authorship to Hermes Trismegistos and his *diadoché*. As Fowden has stated in his historical analysis of the context of the Hermetica, beyond this attribution to Hermes, some kind of unity in the contents of the components of the corpus was already perceived in Antiquity[679]. Authors such as Plutarch in the second part of the 1st century CE, Clement of Alexandria around the end of the 2nd century CE, or Iamblichus at the end of the 3rd century CE, refer in their writings to a corpus that they designate as "books of Hermes"[680], the descriptions of which seem to agree with the contents of the different types of Hermetica preserved today, and which appear to be some of the sources used by these authors in their treatises on Egyptian religion[681]. Iamblichus even writes that they were originally written in Egyptian and translated into Greek "by men not unversed in

[679] FOWDEN 1986: 155, concerning the concept of "Hermetism," says that "though not in itself used in antiquity, stands for a doctrine with some internal coherence, not just for a chance assemblage of disparate texts for which the attribution to Hermes Trismegistus was a mere flag of convenience."
[680] In Plutarch's *De Iside* 61: ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἑρμοῦ λεγομέναις βίβλοις "In the so-called Books of Hermes" (edition and translation, GRIFFITHS 1970: 214-215); in Clement of Alexandria's *Stromata* 6.4.37: ὑο μὲν οὖν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα αἱ πάνυ ἀναγκαῖαι τῷ Ἑρμῇ γεγόνασι βίβλοι "There are now forty-two books that are very necessary, produced by Hermes" (edition STÄHLIN 1906: 449; the translation is my own); in Iamblichus' *De mysteriis* VIII.4: τὰ μὲν γὰρ φερόμενα ὡς Ἑρμοῦ ἑρμαϊκὰς περιέχει δόξας "Those documents, after all, which circulate under the name of Hermes" (edition and translation, CLARKE, DILLON and HERSHBELL 2003: 314-315). For these authors, cf. chapter 4.
[681] FOWDEN 1986: 139.

philosophy"[682], after which he explicitly mentions Chaeremon "and such other authorities"[683]. Of the corpus of "books of Hermes" available in Antiquity, only a small portion has come down to us. These texts have been classified in modern times into two groups, called "popular" and "learned" by scholars such as Festugière, or "technical" and "philosophical" by Fowden, whose terminology I follow here[684]. The first group is described by Fowden as "works on magic, alchemy, astrology and other branches of what modern scholars are pleased to call 'pseudo-science'"[685], while the second group are a series of treatises that "cover an extensive range of themes and approaches, which is better described as philosophical, in the wider sense of the word employed by the ancients, than as theological"[686]. Copenhaver has described them as "pious philosophy or philosophical piety," and lists under the designation of philosophical Hermetica the seventeen treatises that comprise the so-called *Corpus Hermeticum*[687], the Latin *Asclepius*, the forty texts and fragments of the *Anthology* of Stobaeus, the three Hermetic treatises of codex VI from Nag Hammadi, the Armenian *Definitions*, and the Vienna fragments (P. Graec.Vindob. 29456 rto. and 29828 rto.)[688]. The technical Hermetica have not been

[682] Iamblichus *De mysteriis* VIII.4: μεταγέγραπται γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς αἰγυπτίας γλώττης ὑπ᾽ἀνδρῶν φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἀπείρως ἐχόντων.
[683] Iamblichus *De mysteriis* VIII.4: Χαιρήμων δὲ καὶ οἵτινες ἄλλοι.
[684] Cf. COPENHAVER 1992: xxxii for references.
[685] FOWDEN 1986: xxi. The consideration as pseudo-science, however, is not applicable in antiquity, since there was no separation between areas such as science and religion, both being ways to explain the cosmos, and normally intertwined in the treatises. Thus, astrology and astronomy were not different disciplines and, for example, complex mathematical astronomy was studied in order to elaborate horoscopes. For more detail on this, *vid. infra*.
[686] FOWDEN 1986: 95.
[687] On the compilation of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, cf. COPENHAVER 1992: xl-xlv. His publication is the most recent English translation of the *Corpus Hermeticum* and the Latin *Asclepius*.
[688] cf. COPENHAVER 1992: xxxii-xxxiii for the quotation and the list of texts. The edition of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, the Latin *Asclepius*, the *Anthology* of Stobaeus, and fragments from authors such as Tertullian or Lactantius referring to the Hermetica are accessible through the four volumes titled *Corpus Hermeticum* edited by Festugière and Nock. Here I use FESTUGIÈRE and NOCK 1960a for volume 1 (Poimandres and treatises II-XII); FESTUGIÈRE and NOCK 1960b for volume 2 (treatises XIII-XVIII and the *Asclepius*); FESTUGIÈRE and NOCK 1954a for volume 3 (fragments of Stobaeus I-XXII); and FESTUGIÈRE and NOCK 1954b for volume 4 (fragments of Stobaeus XXIII-XXIX) and diverse fragments. For the edition of the three Hermetic treatises of codex VI of Nag Hammadi and the Armenian *Definitions*, I use MAHÉ 1978 and MAHÉ 1982. The Vienna fragments are edited in MAHÉ 1984.

compiled as one corpus, but individual thematic corpora have been put together in modern times for the magical[689] and alchemical texts[690].

One of the main problems of the study of the Hermetica is posed by the way they have come down to us. In the case of the philosophical Hermetica, the general consensus is that they were composed between the late 1st century and the late 3rd century CE[691]. We know that they were already grouped in collections in Antiquity, due to the references to these compilations in the texts themselves[692]. However, the main collection of texts preserved nowadays, the *Corpus Hermeticum*, was first assembled in Byzantine times (the first reference is by Michael Psellos in the 11th century[693]), and apparently the compiler did not reproduce the original text as it was, but adapted it[694]. Scholars have also observed that this selection might have reflected the ideology and interests of the compiler, and thus it may not be representative of the themes of other possible treatises. This might be inferred from the absence of magic especially in the first fourteen treatises of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, which were the ones first translated by Ficino in the 15th century[695]. In his edition of the *Corpus Hermeticum* Nock used twenty-eight manuscripts ranging from the 14th to the 17th century, of which not all included the seventeen treatises. However, although the way the collection has come down to us is the result of this long history of transmission, characterized by later selection of the texts and their reelaboration, the citation

[689] For the history of research and publication of the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri cf. BETZ 1992: xlii-xliv. An English translation incorporating the Demotic and Old Coptic texts is available in the same volume. For the Greek text of the *PGM* cf. PREISENDANZ and HENRICHS 1973-1974 (2 vols.); for the Demotic Magical Papyri, cf. GRIFFITH and THOMPSON 1904-1909 (3 vols.).
[690] For the composition of the collection of editions and French translations of alchemical texts in *Les Belles Lettres*, cf. the presentation by H.-D. Saffrey in HALLEUX 2002: vii-xv, which also includes a summary with all the volumes of the collection. For specific bibliography, *vid. infra*.
[691] FOWDEN 1986: 11.
[692] FOWDEN 1986: 4.
[693] FOWDEN 1986: 8.
[694] Cf. COPENHAVER 1992: xli.
[695] COPENHAVER 1992: xli. Copenhaver also states that "The long segregation of these most un-magical parts of the *Corpus* from other Hermetica helped obscure the evidence of their original setting in late antiquity."

of passages belonging to the seventeen treatises in other sources, such as other anthologies, the Nag Hammadi codex VI, the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri, or authors such as Zosimos of Panopolis, is testimony of their existence and circulation in ancient times, as I will discuss later in more detail. The so-called *Asclepius* is a free Latin translation, described by Fowden as "periphrastic"[696], dated to the 4th century CE[697], of the Greek *Perfect discourse,* which was oft-quoted. Sections of the *Perfect discourse* appear in the Nag Hammadi codex VI, and there are also citations in Lactantius. The *Anthology* of Stobaeus, created by Ioannes of Stobi around the 5th century CE, included among other texts from Greek authors not only fragments of *CH* II, IV, and IX, the Asclepius, but also other texts not known from other sources, such as the *Korē kosmou* (*SH* XXIII). Fowden has remarked that the passages also present in the *Corpus Hermeticum* seem to be closer to the original in the Stobaean fragments[698]. The Nag Hammadi codices are thirteen books of papyrus that contain fifty-two texts found in 1945 buried in a jar at the Gebel el-Tarif, close to Nag Hammadi, in Middle Egypt. They were written in the second half of the 4th century CE, and contain a mix of texts that can be classified as "early Christian, Neoplatonic, Hermetic, Sethian, and Valentinian"[699], all of them translated into Coptic from Greek originals. Of these, three of them in codex VI are Hermetic (6.6-8), *The Ogdoad reveals the Ennead* (which was unknown before), the *Prayer of Thanksgiving*, which is also the conclusion of the Latin *Asclepius* and appears in *PGM* III, and a fragment of the *Perfect discourse*, which is the source from which the *Asclepius* was translated, and corresponds to chapters 21-29 of it[700]. The Armenian *Definitions* have come down to us through six manuscripts

[696] FOWDEN 1986: 10.
[697] This translation was attributed to Apuleius in the Middle Ages (FOWDEN 1986: 198).
[698] cf. FOWDEN 1986: 4 and 9.
[699] Preface by Robinson in MEYER 2008: xi. This volume contains English translations of all the Nag Hammadi treatises.
[700] For an edition, French translation, and a detailed study and commentary of these three treatises, cf. MAHÉ 1978 and MAHÉ 1982.

that range from the 13th to the 18th centuries, but the Armenian translation of the original Greek texts seems to date to the second half of the 6th century[701]. The Vienna fragments are the oldest of all the manuscripts, and thus the closest to the composition date of the texts. They date to the late 2nd century or 3rd century CE, and contain fragments of two discourses from Hermes to Tat that appear to have been part of an anthology, since they are numbered as nine and ten[702]. The evidence from all these sources shows that since their date of composition between the 1st and the 3rd centuries CE, the treatises had an active use. They were grouped in anthologies already around that time (Vienna fragments), and also later, together with other texts from different genres (*Anthology* of Stobaeus, in the 5th century, Byzantine compilations in the 11th century). They were translated into Latin and Coptic in the 4th century (*Asclepius*, Nag Hammadi codex VI), and into Armenian in the late 6th century CE.

The technical Hermetica have more varied sources. It is important to remark that not all the texts classified here as technical Hermetica have explicit attributions to Hermes. The disciplines that are described in them, however, were attributed in origin to Hermes/Thoth, and as such, these texts were considered to belong to the Hermetic sphere.

The Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri are a collection of manuscripts found in Egypt, which contain magical spells. They range in dates from the 2nd century BCE to the 5th century CE, which makes them the most chronologically extensive subcorpus of the Hermetica. A significant part of this collection of texts is the so-called Theban Magical Library, a group of manuscripts acquired by Jean d'Anastasy, the Consul-General of Sweden and Norway in Egypt, in the middle of the 19th century. Due to the lack of information about the circumstances of the find of the texts,

[701] MAHÉ 1982: 327. A detailed study manuscript history of the text in MAHÉ 1982: 320-328.
[702] FOWDEN 1986: 4.

it is not clear if they belonged to a single archive, or even which texts belonged to the collection[703]. Although statements about the origin of the papyri in Thebes derive from the notes in the different auction catalogues, recent discoveries suggest that this information should be taken with caution[704]. The ten manuscripts[705] that comprise the Theban Magical Library were composed in different periods, and are a mix of rolls and codices, which have been dated to the 3rd and 4th centuries CE respectively. In his study on *PGM* IV, Edward Love has warned against the idea of a single provenance for all the manuscripts in the Theban Magical Library, and of the same practitioners in each of these two centuries, due to the important social, political, and economical changes that took place in this period[706]. I will return to this later. The idea of putting all these magical papyri together as a sole corpus for study purposes was first proposed by Albrecht Dieterich in the beginning of the 20th century, but it was accomplished later by Karl Preisendanz, a student of Dieterich, with the first volumes of the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* appearing in 1928 and 1931. The last edition of the texts was produced by Albert Henrichs in 1973-1974. All these editions only included the Greek papyri, removing the Demotic sections of the bilingual papyri, which had been edited and translated by Griffith and Thompson in 1904-1909. These were only incorporated into a continuous translation of all the texts in the edition by Hans Dieter Betz in 1986. The unification of all the texts into a corpus, designated as *PGM/PDM* has the advantage of making most of the magical texts from Graeco-Roman Egypt easily available for the researcher, but has the disadvantage of creating the idea of a false unity of a very diverse corpus of texts, especially from the chronological point of view. The present study

[703] A very detailed new study of the history of the Theban Magical Library has been published by DOSOO 2016b. On p. 270 of this study he compiles in a table the different interpretations of the actual contents of the Theban Magical Library.
[704] cf. Addendum in DOSOO 2016b: 273-274.
[705] According to Dosoo's conclusion in DOSOO 2016b.
[706] Cf. chapter seven in his analysis, and esp. LOVE 2016: 223-224 and 279-282.

will place special emphasis on the chronological organization of all the texts in order to extract historically sound conclusions.

The second extensive corpus of technical Hermetica comprises the alchemical texts. The bulk of the corpus has come down to us through later copies, most of them dating to Byzantine times. Only two manuscripts, the so-called Leiden (P. Leiden I 397) and Stockholm papyri (P. Holm), come from Graeco-Roman Egypt, and have been dated in the 4th century CE. Their association with the technical Hermetica is shown by the fact that *PGM* Va is a loose leaf found in P. Holm; and that P. Holm + *PGM* Va, P. Leiden I 397, and the first twenty-one pages of *PGM* XIII, which is also a codex dating to the 4th century CE, were written by the same hand[707]. This demonstrates that the same people who were copying the magical papyri were also dealing with alchemical texts. Furthermore, *PGM* XII/*PDM xii*, which is a bilingual (Greek/Demotic) papyrus roll, including passages in hieratic, alphabetic Demotic, and Old Coptic glosses, and which dates to the 3rd century CE[708], also contains a short alchemical section (*PGM* XII.193-204). Dosoo has observed that together with P. Holm, these are the only two known Greek magical papyri with alchemical material[709]. With regard to alchemical texts, as I will discuss below, *PGM* XII.401-444 contains a list of ingredients that can also be associated with alchemical material. It is relevant to keep in mind that Dosoo has calculated the frequency of appearance of each type of text in the magical papyri, and has concluded that "By the time of its 4th century CE deposition, its predominant text-type was not magical, but alchemical (45.9%)"[710]. As I will discuss below in detail, the works of Zosimos of Panopolis, the first alchemist for whom we have some

[707] Cf. DOSOO 2016b: 257.
[708] JOHNSON 1992: lvi.
[709] DOSOO 2016b: 260.
[710] DOSOO 2016a: 714.

biographical information (end of the 3rd and beginning of the 4th century CE), make clear that he was acquainted also with the philosophical Hermetica[711].

The study of all these texts has gone through different stages, and has taken different paths over time. The modern interest in the Hermetica started in the Renaissance, with Ficino's translation of the first fourteen treatises of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, into which he incorporated the Latin *Asclepius*. By then these texts were considered to be very ancient wisdom written in Egyptian by Hermes Trismegistos, who was considered semi-divine. This view predominated until Casaubon in the beginning of the 17th century proved that the texts could not be older than the late 1st century CE[712]. Modern research on the texts would have to wait until the 20th century. With respect to the philosophical Hermetica, the discussion within the field of religious studies soon revolved around the historical background and origin of the texts. Reitzestein published a first study in 1904 in which he interpreted the texts as being the product of a religious community founded by Hermes, set in a completely Egyptian religious context. Soon there was reaction against this idea and Reitzenstein himself switched ten years later his interpretation of the origins of Hermetism to Iran, and instead of setting the text in the context of a religious congregation, he defined them as "literary mysteries," removing any cultic element from them[713]. Later studies, and particularly Festugière's *La revelation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, placed the Hermetica in an entirely Hellenic context, considering the Egyptian elements in them just as a "mere literary artifice"[714], and the whole corpus as a literary phenomenon that did not reflect a religious reality.

[711] Cf. FOWDEN 1986: 124, where he indicates that "it is clear that Zosimos has read at least the *Poimandrēs*, *The mixing-bowl* and the lost(?) treatise *On the inner life*, and has fully absorbed what they say into his understanding of the alchemical art."
[712] FOWDEN 1986: xxii.
[713] Cf. COPENHAVER 1992: xlv-lix for the history of research on the Hermetica. For a more detailed analysis, cf. MAHÉ 1982: 3-43.
[714] COPENHAVER 1992: lv.

The discovery of the Hermetic texts of the Nag Hammadi codices in 1945, published shortly after the completion of Festugière's four-volume work, reopened the question of the Egyptian character of the Hermetica, and new studies in this respect started to appear, including articles by Egyptologists, and also the thorough study of the Hermetic treatises of codex VI of Nag Hammadi by Jean Mahé, who emphasized the Egyptian element in them. In parallel to all this development we find the edition and study of the magical and alchemical materials (the technical Hermetica). As in the case of the philosophical Hermetica, the magical papyri, initially known as *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, were first analyzed from a completely Hellenocentric point of view, even removing the Demotic passages from the bilingual manuscripts, despite the fact that these had already been published in the beginning of the 20th century by Griffith and Thompson. This resulted in a biased perspective of the materials, which did not start to be addressed until the translation in 1986 of all the magical papyri including the Demotic spells in Betz's edition. This edition revitalized the discussion around the Egyptian social context of the magical papyri, and the question of by whom and in which context the texts were composed. Equally, the alchemical materials were collected first by the historian of chemistry Berthelot at the end of the 19th century, a work that was continued in the beginning of the 20th century by Bidez[715]. This work run in parallel to Cumont's publication of the Greek astrological materials. The view of astrology and alchemy as the occult and mysterious sides of astronomy and chemistry, however, has obscured their real meaning and influenced their scholarly study until recently[716]. In 1986, Fowden brought together all these materials in order to attempt a study of the historical and intellectual context of the Hermetica as a whole, including both the technical and philosophical texts. In it, he reexamined both the original texts and the scholarly views about them, setting the Hermetica in a

[715] Cf. HALLEUX 2002: vii.
[716] Cf. especially the views by Bidez himself quoted in HALLEUX 2002: viii-ix.

Graeco-Egyptian milieu. To my knowledge, no other global studies of all the material have been attempted since Fowden's fundamental study. However, the publication of new texts, and the new advances, especially in the field of the technical Hermetica, allow now for the nuancing of some of Fowden's interpretations, which I will attempt in the next pages. This analysis is relevant for the present study, since it particularly concerns the Egyptian priestly context of the Hermetica. In order to remain close to the main purpose of this study, I will focus on the elements of the Hermetica that provide information about the creation of the image of the Egyptian priests and of the Egyptian temple context.

3.2 The technical Hermetica

As I have noted above, the main areas into which the technical Hermetica are divided are magic, alchemy, and astrology. Here I will focus especially on the first two, but some observations on the astronomical/astrological Hermetica are also relevant for the present discussion, since many advances in the knowledge of Graeco-Egyptian astronomy/astrology have been made in the last years, which challenge the older views on the subject significantly.

The main problem that has obscured our understanding of ancient astronomy/astrology is precisely the artificial division between these two disciplines, which was not present in ancient times. As Alexander Jones has declared in his study of the astronomical papyri from Oxyrhynchus, "In contrast to the modern conception of Greek astronomy as a theoretical enterprise, the papyri portray a science that was overwhelmingly directed towards prediction"[717]. Thus, astronomical tables were used in the composition of horoscopes, and were part of the tools employed by the astrologers, as we have seen in the analysis of the figure of Nectanebo in the *Alexander Romance*. Another mistake in the way astronomical/astrological documents have been

[717] JONES 1999b: 5. For a description of the purpose of the astronomical papyri cf. pp. 4-8 in that same volume.

interpreted consists in the distinction of two different contexts based on the language used in them. The presence in the papyrological corpus of more astronomical tables written in Greek, and of more astrological treatises in Demotic, has led many scholars to create "an opposition between a more "scientific" Greek and a more "superstitious" Egyptian tradition"[718]. However, the edition and publication of new astronomical papyri is challenging this view. In the papyrological collection of the abbey of Montserrat there are a series of fragments of a Demotic planetary table (P.Monts.Roca inv. 314 rto.) dating to the second half of the 1st century CE[719]. This table corresponds to the category designated by Alexander Jones as monthly almanac, since it records the positions of the planets for each month. This particular table is the only one known so far in Demotic that includes indications of synodic events, and which records the position of each planet in degrees and minutes. This, according to Jones, is the more elaborate kind of monthly almanac[720], and thus, this papyrus proves that this kind of complex mathematical astronomy was being written not only in Greek, but also in Demotic. My proposal of a Demotic origin for the sign used in Greek astronomical tables for first and last visibility, together with other evidence such as Friedhelm Hoffmann's identification of the Demotic origin of the sign for zero in Greek astronomical tables, proves that the transmission of Babylonian astronomical knowledge to the Hellenic cultural milieu was done by Egyptian priests in the context of the Egyptian temples of Graeco-Roman Egypt[721]. Thus, it is reasonable to propose that, regardless of the language in which they were written, the papyrological evidence seems to suggest that both the astronomical tables and the astrological manuals were a product of that Egyptian priestly

[718] QUACK 2016: 239.
[719] Cf. ESCOLANO-POVEDA forthcoming.
[720] JONES 1999a: 328.
[721] On this, cf. HOFFMANN 2014; QUACK 2016; ESCOLANO-POVEDA forthcoming.

milieu, and were thus produced by bilingual Egyptian priests versed in the sciences of the time[722]. Of course, this view does not reject the production of astronomical knowledge in Hellenic contexts such as the learned world of the Library of Alexandria and the Mouseion, but rather encourages scholars to accept a closer connection between the sages of these institutions and the Egyptian intellectuals working in the traditional temples.

This new evidence makes necessary a review of the conclusions presented by Fowden concerning the astrological Hermetica in the context of Graeco-Roman Egypt, and in general of the intellectual environment of the Egyptian temples in the Roman period in particular. With respect to this last point, Fowden maintains that in the Roman period the Egyptian intellectual world of the temples was "a thought-world whose prestige and stability could not wholly mask its inner decay or its obsession with the refining of its own processes"[723]. To support this argument, he cites the testimonies of Strabo and Dio Chrysostom concerning the loss of the old Egyptian tradition, which reveals that he is applying this judgment to the very beginning of the Roman period, the end of the 1st century BCE and the 1st century CE. He acknowledges the complexity of the hieroglyphic texts composed in this period, citing Esna as an example, but qualifies them as an evolution "[which] resulted not so much from the new insights as from a desire to impart order and lucidity to the bewildering multiplicity of doctrines already in circulation"[724]. The idea of Egyptian religion as a chaotic system and its justification through the texts of the Graeco-Roman period is an unfounded prejudice, since the compilation and commentary on older texts is a phenomenon that goes back to the Pharaonic period, as can be

[722] This idea was already proposed by Jones in JONES 1994: 45: "The chronological sandwiching of the astronomical table [*scil*. Greek almanac *PSI* inv. 75D] between two Egyptian texts makes it practically certain that the table was itself produced in the temple. It is quite plausible that some other Greek astronomical tables of unknown provenance also derive from Egyptian temples."
[723] FOWDEN 1986: 63.
[724] FOWDEN 1986: 63.

seen the commentary devices used in religious texts, such as the *Book of the Dead*, or in scientific treatises such as the medical texts. Fowden continues in this vein, writing that "This airless immobility of the priestly mind is reflected in every detail of the temple regime"[725], and points out that this has to be kept in mind when considering that the Hermetica might originate in this tradition that he qualifies as being in a "long-drawn-out senescence" and "suffering from sclerosis". The literary and scientific activity of the Egyptian temples, especially in the first two centuries of Roman domination, however, attests to the contrary. As I have shown above, the Egyptian priests of the Roman period were producing astronomical materials that reflect a very complex technical knowledge. Fowden's opinion in this sense comes from his own lack of knowledge of all these materials at the time when he wrote his study, as the following quote shows: "Graeco-Roman astrology was essentially an amalgam of Babylonian and Greek currents of thought and practice, and there is no real need to invoke ancient Egypt in order to explain it"[726]. The fact that it was actually in the context of the Egyptian temples that the adaptation and incorporation of Babylonian astronomical knowledge took place, from which it was transmitted to the Greek world, invalidates Fowden's interpretation of this environment as sclerotic and static[727]. Thus, the astrological Hermetica listed by Copenhaver in his introduction to the *Corpus Hermeticum*[728], such as the fragments that mention Nechepso and Petosiris in the *Anthology* of

[725] FOWDEN 1986: 63. Ritner has highlighted how collections such as the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri, despite being eclectic, were "compiled critically," and include numerous indications for the reader/user to check other passages and comparisons of sources, which qualifies them as "reference manuals," and provides as comparison from the Pharaonic period texts such as the medical papyri Edwin Smith and Ebers (RITNER 1995a: 3345-3346 and footnote 35).
[726] FOWDEN 1986: 67.
[727] Gordon argued already in 2002 that "there is good evidence that the temple clergy, like other magical practitioners, were no strangers to innovation and adaptation. One example is that of astrology, which by routes now impossible to recover, was rapidly assimilated from Babylonia in the Late Period and under the first two Ptolemies, with very little sign of having been mediated by the Greeks" (GORDON 2002: 74). Since the first astronomical tables, both in Greek and Demotic, date to the Roman period, the chronology of this process should be kept more open (cf. JONES 1999a: 301, who indicates that the earliest astronomical table known is P. Oxy. 4175, an ephemeris dating to year 24 BCE).
[728] cf. COPENHAVER 1992: xxxiii-xxxiv.

the 2nd century CE astrologer Vettius Valens, or the *Liber Hermetis*, which is a Latin translation of a Greek manual that describes the astrological implications of the decans[729], which are astronomical elements of Egyptian origin, need to be considered in this context as products of a tradition in which the Egyptian element was very prominent, created by an innovative Egyptian priestly milieu.

In the following two sections I will examine the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri and the early alchemical corpus, with special emphasis on the works of Pseudo-Demokritos and Zosimos of Panopolis, in order to show that despite Fowden's opinion that the Egyptian temple context was stagnant and in clear decadence already in the early Roman period, many Egyptian elements can be seen in these corpora that reveal the vigor of the intellectual production of the temples during the first two centuries of Roman rule in particular, and leading up to the 3rd century CE, paying particular attention to the figure of the Egyptian priest as the central feature of this intellectual context.

3.2.1. The Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri

As I have noted above, the large corpus of the magical papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt was collected initially in the beginning of the 20th century under the name *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, and studied from a hellenocentric point of view. In the anthology compiled by Preisendanz and expanded in several later editions, the Greek texts were separated from the Demotic ones, and the latter ones, which were excluded from the collection, obscuring the real character of many

[729] The unpublished Habilschrift of J. F. Quack studies the Decans in Pharaonic Egypt and their later reception.

manuscripts, and of the corpus in general. In 1986 the Demotic spells[730] were added to Betz's new English translation of the corpus, and a series of new studies started highlighting the Egyptian elements present in it, examining them in order to locate them in their historical context. Robert Ritner, already in his monograph on magic (1993), but especially in an article about the Demotic spells (1995), reviewed previous assumptions, researched the Egyptian elements present in the spells, and proposed an interpretation for their historical context, extending it to the whole corpus. He concluded that the handbooks, including both the Greek and Demotic spells, were products of the temple *scriptoria*, and concluded: "The derivation of the Anastasi Greek (language) manuals from the scriptorium of an Egyptian temple raises the further possibility that the remaining comparable *PGM* treatises derive from a similar (if not the same) source. Though ironic, it is highly possible that few of the preserved Greek magical papyri were ever intended for an ethnic Greek audience. Even where the audience was clearly non-Egyptian, the practitioner might be"[731]. This vision has been nuanced by Christopher Faraone, who agrees that the papyri "are best seen as a natural outgrowth of the native Egyptian tradition of the lector priest and his scriptorium," but considers that Ritner's interpretation is excessively "pan-Egyptian" and adding: "It would be a mistake, however, to suggest that just because there is often obvious and pervasive Egyptian influence on the Anastasi handbooks, that we should automatically jump to the conclusion that nearly all of the Greek magical papyri found in Egypt were written (in Greek) by Egyptians for an Egyptian audience"[732].

[730] For a detailed review of the Demotic spells of the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri, cf. JOHNSON 1992. Note, however, that both Dieleman and Quack have reacted against Johnson's interpretation that *PDM* xii and xiv were written by the same hand, *PDM* Supp. being similar (in JOHNSON 1992: lvii, however, she seems to indicate that all four manuscripts with Demotic spells were written by the same person), as pointed out by Dosoo (DOSOO 2016b: 259 footnote 28). Dosoo, however, indicates that: "Since it seems that the Greek and Demotic script on each papyrus is by the same scribe, the fact that the three Greek hands are clearly different must lead us to conclude that Quack and Dieleman are correct, that the Demotic hands are similar, but belong to different scribes.

[731] RITNER 1995a: 3362.

[732] FARAONE 2000: 196 and footnote 5 for all the quotations.

The chronological context of each one of the manuscripts is very important, since I have already remarked that the corpus spans from around the 2nd century BCE to the 5th century CE, which corresponds to seven centuries of development. In the article mentioned above, Faraone examines two manuscripts, *PGM* XX and *PGM* CXXII, which date to the end of the 1st century BCE, are written exclusively in Greek and lack the presence of magical devices such as *charakteres*, vowel strings, *voces magicae*, or drawings. He remarks that these devices are characteristic of the later manuals, such as those belonging to the Theban Magical Library. He proposes that *PGM* XX might be the result of the efforts of someone "putting together a collection of the famous incantations of the day, perhaps organized by meter as were the collections of other forms of poetry in the Alexandrian library," and cautions "not to draw too fine a distinction between the working magician and the scholar in the context of Hellenistic or Roman Egypt, especially since there is evidence that one of the owners of this papyrus did indeed use the collection for more practical purposes"[733]. For *PGM* CXXII he believes that the spells were clearly collected for practical purposes, and that they include many Egyptian elements in order to appeal to both a Greek and Egyptian clientele[734]. Faraone concludes that the Theban Magical Library should be considered in itself as "what magical handbooks looked like in late-antiquity in Egyptian Thebes," but other texts such as these earlier Greek collections should be considered in their Greek context, "much closer to the Mediterranean" and "preserving native Greek notions about incantations and the appropriate methods of collecting and arranging them"[735]. This is definitely a cautionary assertion that should be kept in mind when trying to contextualize the manuscripts.

[733] FARAONE 2000: 211 for both quotations.
[734] FARAONE 2000: 212.
[735] FARAONE 2000: 213 for all the quotations.

A detailed study of the Egyptian context of the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri was published by Jacco Dieleman in his monograph *Priests, Tongues, and Rites* (2005), which explored in particular the bilingual rolls *PGM* XII/*PDM* xii (P.Leiden I 384 vso.) and *PGM* XIV/*PDM* xiv (P. Leiden I 838 + P. BM EA 10070; or P. London-Leiden). After analyzing the use of languages, scripts, and the phenomenon of translation in both handbooks, and devoting a chapter to the presentation of their background in terms of prestige and authority, Dieleman concludes that "the *Greek Magical Papyri* originated in all likelihood in Egypt" due to their detailed knowledge of the cultic topography of the Nile valley, the presentation of the spells as being translated always from Egyptian and never from a different language, and the inclusion in the texts of truly Egyptian priestly knowledge[736]. He maintains that although the spells in Greek and Demotic do not show differences in type, implying that they had similar magical aspirations, readership or target audience is what distinguishes the Demotic from the Greek spells[737]. From his analysis of the image of the Egyptian priest in each tradition, he concludes that while the Egyptian view reflects a "servant of god, whose attitude to life is in agreement with the priestly ethos of purity and who, on account of this morality, is in close contact with the divine"[738], the Greek view is based on an "exoticised image of Egyptian priests as propagated in Hellenistic texts, rather than to readers who are truly versed in priestly lore". However, he believes that both the Greek and the Demotic spells originated in the temple milieu[739]. Dieleman argues that both groups of spells display a series of differences, and describes the Greek spells being attributed to an "international mix of authoritative magicians (Egyptian, Greek, Persian)" while the Demotic

[736] DIELEMAN 2005: 283-284.
[737] DIELEMAN 2005: 285.
[738] DIELEMAN 2005: 286 for this and the following quotation.
[739] DIELEMAN 2005: 287.

ones are "firmly rooted in Egypt itself, geographically or historically"[740]. He characterizes the use of *voces magicae*, palindromes, or of the seven vowels, as characteristic of the Hellenistic world, present in the Greek spells, but also in the Demotic ones, demonstrating the entrance of the Hellenistic world into the Egyptian priestly milieu. He also observes that the Greek spells always indicate the origin of the text as being a manuscript found in an Egyptian temple or a text carved on a stela, and that the mythological references are almost always Egyptian[741]. Thus, "Egyptian roots were not an impediment to the cross-cultural interests of the editors of the Greek spell and, secondly, that the editors were well versed in both Egyptian and Hellenistic religious literature"[742]. In light of this, he concludes that both the Greek and Demotic spells were conceived in the Egyptian priestly milieu of the Theban region, and that the Demotic spells were composed at the latest in the late 1st century CE, with the Greek ones developing as early as the late Hellenistic period, in a context that has to be a place "where Egyptian and Hellenistic culture intertwined in a productive way and where a Hellenised clientele was to be found." He suggests places such as the Faiyum, or Hellenistic cities such as Hermopolis, Oxyrhynchus, Panopolis, Ptolemais, or Alexandria[743]. He proposes a reconstruction of the history of the manuscripts that starts in the early Roman period, when Egyptian priests from the Thebaid gain access to Greek spells that are being compiled in one of the Hellenistic cities, perhaps Alexandria. They studied and reinterpreted them, creating new spells in Demotic to which they also incorporated older Egyptian materials, which would explain the presence of hieratic passages. In the 2nd or 3rd century CE a scribe copied some of these Demotic spells together with Greek spells meant for a Hellenized clientele, and this was the origin of the manuscripts that have come down to us.

[740] DIELEMAN 2005: 265 for both quotations.
[741] DIELEMAN 2005: 289.
[742] DIELEMAN 2005: 290.
[743] Conclusions summarized from DIELEMAN 2005: 291-293.

While this seems like a sound and quite plausible reconstruction of the history of the manuscripts, it is necessary to remark that it employs a series of problematic assumptions, and that come from the models for the understanding of the Egyptian priestly context especially in the Roman period created by Frankfurter and which I will analyze and refute in Part 2 of the present study. The first problem concerns the analysis of the image of the Egyptian priests through Demotic and Graeco-Roman sources made by Dieleman in his chapter 6, which is based on a very limited number of texts, and thus raises to literary type characteristics that in fact only apply to a very few priestly literary characters[744]. He argues that these different images of the Egyptian priests are visible in the magical spells, with the Greek ones showing "Hellenised images of Egyptian priests" used as a way of giving prestige to the spells and which had not been eliminated in the editorial process. An example of this, according to Dieleman, would be the use in *PGM* XII. 401-444 of an image of the priestly procedures that would have been obviously inaccurate for anyone with real inside knowledge of Egyptian textual practice[745]. The main problem here, however, seems to be an error of focus. Dieleman, following Frankfurter's model of stereotype appropriation, considers that one of the main purposes of these spells and handbooks was to appeal to a clientele that the magician needed, due to his precarious situation derived from the decline in the Egyptian temples. However, the perspective changes when we abandon this "mercantilistic" interpretation, and we remove the focus from the "clients" and return it to the actual texts. As Fraser has recently written, the characterization of the priests as motivated primarily in their composition of the handbooks by a need to conform to the "exotic expectations of their clients"[746] is rooted in the old prejudice of the magician as a charlatan,

[744] I will examine Dieleman's analysis in detail in section 3 of chapter 5.
[745] I will analyze this assertion in detail in the section about the alchemical literature (section 3.2.2. in this chapter).
[746] FRASER 2015: 120.

"reducing the motivations of the priests to the acquisition of power, prestige, and cash"[747]. Fraser considers that Dieleman makes the assumption that the spells were directed to an audience outside of the circle of the priests who composed them, and that elements such as the confirmations of efficacy and narrative frames were not intended to act as marketing devices, but "were valued by the magician for their *utility*, as techniques for augmenting ritual power, and had nothing to do with impressing clients. Likewise, the frequent self-description of the priests as initiates cannot be dismissed as window dressing intended to enhance the mystique of the spells"[748]. This had already been proposed by Gordon in 2002, who argued that the "claim for magical power" did not have to be directed to a clientele, but should be considered as "a self-regarding matter"[749]. Both Fraser and Gordon, however, based their arguments on the assumption that the context of the Egyptian priests who created the handbooks was that of the decline of the Egyptian temple milieu, an assumption which I will review in chapter 6. Since the "stereotype appropriation" model is untenable in light of the evidence[750], Fraser's interpretation seems to make much more sense than Dieleman's mercantilistic approach.

Another problem of Dieleman's argument is his affirmation that the "Demotic spells did not develop organically from pharaonic magic over a long stretch of time" but "were written against the background of the Greek spells"[751]. Although Dieleman's reconstruction of the earlier stages in the manuscript tradition of the handbooks might be possible, it is based on the idea that there was a discontinuity in magic between the Pharaonic and the Graeco-Roman period, an assumption that Dosoo has recently refuted in a study of the kinds of spells that comprise the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri. He shows how the general opinion among scholars is that there

[747] FRASER 2015: 121.
[748] FRASER 2015: 122. The italics are Fraser's.
[749] GORDON 2002: 76.
[750] Cf. chapter 8 for a detailed analysis of the "stereotype appropriation" model.
[751] DIELEMAN 2005: 293.

was a "shift from a Pharaonic magical practice focused on spells of healing and protection, to a focus on aggressive curse and erotic spells, and private revelatory rituals in the Roman period"[752]. Through a statistical analysis of all the types of spells using a list of 14 categories, he concludes that healing spells are actually the predominant ones in the Roman period, while curses are marginal, which agrees with what is known from both Pharaonic and Coptic magic. He observes that there are some differences depending on manuscripts or areas, which probably were related to the concerns of those who produced the texts, but there is no significant change in magical interests from the Pharaonic to the Graeco-Roman period[753].

Another issue that has been pointed out recently by Edward Love in his analysis of *PGM* IV is the identification of the practitioners of each manuscript of the collection, including those within the Theban Magical Library. This group of texts, that may or may not belong to a magical archive existent in antiquity[754], includes both rolls and codices, the composition of which dates to the 3rd and 4th centuries CE respectively, and which then seem to have been deposited wherever they were later found (perhaps a tomb) in the 4th century. Love argues that the skills necessary to engage with the bilingual rolls analyzed by Dieleman clearly included knowledge that did only exist at this point in the Egyptian temple milieu[755]. However, although he believes that the composition of the spells in Old Coptic present in *PGM* IV, which dates to the 4th century, should also be located in the temple milieu, "the evidence for priests – and therefore "priestly" practitioners – into the 3rd and the 4th centuries CE is too sparse and restrictive to simply ratify the supposed over-arching phenomenon of the GEMP [*scil*. Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri] being

[752] DOSOO 2016a: 700.
[753] DOSOO 2016a: 713-716.
[754] Cf. the cautionary remarks in this respect in the *addendum* of DOSOO 2016b: 273-274.
[755] LOVE 2016: 227.

the sole preserve of "priestly" practitioners"[756]. He also maintains that "it is contrary to all the primary evidence stemming contemporaneously from Thebes [...] to argue that in the late 3rd or early 4th century CE there were Demotic-literates in and/or around Thebes"[757]. He proposes that whoever composed the 4th century codices may have been related in some way to the owners of the earlier manuscripts and thus benefited from "a transfer of skills"[758] from them, but that there is no evidence that these 4th century practitioners would have been literate in Demotic, or even priests. This is an interesting remark that needs to be kept in mind when interpretations are extended to the whole corpus of the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri.

In conclusion, for the purposes of the present study, however, I still maintain that as late as the 3rd century CE, when the bilingual manuscripts were copied, the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri remained within the Egyptian temple milieu. With regard to the audience of the spells, even if the Egyptian priests practiced the magic codified in the spells within the temple context for non-priestly population, this did not necessarily need to be an especially Hellenized audience, as Dieleman assumed[759], since the inclusion in the spells of elements from different traditions was meant to strengthen their effectivity, and not to persuade a potential audience. Dosoo has shown that the most popular types of spells remained the same from the Pharaonic to the Graeco-Roman period, healing spells, which attests to the continuity of the practice of magic from one period to the other. It is true that in the 4th century and later, as Love has remarked, with the progressive closure of the temples, these magical needs were probably taken care of by other individuals, who might be genetically and socially related to the priests who composed and copied the texts in the previous centuries, and who inherited the older handbooks and the

[756] LOVE 2016: 228.
[757] LOVE 2016: 235 footnote 43.
[758] LOVE 2016: 235.
[759] DIELEMAN 2005: 292-293.

knowledge of the spells. However, it is not necessary to have recourse to models such as those proposed by Frankfurter in order to explain this process. As I have said several times throughout this section, this will be discussed in detail in Part 2.

As a final note before concluding the section on the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri, the reader will have observed that, unlike in previous sections, I have not analyzed the specific images of Egyptian priests in these texts. This is due both to the character of the texts themselves, and to the existence of previous studies on the subject that have done so in detail. The references to priestly characters occur mostly in the introductions of the spells, and were already examined by Festugière in chapter 9 of the first volume of his monumental *La revelation d'Hermès Trismégiste*[760], as well as, from an Egyptological perspective, by Ritner, who catalogues also the traditional Egyptian elements in the texts[761]. The mentions of priests have been listed by Fowden[762], and analyzed in detail by Dieleman as "mystifying motifs"[763]. Thissen also examined the possible Egyptian etymologies for some of the names mentioned in the spells, and tried to identify Egyptian words in some of the *voces magicae*[764]. Although there are references to some titles such as "sacred scribe" in *PGM* I.42 (Pnouthis) or to physicians, we get very few elements to characterize these figures, probably because they were well known. In some cases the framing narratives are in the form of letters, often directed to a king, such as Psammetichus (Nephotes to king Psammetichus, *PGM* IV.154-285) or Ostanes (Pitys to king Ostanes, *PGM* IV.2006-2125). An interesting reference appears in *PGM* IV.2446-2455, which is presented as being revealed by

[760] FESTUGIÈRE 2014: 340 [324]-348 [332].
[761] RITNER 1995a: 3363-3367.
[762] FOWDEN 1986: 166 footnote 36.
[763] DIELEMAN 2005: 261-276.
[764] THISSEN 1991.

Pachrates[765], prophet of Heliopolis, to emperor Hadrian. The latter is said to have marveled at the prophet's prowess and have ordered double fees to be given to him, which follows the Egyptian tradition of a king rewarding a magician for his excellence that we see already in P. Westcar[766]. As for the context in which the texts are placed, as I stated before while examining Dieleman's analysis, it involves Egyptian temples, such as that of Heliopolis, and stelae, statues of the gods, and books that are connected to Hermes[767].

3.2.2. The early alchemical texts

The only two alchemical manuscripts that have come down to us from Graeco-Roman Egypt are the so-called Leiden (P. Leiden I 397) and Stockholm (P. Holm) papyri, which are two codices dating to the 4th century. The fact that both these manuscripts and the first 21 pages of *PGM* XIII were written by the same hand[768] shows that the practice of alchemy and of the spells of the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri took place in the same context and was done by the same people. The Leiden and Stockholm papyri contain a series of recipes. As Lawrence Principe has noted, although they are the basis for what would later be considered as alchemy, these recipes lack the theoretical and intellectual background that would characterize later alchemical works. What we understand as alchemy was the result of the combination of different elements. We have the long tradition of practical Egyptian metallurgy, which is attested in representations of scenes of daily life since earlier periods in Pharaonic Egypt[769]. In the Graeco-Roman period, the

[765] For the discussion of the connection of this Pachrates with Lucian's Pankrates, cf. the section on Lucian's *Philopseudes* in chapter 4.
[766] For the discussion of the magicians receiving payments cf. chapter 5, sections 1.2.2 and 2.2.2.
[767] Cf. DIELEMAN 2005: 271 for references.
[768] DOSOO 2016b: 257.
[769] François Daumas has analyzed the ancient Egyptian vision of the metals in search for the Egyptian origins of alchemy, and concludes that some kind of alchemical theory based on experimentation must have existed already in the New Kingdom: "une théorie alchimique, accompagnée depuis fort longtemps par des tentatives expérimentales, a été élaborée au moins dès le début du Nouvel Empire" (DAUMAS 1983: 117).

so-called "laboratory" of the temple of Dendera contains on its walls the recipes for different preparations, including the instruments to be used, the proportion of the ingredients, the times for each stage of the preparation, and a description of the different procedures involved in it[770]. Some of the ingredients are inscribed with Ptolemaic orthographies that could be characterized as cryptographic, such as the writing for styrax,  *nnjb* [771]. Although these orthographies are common in Ptolemaic texts, they can be perhaps connected to the tradition of secrecy in the Egyptian temple context that would later be one of the features of classical alchemy[772]. In this same temple, a chamber located in the mezzanine of the western staircase, called the Chamber of Gold, is engraved with a series of texts that have been identified as belonging to a manual for the fabrication and consecration of statues and cult objects[773]. In view of the fact that it is written in the third person and that Thoth is represented next to it, Derchain believes that the text is a commentary on Thoth's own words, and thus the god would be the author of the treatise[774]. This would be corroborated by the statement that Thoth is the one who gives commands in the Chamber of Gold: "Thoth, le deux fois très grand, seigneur d'Hermopolis, qui fait le règlement pour la place de joie, qui donne les ordres dans le « Château de l'Or »" (*Dend*. VIII 139, 7-8)[775]. Thus, this treatise could be considered as a book of Thoth/Hermes. A particularly interesting section of the texts in this chamber, located in the wall space between the windows that overlook the Court of the New Year, provides the names of a series of materials for the fabrication of

[770] CAUVILLE and IBRAHIM ALI 2015: 58.
[771] *Wb*. II, 276.9-14; WILSON 1997:524-525. The word is composed by the seated child, *nn*, and the elephant, one of the readings of which is *jb*. Cf. KURTH 2009: 197 and 207 note 12 for attestations of the word in Edfu, Dendera, and Qal'a.
[772] On secrecy in the early alchemical literature, Principe notes that: "The moderate level of secrecy encountered in the earlier recipe literature thus becomes more intense and more self-conscious with Zosimos. Such secrecy would wax and wane in intensity but never disappear for the rest of alchemy's history" (PRINCIPE 2013: 17-18).
[773] DERCHAIN 1990: 221. The presence of the Chamber or Enclosure of Gold (*ḥw.t-nbw*) as the place where the divine statues and cult objects were produced and consecrated has been identified among the constructions of Thutmose III at Karnak, cf. TRAUNECKER 1989.
[774] DERCHAIN 1990: 222-223.
[775] Translation by Derchain in DERCHAIN 1990: 241.

statues in a sort of code. Using conditional clauses, it presents the designation that would be used in the texts as the protasis ("if he says..."), and the real equivalent of the material that was meant in the apodosis ("he means..."): "S'il dit d'un dieu () que la matière en est la pierre véritable, il veut dire que c'est la magnétite (*bḳs-ʿnḫ*). S'il dit d'un dieu () que la matière en est le cuivre, il veut dire que c'est du bronze noir. S'il dit d'un dieu () que la matière en est l'electrum (*ḏʿm*), il veut dire que c'est du bois – ce bois, c'est le jujubier – plaqué d'or fin. S'il dit d'un dieu () que la matière en est l'or fin, il veut dire que l'intérieur en est d'argent et, pareillement (à la notice précédente), le placage d'or fin" (*Dend*. VIII 140, 13–142, 2)[776]. Derchain already noticed that this practice, although it does not concern symbolic designations, is similar to the use of alternative names or *Decknamen* for substances in later alchemy[777]. The use of alternative names is a traditional feature of Egyptian religious literature, which originated probably in the creative power inherent in words according to Egyptian thought[778].

Derchain has also hypothesized on the existence of an Egyptian treatise on tinctures that could have been the ancestor of texts such as the Greek Leiden and Stockholm Papyri, and proposed that the combination of the Egyptian technical tradition of dyeing, the existence of which is proven by the texts in Dendera, with its ritual implications in the context of the Egyptian temples, would be an early precedent of the combination of technical and philosophical elements that constitute what we understand by alchemy in later periods[779]. In this respect it is very relevant to add that Quack has written that he has found fragments of a Demotic treatise on

[776] The text corresponds to *Dend*. VIII 141, 11-14; 140, 13-142, 2; and 133, 1-2. For a translation cf. DERCHAIN 1990: 235.
[777] DERCHAIN 1990: 223.
[778] Cf. BAINES 1990: 16. Jasnow and Zauzich remark this feature also for the *Book of Thoth,* cf. JASNOW and ZAUZICH 2005: 58.
[779] DERCHAIN 1990: 223.

the dyeing of textiles attributed to Ptah, who is also the god presiding over the Chamber of Gold[780]. Furthermore, the structure on the western side of the Hathor temple in Dendera, which traditionally was interpreted as a sanitarium for the performance of incubations[781], is now understood as a workshop for tinctures[782]. This indicates that the practice of dyeing textiles would have been performed in the temple precinct[783], perhaps following the practical instructions of recipe books such as the one discovered by Quack, the Leiden and Stockholm Papyri, or the *Physika kai mystika* of Pseudo-Demokritos.

The Dendera text and workshop, and the treatise identified by Quack provide an interesting connection between the Egyptian temple context and the early alchemical texts. There is also another important connection that as far as I know has not been pointed out. In his study of P. Leiden I 384 verso, J. Dieleman called attention to the end of the Greek section of the papyrus (*PGM* XII.401-444), which includes what he described as "a translation key for a proper understanding of the ingredients prescribed in magical recipes"[784]. This is a list of ingredients in which a series of multifarious elements such as semen of Hermes or crocodile dung are equated to easily accessible ingredients like herbs or minerals. The list is preceded by an introduction that provides its context, indicating that these are "Interpretations translated from the holy (writings), of which the temple scribes made use. Because of the nosiness of the masses, they (the temple scribes) wrote the (names of the) herbs and other things that they made use of on statues"[785]. Dieleman points out that the statues mentioned here were probably inspired by the *cippi* of

[780] This text is mentioned by Quack in his article on the magi, QUACK 2006: 280 and footnote 96, in which he indicates that its publication is in press. As of today, the article seems to be still unpublished, so I have not had access to it.
[781] Cf. DAUMAS 1957.
[782] CAUVILLE 2004b.
[783] For the practice of dyeing textiles in ancient Egypt, cf. GOYON 1980.
[784] DIELEMAN 2005: 185.
[785] Translation from DIELEMAN 2005: 185-186.

Horus[786], but that "statues engraved with the names of ingredients for magical rituals as described in the introductory text are not attested in Egypt for any time period"[787]. His conclusion is then that "the present introductory lines attribute to the Egyptian temple scribes a custom that was factually not extant in antiquity" and therefore it was used in order to provide authority to the text, or as Dieleman puts it, as "a marketing technique"[788]. Concluding that the attribution to the Egyptian temple context is only fictional in this case, Dieleman points out that this is a problem for the attribution of the origin of the magical handbook to the temple context, since "it is very unlikely that the text aims at convincing Egyptian priests"[789]. A further problem is the distinction of the narrator from the temple scribes who wrote the texts on the statues, which Dieleman takes to mean that the author of the magical handbook was not a member of those temple scribes[790], but someone belonging to a group that desired the knowledge encoded in the magical recipes. Looking specifically at the translation key, however, Dieleman proves the Egyptian origin of the designations used in it, which goes back even to the late Second Intermediate Period or early New Kingdom with occurrences in P. Ebers and P. Edwin Smith. Thus, Dieleman's conclusion on the whole text is that, although the contents belong to real priestly knowledge, the introduction's claim that the text was copied on statues of gods "is nonsense," and thus "the author of these lines was either ill-informed himself as regards the origin of his authentic word list or that he wanted to address a reader who was only partly familiar with Egyptian priestly practice," suggesting that "narrator and reader do not belong to

[786] For bibliography cf. footnote 1030.
[787] DIELEMAN 2005: 186.
[788] DIELEMAN 2005: 187.
[789] DIELEMAN 2005: 187.
[790] To support this argument, Dieleman cites *PGM* IV.2967f., which introduces a description of ritual techniques with the words "among the Egyptians," and interprets that "the clause seems to posit 'the Egyptians' as a category distinct from the narrator and his implied audience" (DIELEMAN 2005: 188).

the inner-circle of temple scribes"[791]. However, if we consider this text in its wider intellectual context, a more nuanced interpretation may be proposed. I have already mentioned that Syncellus described Manetho's sources as texts written by Thoth in the Egyptian language and "holy characters" on stelae, and probably translated into hieratic and "arranged in books in the shrines of the sanctuaries of Egypt" by Agathos Daimon[792]. A similar statement appears in the Hermetic treatise entitled in modern times *The Ogdoad reveals the Ennead*[793], preserved in codex VI from Nag Hammadi (manuscript copied between 340 and 370 CE, although the composition of the texts probably dates to the second half of the 3rd century or beginning of the 4th century CE[794]). This is a dialogue in which a master and a disciple, the former identified as Hermes Trismegistos, discuss the highest stage of Hermetic knowledge, the contemplation of the Ogdoad and the Ennead[795]. From p. 61.18 to 62.19, the master gives instructions to the disciple in order to inscribe the text on turquoise stelae in hieroglyphs for the temple of Diospolis (Thebes): ⲱ ⲡⲁϣⲏⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲉⲓⲭⲱⲙⲉ ϣⲱⲉ ⲉⲥⲁϩⲩ ⲉϩⲉⲛⲥⲧⲏⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ⲕⲁⲗⲗⲁⲉⲓⲛⲟⲥ ϩⲛ̄ ϩⲛ̄ⲥϩⲉⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁϩ ⲡⲣⲁⲉⲓϣ[796] "Ô mon enfant, ce livre, il convient de l'écrire sur des stèles turquoises en caractères hiéroglyphiques"[797]. It is interesting to observe in connection with Thessalos' text and the importance in it of astronomical indications, that Hermes also tells his disciple when the inscription has to be placed in the temple through an astronomical reference (p. 62.16-19). This shows an awareness at this time that the books of Hermes were both written on papyrus and kept in the libraries of the temples, but also inscribed on hard surfaces. An example of this is the

[791] All the quotes from DIELEMAN 2005: 203.
[792] *FrGrH* 609 T11, cf. section 2.1 in this chapter.
[793] The ancient title of the text is not preserved in the manuscript (MAHÉ 1978: 31); for a photograph of p. 52 of the manuscript, cf. ROBINSON 1972: 56.
[794] On the dating cf. MAHÉ 1978: 11-12.
[795] Fowden considered that this treatise together with *CH* I (*Poimandres*) and XIII were "initiatory" texts to be used in the final stages of the "philosophical *paideia*" (FOWDEN 1986: 97-99; COPENHAVER 1992: xxxix).
[796] Literally, "in the script of the scribes of the House of Life." Cf. MAHÉ 1978: 124-125.
[797] Edition of the Coptic text and translation from MAHÉ 1978: 82-85.

aforementioned handbook for the fabrication of statues of the Chamber of Gold in Dendera. In fact, the practice of having the same texts written on papyrus or carved on the walls of the temples or statues was not unusual in the pharaonic period[798]. Both the section of P. Leiden I 384 verso analyzed by Dieleman and the text of the Chamber of Gold are a sort of translation key, in which real equivalents are given to the designations used in the text for the preparation of remedies and the fabrication of statues. It is worth noting that in the introduction of *PGM* XII.401-444 it is said that the text comes from the statue of a god, and the text in the Chamber of Gold is devoted to the fabrication of divine statues. Although this is probably mere coincidence, the choice of a divine statue in P. Leiden I 384 verso might be related to the fact these statues were a hot topic of discussion at least at the end of the 3rd century CE[799]. Thus, although we do not have actual statues inscribed with translation keys such as the one found in P. Leiden I 384 verso, the fact that this type of text from priestly manuals were inscribed in architectural settings gives more veracity to the explanation of its introduction. As for the indication that the author and his intended audience were not part of the community of the temple scribes who inscribed those statues, it should be observed that he also distinguishes himself from the group that is not allowed access to the magical recipes. He appears in an intermediate group between those, which relates directly to the problem of the identification of who were those initiated in the Hermetic doctrines[800]. The reference here might point to the existence of at least two levels of initiation, as will be discussed in the next section[801].

Together with the evidence of an Egyptian context for the first alchemical recipes, another element that played an important role in the origins of alchemy was the philosophical

[798] Cf. QUACK 2002b, and section 2.2 in chapter 7.
[799] Cf. on this topic chapter 8, section 2.
[800] Cf. FOWDEN 1986: 186-195.
[801] Cf. section 3.3 in this chapter.

tradition of the study of the nature of matter, going back to the pre-Socratic philosophers[802]. This philosophical speculation may have been already incorporated in the first centuries of Roman rule into the Egyptian cosmological thinking, in the same way as Babylonian astronomy was smoothly combined with previous Egyptian astronomical views through the Graeco-Roman period, a process which resulted in the creation of a Graeco-Egyptian astronomy/astrology that is attested in the papyrological evidence[803]. The fact that Egyptian priests such as Chaeremon would be defined specifically as Stoic, might point to the idea that Greek views of the natural world could have been incorporated into the knowledge of the Egyptian priesthood. However, until more evidence is found, this should remain in the realm of speculation.

The final element in what we understand as alchemy is the intellectual background in which the practice of the "laboratory" work was framed, equating the process towards metallic transmutation with a path for the perfection of the soul. Here the technical and the philosophical Hermetica conflate. All these references locate the context of the early alchemical texts in parallel to the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri and the Hermetica, and place this context in the intellectual environment of the Egyptian temples[804].

3.2.2.1. Pseudo-Demokritos' *Physika kai mystika*

After this general introduction to the context of the origins of alchemy in Egypt, the object of this section will be the analysis of two corpora of texts preserved in Byzantine copies from the 11th century, but dating originally to the Graeco-Roman period: the works collected under the authorship of Pseudo-Demokritos, and those of Zosimos of Panopolis, the first alchemist for whom historical information is available. These two corpora display Egyptian elements that

[802] Cf. LINDSAY 1970: 1-23; also PRINCIPE 2013: 13-14.
[803] Cf. HOFFMANN 2014; QUACK 2016; ESCOLANO-POVEDA forthcoming.
[804] Cf. sections 3.3 and 3.4 in this chapter.

locate the practice of alchemy in the Egyptian temple environment, involving the presence of Egyptian priests, and as such are relevant for my present study.

The four books of Pseudo-Demokritos are preserved in the form of fragments through the treatises *Physika kai mystika* and *Peri asēmou poiēseōs*, and consist of a series of recipes similar to those of the Leiden and Stockholm papyri. Thus, they cannot be considered yet as real alchemy, since their goal is not the transmutation of metals, but the creation of imitations, particularly of gold, silver, precious stones, and different dyes[805]. The composition of the books of Pseudo-Demokritos has been dated to the second half of the 1st century CE[806], although they have also been attributed to Bolos of Mendes, dating to the 3rd-2nd century BCE, a claim followed by several scholars but refuted by M. Martelli, the editor of the latest edition of the texts[807]. They have come down to us through different Greek and Syriac manuscripts[808].

Apart from the recipes, the *Physika kai mystika* includes also a narrative section in the first person in which the author of the treatise, Demokritos, tells how he was initiated into the knowledge presented in the text, a background story that reminds one of that of Thessalos in its structure of problem-search-revelation of knowledge, although both stories differ significantly in their contents. This section, *Physika kai mystika* 3, seems to start *in medias res* the way it is preserved, with a reference to things having been learnt from an "abovementioned-master" (προειρημένου διδασκάλου)[809]. This master is said to have died before completing the writer's and other disciples' initiation (μηδέπω ἡμῶν τελειωθέντων). Although the master is never

[805] Cf. PRINCIPE 2013: 10-13. For a new edition with commentary of the four books of Pseudo-Demokritos, cf. MARTELLI 2013. Martelli argues for the consideration of the four books of Pseudo-Demokritos as an early form of alchemy, and as a step further from the Leiden and Stockholm papyri (MARTELLI 2013: 57-63).
[806] For an analysis of the dating of the texts, cf. MARTELLI 2013: 29-31.
[807] For the discussion, cf. MARTELLI 2013: 36-48. On Bolos of Mendes, cf. LINDSAY 1970: 90-130; DICKIE 1999: 177-189.
[808] On the manuscript tradition of the works of Pseudo-Demokritos, cf. MARTELLI 2013: 7-13.
[809] English translation and Greek edition from MARTELLI 2013.

identified in the preserved text, this story has been connected with two passages by Synesios the alchemist and Syncellos, who say that Demokritos was initiated in the temple of Memphis by Ostanes, when he was sent to Egypt by the Persian kings. Martelli has analyzed these references and points out that their connection to the story in the *Physika kai mystika* is not clear, since they differ in many elements[810]. Martelli cites in this discussion a passage from Zosimos' *On the Body of Magnesia and its Treatment*, in which the doctrines of Ostanes and Demokritos are placed side by side, and they are presented as teacher and pupil respectively[811]. It is interesting to see that throughout the fragment Ostanes is called "teacher" (διδάσκαλος) and Demokritos alternatively "philosopher" (φιλόσοφος) and "pupil" (φοητής). The first term brings to mind the designation *mr-rḫ* of the disciple in the *Book of Thoth*. The context of the story seems to present Ostanes as an Egyptian priest, something that is not unknown from other texts, as Martelli has observed[812]. The reference in Syncellos sets the background of this relationship in Egypt during the Persian domination, a moment in which much of the wisdom from the Near East seems to have been incorporated into the Egyptian intellectual environment[813]. Going back to the *Physika kai mystika,* in order to complete his education and that of his fellow disciples, the writer performs a necromantic rite by which he conjures his teacher, who after several attempts says that he is not allowed to speak because of his daemon. This reminds one of the ghost in the beginning of the *Story of Peteisis*, who cannot reveal to Peteisis matters that belong to the Netherworld, and also of *Setne II*, according to my interpretation of the passage presented in chapter 2, in which Si-Osiris can only reveal the secrets of the Netherworld to Setne when they are actually in the Netherworld. The writer, while not allowed to receive more information, is also not punished for

[810] Cf. the complete discussion in MARTELLI 2013: 69-73.
[811] MARTELLI 2013: 70.
[812] MARTELLI 2013: 73. Cf. also QUACK 2006 for an analysis of the Egyptian elements attributed Zoroaster and Ostanes.
[813] Cf. HOFFMANN 2014.

his performance of the ritual like the old woman in the *Aithiopika*, and thus it must be understood that he had been properly initiated to the point required for the performance of this ritual. The dead master points out that the books that will provide the writer with the culmination of his education are in the temple, without more specification. These books seem to have been a secret during the master's life, but Ἦν δὲ πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς ἀσφαλισάμενος μόνον τῷ υἱῷ φανήσεσθαι τὰς βίβλους, εἰ τὴν πρώτην ὑπερβῇ ἡλικίαν "before dying he made sure that the books would have been shown only to his son after he had passed his first age" (*Physika kai Mystika* 3). The people in charge of this task must have been priests of the temple in question. It is not stated in the text, but the master's son should probably be understood as a member of the disciples. During a feast in the temple, in which a banquet takes place in the naos (ἐν τῷ ναῷ), a stela (στήλη) breaks by itself (ἐξ αὐτομάτου ... διαρρήγνυται), revealing, apparently only to the master's son initially, the books preserved inside of it. The celebration of the banquet in the naos can be, of course, taken as a literary device in order to set the action in the temple. Nevertheless, if we were to identify the part of the temple in which it would have taken place, it does not need to refer specifically to the innermost sanctuary of the temple, but perhaps to the area beyond the pronaos. If we take the temples of Dendera and Edfu as an example, it could have been the hypostyle hall or the Chamber of Offerings, where three times a day offerings of all kinds were presented in front of the sanctuary. The attendants of the banquet are the priests of the temple, of which the writer and his fellow disciples seem to belong to an apprentice level. Martelli has observed in his study of the four books of Pseudo-Demokritos that Demokritos addresses other characters in *Physika kai mystika* 15 as συμπροφῆται "fellow prophets," and that he himself is called prophet by later sources such as Zosimos[814], thus showing that he was

[814] MARTELLI 2013: 63-64. It is interesting to point out that in *Physika kai mystika* 20 Demokritos refers to the alchemist Pammenes, who according to the Greek version taught the Egyptian priests on the making of gold, while

being initiated to become a high-ranking Egyptian priest. The master, perhaps the high priest of the temple, is to be succeeded at the right time by his son, continuing the tradition of the hereditary priesthoods known since Pharaonic times[815]. With respect to the place where the books are hidden, although Martelli translates it as a "column," the word used is στήλη, which could be a stela or just a slab of stone that broke on itself. With respect to this, it is relevant to note that in the temple of Dendera there is a system of eleven decorated crypts that were closed with stone slabs, and were actually not discovered until the 19th century. The texts of the temple describe the crypts as: "Chambre remparée dans sa construction, solidement fondée dans ses murs ; sa clôture est un bloc de pierre et est construite comme une barrière, d'un travail accompli bien venu et sans défaut. Chambre si bien gardée par sa construction que son existence ne peut être décelée et que ses ennemis son réduits à néant" (*Dend*. V, 41 and 45)[816].

In conclusion, the elements that appear in the story of Pseudo-Demokritos fit the characteristics of the Egyptian temple architecture of the Graeco-Roman period, and thus might reveal an insider's knowledge of it. Of course, as many scholars have observed, the motif of the discovery of a hidden book, especially in a sacred place, is a literary *topos*[817], but the setting and development chosen for it are realistic from an Egyptian point of view.

Concerning the use of the figures of Egyptian priests in the story, we find here the identification of the supposed writer of the text as a philosopher being initiated into the Egyptian priesthood,

---

in the Syriac Demokritos seems to be the one who actually instructed the priests, having learned from Pammenes (MARTELLI 2013: 63). On the presence of foreigners in the Egyptian priesthood, cf. VITTMANN 1998a.

[815] On heredity and succession in the priestly office in the *Book of the Temple,* cf. QUACK 2005.

[816] CAUVILLE and IBRAHIM ALI 2015: 112. One of the crypts, which runs along the western wall of the temple (western crypt 3), is known as the "crypt of the archives," and seems to have contained documents, perhaps the library of the temple. On its walls, among the texts inscribed, is the history of the temple, mentioning a series of kings, going back to Kheops (*Dend*. VI, 158-159 and 173, from CAUVILLE and IBRAHIM ALI 2015: 115).

[817] The basic study on this literary *topos* is SPEYER 1970. The idea of the placement of books in hidden places, normally tombs, is also a common element in the literature of the period, and we have references to books hidden in the tombs of Kleopatra, Alexander the Great, or even Hermes Trismegistos (cf. LINDSAY 1970: 41).

and the sage Ostanes being identified as an Egyptian priest. This reminds one of Iamblichus' adoption of the identity of the prophet Abamon for the presentation of his treatise on theurgy. The image conveyed by these identity adoptions is that of the priests and their temples as the repositories and active transmitters of the culmination of knowledge to which any sage aspires, kept in secret and only accessible through proper initiation by means of study and the guidance of a master.

3.2.2.2. Zosimos of Panopolis

Zosimos of Panopolis is the first alchemist for whom we have real biographical information, although he does not seem to have been the first one to perform what we understand as true alchemy, transmutation of metals, since as Principe points out, he refers to the work of other earlier alchemists and even to different alchemical schools[818]. We do not have, unfortunately, many details about his life. He was born in the city of Panopolis, present Akhmim, in Middle Egypt[819], and lived later in Alexandria. A trip to Memphis in order to inspect a furnace in a temple is also attested[820]. He lived around the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 4th century CE, and thus was roughly contemporary with authors such as Iamblichus, and probably part of the same philosophical environment[821]. He appears to have written twenty-eight books about alchemy, some of which he addressed to Theosebeia, who may have been a disciple of his; this may also be just a literary device common to the dialogical character of these texts. They are

[818] PRINCIPE 2013: 15.
[819] Akhmim is located close to Nag Hammadi, where Gnostic and Hermetic treatises were copied and hidden between 340 and 370 CE. The orthography of some Greek words makes Mahé propose a dating of the second half of the 3rd century or the beginning of the 4th century CE for their composition, which would make them contemporary of Zosimos (MAHÉ 1978: 11).
[820] Cf. FOWDEN 1986: 120. Fowden notes here that a visit to Rome that appears in the *Book of Zosimos* is actually a translation of Galen, the identification of which some scholars have failed to make, attributing it to Zosimos.
[821] For the Hermetic and Gnostic context of Zosimus, cf. FRASER 2007. Fowden, analyzing Zosimos' writings, considers that the alchemist must have read at least the Hermetic treatises *Poimandrēs*, *The mixing-bowl*, and *On the inner life* (FOWDEN 1986: 124).

preserved in Greek Byzantine copies and one Syriac manuscript[822]. These works, in contrast to the previous recipe collections, "witness a coherent program of research that draws on both material and intellectual sources"[823]. Zosimos' works describe diverse instruments and techniques, crediting in each case their origin, and present the process and results of his experiments adding his impressions in each case. He uses allegories and also *Decknamen*, or "cover names," as a code for concealing the identity of some of the substances, which, as we have seen, was a practice present already in the Egyptian priestly manuals,[824].

For the purposes of this study, I am especially interested in the passage that describes a series of dreams or "Visions," which are an allegorical way of representing alchemical procedures, and constitute yet another manner of concealment of information[825], which will be common in later alchemy from the 14th century on[826]. In them Zosimos uses an imagery that has been the object of discussion by scholars from many different points of view, especially from psychology[827], and which, independently from its technical meaning, reflects, as Principe has observed, how "practitioners' philosophical, theological, religious, and other commitments manifest themselves in the study of the natural world"[828]. Since Zosimos developed his work in the context of Roman Egypt, we are probably to expect some of its imagery to derive from the Egyptian temple context. I will thus focus particularly on the first one of Zosimos' dreams in order to highlight some of these images, but I will also bring some images from the other dreams into the discussion.

[822] For the manuscript tradition of Zosimos, cf. MERTENS 1995: xx-lxxxvi.
[823] PRINCIPE 2013: 15.
[824] For introductions about Zosimos of Panopolis, cf. FOWDEN 1986: 120-126; PRINCIPE 2013: 15-24. For an edition and translation of his works, cf. MERTENS 1995.
[825] For a reasonable explanation of Zosimos' use of secrecy devices in his writings, cf. PRINCIPE 2013: 22-23.
[826] PRINCIPE 2013: 18.
[827] Particularly by Jung and his followers, cf. FOWDEN 1986: 120.
[828] PRINCIPE 2013: 20.

The first dream starts with the vision of a ἱερουργός, a "sacrificing priest" standing above an altar in the form of a bowl (ἐπάνω βωμοῦ φιαλοειδοῦς, *On Virtue* 2.5; also called φιαλοβωμός, a word invented by Zosimos[829]), in which there is a priest[830]. The altar is located on top of a staircase of fifteen steps, although some versions indicate seven steps. This last number has been associated with the seven planets[831]. However, the image of the staircase of fifteen steps, with the bowl-shaped altar on top and the priest in it, about to experience a transformation/transmutation, reminds one of an image that appears repeatedly in the temple of Dendera, which might have been the origin of Zosimos' vision[832]. This scene shows a staircase of fifteen steps, which on top has a depiction of the *wedjat*-eye inside of a disk with a lunar crescent in its lower part, sometimes standing on a papyriform column, and being revered by Thoth. On each one of the fourteen steps that lead to the top a deity stands. This staircase depicts the cycle from the new to the full moon, represented in the *wedjat*-eye. The most detailed representation of this image is on the western half of the ceiling of the pronaos of the temple, in the first section starting from the central passage.

[829] MERTENS 1995: 36.
[830] The translations of the different authors either consider the sacrificial priest and the priest in the bowl-shaped altar as different figures, or they conflate them. The text is ambiguous, perhaps on purpose, allowing the interpretation of the scene also as a self-sacrifice by the alchemist who performs the procedure. In fact, later the text says that the man of copper, the first transformation of the priest, is ὁ ἱερουργῶν καὶ ἱερουργούμενος "the one who sacrifices and the one who is sacrificed (*On Virtue* 3.27). Cf. LINDSAY 1970: 344-345; FOWDEN 1986: 121; MERTENS 1995: 34-35.
[831] FRASER 2007: 49.
[832] Panopolis is not far from Dendera, and it is not impossible that Zosimos may have been able to visit the temple during his life.

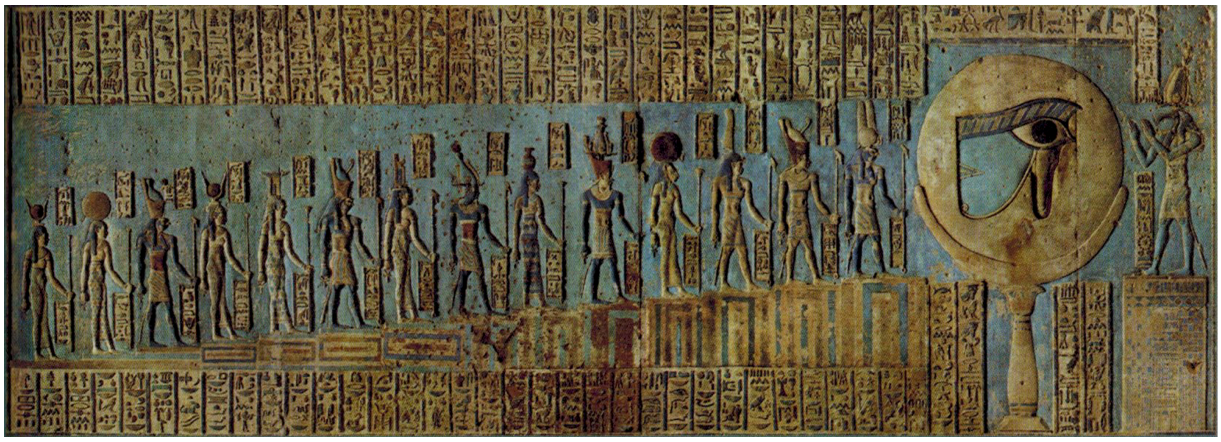


Figure 1: First western section of the ceiling of the pronaos, Temple of Hathor in Dendera (CAUVILLE and IBRAHIM ALI 2015: 23)

Another representation appears on the ceiling of the western Osirian chapel number 3. In it the very steep staircase is placed inside the arc created by Nut's body. Here the *wedjat*-eye appears without the disk on top of the papyriform column, and Thoth is before it giving his back to the staircase.

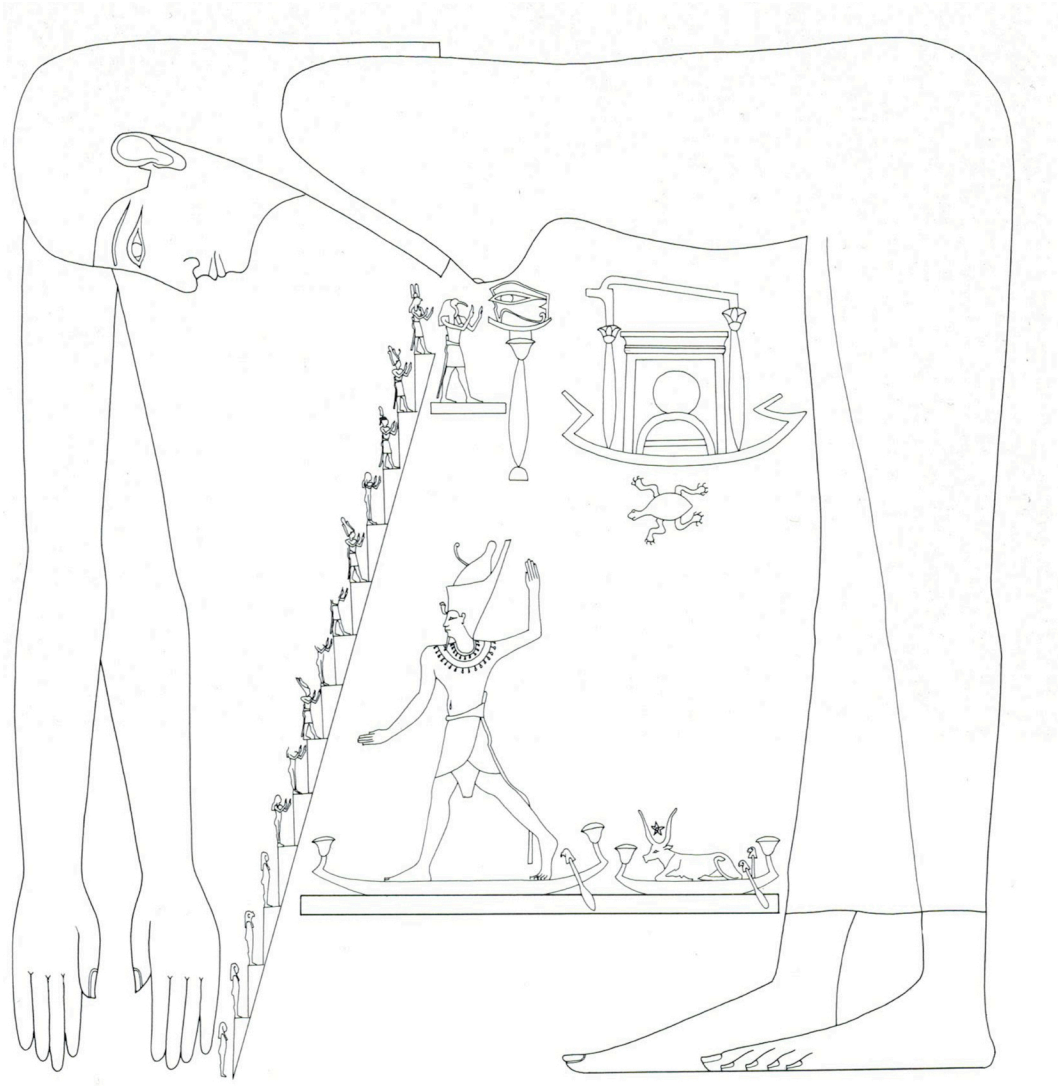


Figure 2: Ceiling of the western Osirian chapel No. 3, Temple of Hathor in Dendera (CAUVILLE 1997: plate X 260)

Another representation, this time architectural, appears in the exterior of the back wall of the pronaos, on the roof of the temple. A real staircase ascends from the roof of the main part of the temple to the roof of the pronaos. On the wall the same deities that appear in the other representations are carved in low relief, and Thoth appears with his arms raised on top of the staircase venerating the moon on a papyriform column. The block that contained the moon is not extant any more, but remains of the carving show that the *wedjat*-eye was depicted inside of the disk as in the ceiling of the pronaos.

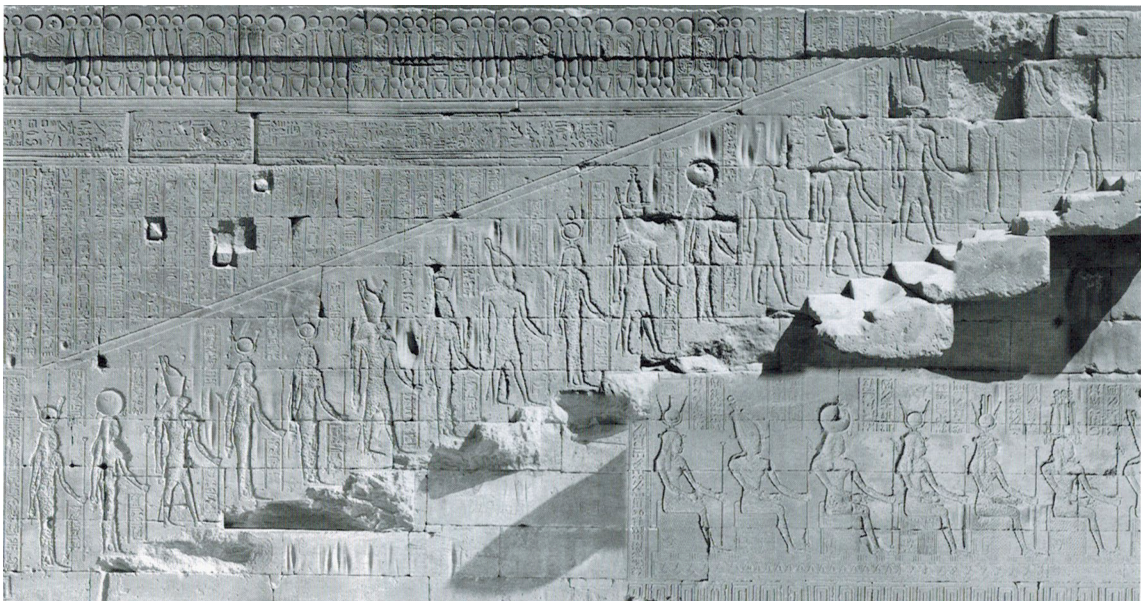


Figure 3: Southern external wall of the pronaos, roof of the Temple of Hathor in Dendera (CAUVILLE 2012: plate CXXII)

The description of the events of Zosimos' dream also allows more associations with this iconography. The priest located in the bowl-shaped altar talks to Zosimus and tells him that he has descended the fifteen steps of darkness, and ascended those of light (Πεπλήρωκα τὸ κατιέναι με ταύτας τὰς δεκαπέντε σκοτοφεγγεῖς κλίμακας καὶ ἀνιέναι με τὰς φωτολαμπεῖς κλίμακας, *On Virtue* 2.8-9). This most certainly refers to the complete cycle of the waning and waxing moon. The representation of the moon as a disk with a crescent on its lower part can definitely remind one of the shape of a bowl. The priest tells Zosimus that the sacrificial priest will make him anew (καινουργῶν με, *On Virtue* 2.10), separating his body from his soul. Reading these lines in the light of the representations from Dendera allows the identification of Thoth with the ἱερουργός performing the sacrifice, and of the *wedjat*-eye, Osiris-moon, with the priest that is to be reborn. This creates a connection between the alchemical process described by Zosimos and the mysteries of Osiris in the month of Khoiak[833], which are behind the lunar imagery of Dendera. Furthermore, the disk with the crescent on top of

[833] For the Mysteries of Osiris cf. CHASSINAT 1966-1968; JUNKER 1910; PRIES 2011.

the papyriform column also seems to represent the shape of a mirror. One of the words for mirror in Egyptian was *wn.t-ḥr*[834], from *wn-ḥr* "to reveal" (literally "to open the face")[835]. Through the alchemical process performed here, the new nature of the metal/priest/Osiris is revealed. Furthermore, when Zosimus asks the priest for his identity, he says that he is Ἰών, ὁ ἱερεὺς τῶν ἀδύτων "Ion[836], the priest of the inaccessible sanctuaries" (*On Virtue* 2.13). The tomb of Osiris was always considered a hidden place that had to be protected, and thus the chapels of the mysteries of Osiris on the roof of Dendera are protected by myriads of deities armed with knives and arrows[837]. Olympiodoros wrote that the tomb of Osiris was the emblem of *Chemia*, since it was a place both of resurrection and death[838]. An interesting connection of the images depicted in Dendera can be found in the *Book of Thoth*[839], in which the description of the 42 ba-souls of Ra says that "The last nine are columns, carrying an Udjat, she spitting out the order of the hieroglyphic signs" (*Book of Thoth*, 552)[840]. Although the text seems to refer initially to the cobra goddess Udjat, Jasnow and Zauzich indicate that "the author is almost certainly alluding to the similar sounding Oudjat-eye of Horus, which came to be conflated with the Eye of Re [...]. Thoth is often shown carrying an oudjat-eye"[841].

The connection with Osiris is made even clearer in the following passage from Zosimos, in which the priest describes his dismemberment, although in Zosimos' dream the priest is burned with fire in order to transform his body and become a soul, a detail that is not present in the Osiris myth. He is described after this process as an ἀνθρωπάριον, a "mannequin," which is

[834] *Wb*. I, 313.7; WILSON 1997: 230-231.
[835] *Wb*. I, 313.6; WILSON 1997: 230. On *wn-ḥr* as part of the daily ritual and as a festival, cf. chapter 2, section 1.2.2.
[836] On the identity of Ion cf. MERTENS 1995: 36 note to 14; On Aion in the Hermetic literature, cf. FESTUGIÈRE 2014: 1602-1625.
[837] Cf. CAUVILLE 1997: plate X 7.
[838] Cf. LINDSAY 1970: 60.
[839] I want to thank R. Jasnow for pointing out this connection to me.
[840] Translation from JASNOW and ZAUZICH 2014: 155.
[841] JASNOW and ZAUZICH 2014: 154.

also suggestive of the Osiris figures created during the mysteries, and described as well in the eastern Osirian court on the roof of the temple of Dendera[842]. Here ends the first dream.

In the second dream a white-haired ἀνθρωπάριον appears holding a knife, and tells Zosimos that the place where they are is called ταριχεία (*On Virtue* 3.21), the place for preserving, this is, the embalming place. This again connects with the different stages of the mysteries of Osiris, in which the embalming of the god is described. Later on in the text there is a reference to a temple made from one single block of stone, and guarded by a snake, a clearly Egyptian image, that reminds one of snakes such as the infinite snake that guards the book of Thoth in *Setne I*, or the snake that protects Ra during his transit through the Netherworld in the *Book of Amduat*[843]. This snake has to be sacrificed, and with it a stool is made, in order to climb up and observe the man of copper, who will turn into a man of silver, and with time, into a man of gold. These stages of the metallic transmutation are paralleled with the philosophical stages of perfection of the individual. At the same time, they remind one of the different boxes made of different substances, including iron, bronze, silver, and gold in *Setne I*, which contain the book of Thoth.

The presence of priestly figures in these narratives as the ones who perform and protagonize the rituals that conclude with the achievement of material perfection (man of gold) and ultimate knowledge, can be connected with the choice by Iamblichus of an Egyptian priest in order to present theurgy through the use of Egyptian concepts. The priests are once more a symbol of ultimate wisdom. The abundant imagery that seems to relate deeply with the mysteries of Osiris also reminds one of the prominence of these mysteries as the final goal to achieve in the path to wisdom in book 11 of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*.

[842] The depiction even gives the measurements of the figure and those of the tub in which it has to be placed (cf. CAUVILLE and IBRAHIM ALI 2015: 152-153).
[843] Cf. i.e. the representation of the corpse of Khepri in the 6th hour of the *Amduat* (HORNUNG and ABT 2007: 177).

In conclusion, the combination of imagery that can be traced back to the tradition of the Egyptian temples and in particular to the mysteries of Osiris, together with the concept of secrecy, directly connected with the idea of initiation, place Zosimos of Panopolis and his alchemical literary production in the same context in which the philosophical Hermetica and the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri were developing in the first three centuries of Roman domination in Egypt.

3. 3. The philosophical Hermetica

The previous analysis of the technical Hermetica has shown that, especially for the first three centuries of Roman rule, the evidence seems to point to their origin in the Egyptian priestly context, with Egyptian priests as their authors and practitioners. The identity of the so-called "Hermetists" in the philosophical Hermetica, however, has been a matter of discussion since the first modern analyses of the different corpora, as I stated in the introduction to this section. From their identification with an organized cult, to the interpretation of the texts as "literary mysteries," the creators of these treatises have appeared and faded away from the scholarly discussion on the context of Graeco-Roman Egypt. In the present section I will review Fowden's interpretation of the philosophical Hermetica, particularly with regard to their their historical context and connection to the technical Hermetica, and I will present Fowden's conclusions about the identity of the authors and readers/users of the texts. Next I will describe the main problems of his approach, and I will propose a new interpretation of all the data towards a more nuanced understanding of the context of the Hermetica as a whole.

Fowden understands the philosophical Hermetica as a body of doctrine with didactic intention that was organized in order to provide a gradual path towards the achievement of

intellectual enlightenment and union with the divine, which he has designated as the "way of Hermes"[844]. The doctrinal variations present in the treatises would originate in the different degrees of initiation that each text addresses[845], with a series of general treatises (*General discourses*) followed by initiatory ones[846]. The general treatises included both technical and philosophical Hermetica, and Fowden mentions specifically the presence of astronomical and astrological texts in them[847], as proven by *SH* VI, which declares that the disciple was required to have knowledge of the stars as "an essential *preliminary* to knowledge of God"[848]. With respect to the initiatory ones, in the case of *CH* I Fowden notes as an interesting point that the treatise is unusual, since "it treats the vision of God as something of which one may have knowledge before but experience only after the soul has been finally separated from the body by death," while other treatises seem to suggest that this vision was already possible during life. This places the Hermetica in a similar context to other Egyptian texts containing esoteric wisdom from the pharaonic period, such as the books of the Netherworld, for which a use as a sort of initiation during life has been proposed by some scholars[849]. In any case, the general idea that results from the corpus is that there was a process of initiation that ascended in steps towards a more refined and complex view of the world. *CH* XIII describes the two phases as focusing on self-knowledge

[844] Evidence for the different steps (βαθμοί) appears in treatises such as *The Ogdoad reveals the Ennead*, which says that "by stages he advances and enters into the way of immortality," or *CH* XIII, which refers to the "general discourses" (FOWDEN 1986: 97).
[845] "Such doctrinal variations, as should now be clear, in fact reflect an intention that different *successive* levels (or 'steps') of spiritual enlightenment should provide access to different *successive* levels of truth about Man, the World and God, so that for example knowledge of the World, which the Hermetists regarded as desirable at the earlier stages of spiritual instruction, is subsequently rejected as 'curiosity' (περιεργία, *curiositas*), the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, and branded as sin." (FOWDEN 1986: 103). This approach to knowledge and its punishment reminds of Naneferkaptah and Setne in *Setne I*, who try to gain access to the book of Thoth just for pure desire of knowledge and curiosity without a higher goal. In the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros*, the scribe of the divine book is punished for his curiosity. Cf. the sections on these narratives in chapter 2 for specific references.
[846] The initiatory ones would be *CH* I (*Poimandrēs*), *CH* XIII, and *NHC* VI.6 (*The Ogdoad reveals the Ennead*) among others (FOWDEN 1986: 97).
[847] FOWDEN 1986: 98.
[848] FOWDEN 1986: 100. Emphasis by Fowden.
[849] Cf. i.e. BAINES 1990.

first, and later on the knowledge of God, respectively[850]. Fowden maintains that Hermetic initiation was a "real experience", in which the presence of a master was necessary, at least in the higher stages[851]. Since the technical Hermetica seem to have been part at least of the first stages of this "way of Hermes," Fowden explores the connections between both corpora of texts, and remarks in particular on the spiritual elements present in *PGM* IV, which includes "a rite for obtaining a divine revelation or oracle by means of a spiritual initiation, a mystery"[852]. He also emphasizes the existence of intertextuality. For example, *PGM* III contains a prayer that also appears as the conclusion of the Latin *Asclepius*, and which was translated into Coptic in Nag Hammadi codex VI (*NHC* VI.7)[853]. This intertextuality confirms that both the technical and philosophical Hermetica were circulating in the same milieu.

The main question that must be asked at this point is in which context and by whom this initiation process was performed. One of the main problems faced by the scholars of the Hermetica is the lack of internal or external references describing the communities that would have used these texts[854]. Throughout his analysis, Fowden clearly places the Hermetica in the context of the Egypt of the Graeco-Roman period, observing how Hermes Trismegistos' identification with Egypt is so evident that he was designated in many occasions as just "the Egyptian"[855]. Fowden indeed understands Hermetism as an Egyptian phenomenon[856]. In the case

[850] FOWDEN 1986: 106.
[851] "The earlier stages of Hermetic instruction might perhaps be embarked on alone, and bear the aspect of private study and self-discipline; but for the initiation itself the guidance of a spiritual teacher was indispensable." (FOWDEN 1986: 106).
[852] FOWDEN 1986: 82.
[853] FOWDEN 1986: 84-85.
[854] "the external testimonia are overwhelmingly concerned with the teachings of Hermes, not with the character or behaviour of his adepts" (FOWDEN 1986: 155); "the Hermetists did not write about each other, as the Platonists did. That may have been partly out of a secretiveness extended from doctrine to persons; but may also have reflected an awareness that they simply were not as newsworthy as the Platonists. Secondly, others did not write about them because they were not thought dangerous or even just odious, as were the gnostics and the Manichees" (FOWDEN 1986: 195). Note the value judgment in Fowden's superior opinion of the Platonists with respect to the Hermetists.
[855] FOWDEN 1986: 196.

of the Theban Magical Library and the Nag Hammadi manuscripts, Fowden writes that "these two papyrus collections are tangible products of Upper Egyptian milieux related to, though linguistically at least more native than, that of the Hermetica"[857]. As a parallel for the milieu that gave birth to Hermetism, he studies the aretalogies of Isis, for which he argues an Egyptian origin even if they were composed originally in Greek, stating that in many cases their authors can be identified with Egyptian priests, or as being informed by Egyptian priests, as in the case of Isidoros in Narmouthis[858]. He also refers to the aretalogy of Imouthes Asklepios (*P.Oxy*. 1381), which I already mentioned in chapter 2. This text dates to the 2nd century CE, and thus would be roughly contemporary to the philosophical Hermetica. This suggests that the author in the prologue implies that he translated the text from Egyptian, adapting and interpreting it. Fowden therefore believes that this must have been someone versed both in Egyptian and in Greek, but with Egyptian as his first language. Fowden argues that we should not "isolate the aretalogical texts from the theological and philosophical speculations of the more educated"[859]. This phenomenon of translation and interpretation is thus "further proof of the leading role played by Hellenized native Egyptians in the moulding of the Graeco-Egyptian consciousness"[860]. This remark is important, since the issue of translation appears repeatedly in the philosophical *Hermetica*, prominently in *CH* XVI.1-2. Fowden writes that the Hermetists "wished to think of their books as books of Thoth rendered from Egyptian to Greek", and asserts that their translation would require "at the very least, the active assistance of the priestly guardians of the originals"[861]. From this exposition we can infer that Fowden does not seem to believe the

[856] "Outside Egypt nobody knew much about the philosophical Hermetica before the third century" (FOWDEN 1986: 198).
[857] FOWDEN 1986: 173. By Hermetica Fowden here seems to refer to the Greek-language philosophical Hermetica.
[858] FOWDEN 1986: 49. For the four Greek hymns of Isidoros, cf. VANDERLIP 1972.
[859] FOWDEN 1986: 52.
[860] FOWDEN 1986: 52.
[861] FOWDEN 1986: 30 for both quotations.

indications in the texts that say that they were translations of Egyptian originals, but that, as in the case of the aretalogies, if Egyptian materials were used in them, this would have required the presence of Egyptian priests, since they were the ones who had access to them, and in particular the presence of Hellenized Egyptians in order to be able to translate those sources.

Concerning the actual initiation, the most important element seems to be the relationship between a master and a disciple, an element that appears most prominently in the dialogue of *The Ogdoad reveals the Ennead*[862]. Fowden believes that the technical Hermetica, and perhaps the treatises corresponding to the earlier stages of the initiation, could have been studied by anyone, but the philosophical treatises "would require at least rhetorical education"[863], placing this initiation in an elite context. Apart from this master-disciple relationship, the texts also seem to reveal the existence of some kind of congregation. Fowden describes it in this way: "From the philosophical texts there emerges, then, a picture of an inspired spiritual teacher surrounded by a small group of followers who sought a philosophical understanding of the divine real which was not otherwise available to them even in the mystery religions. Beyond that, some at least longed for a personal illumination which would permanently transform their lives. Through study, instruction, question and answer, prayer, the singing of hymns and the enjoyment of other sorts of close fellowship with master and fellow pupils, the adept came to feel himself part of a tradition, if not, in the strict sense, of a community"[864]. These communities would have had people in different stages of initiation: "However small the Hermetic circles, they will always have included people at different stages of instruction and spiritual understanding; and there is no reason why we should not imagine adepts in the techniques of astrology and alchemy sitting

[862] FOWDEN 1986: 157.
[863] FOWDEN 1986: 160.
[864] FOWDEN 1986: 159. Fowden derives the interpretation of the presence of prayers, singing of hymns, and other cultic practices, from the descriptions of ritual in the *Asclepios* (cf. discussion in FOWDEN 1986: 142-144) and the hymn in *CH* XIII (discussion in FOWDEN 1986: 145).

together with those who yearned for a more spiritual wisdom at the feet of the successor of Hermes"[865]. Thus, Fowden admits the existence of a Hermetic community dedicated to instruction, either as a group or, in higher stages, as master and pupil, which would engage in cultic practices. However, he thinks that "they knew nothing of the special priesthoods, cult-places and ceremonies that were essential to the conduct of the mystery religions"[866]. Fowden justifies the references to cultic elements in the texts as being part of the lower stages of the spiritual progress[867]. He considers that the instruction would depend totally on the teacher, as in the Platonists communities, without a fixed doctrine[868]. In order to find parallels for this type of communities, Fowden compares his reconstruction with what we know of the contemporary Platonic, Gnostic, and Manichaean communities[869], since all of them "offered a message of salvation to the inhabitants of a world they tended to face with indifference or even hostility"[870]. Furthermore, in both the Platonist and Gnostic communities, the central figure was a master. The Platonist communities incorporated the "Pythagorean view of philosophy as a religion and a way of life as much as an intellectual system"[871], while the Gnostic communities incorporated hymns, prayers, sermons, worship of statues, and holy meals, which appear in the Hermetic texts as well[872]. All of these communities expanded over the Roman Empire, and especially in Rome, the Near East and North Africa.

The previous reconstruction is based, as Fowden warns repeatedly, on a very small number of references to the character of the Hermetic communities, while there are plenty of references to

[865] FOWDEN 1986: 160.
[866] FOWDEN 1986: 149.
[867] FOWDEN 1986: 150.
[868] FOWDEN 1986: 160.
[869] FOWDEN 1986: 188–195.
[870] FOWDEN 1986: 188.
[871] FOWDEN 1986: 190.
[872] FOWDEN 1986: 191.

the organization and real existence of the three other communities analyzed at the end of Fowden's study. In fact, one could even maintain that Fowden's view that these Platonist and Gnostic communities share many similarities with the hypothetical Hermetic ones derives from a partially tautological argument, since his assumptions with respect to the Hermetic communities seem to derive from his knowledge of the characteristics of the Platonist and Gnostic communities in particular. However, the Hermetic groups display a fundamental difference from these other communities, they were restricted to Egypt, as Fowden himself points out: "There is no proof though that the specifically Hermetist circles posited for Egypt were transplanted abroad, where Hermetism was primarily a literary influence rather than a way of life"[873]. This brings us back to the first point in Fowden's analysis of the context of the Hermetica: their exclusive location in Egypt.

Throughout Fowden's analysis we find references to the main religious community in Egypt: the native Egyptian priesthood. I have noted earlier how Fowden understood the milieu of the aretalogies as being parallel to that of the Hermetica, and that he thought that these texts may have been composed by native Egyptian priests, or by someone who had their assistance. Furthermore, discussing Hellenized Egyptian priests, Fowden says that "Such men will naturally have been well disposed towards a doctrine which associated the traditions of Egypt and the magical and astrological interests of its temple-dwellers with the fashionable Platonism of the age; *and we may easily imagine them among the audience and perhaps even the authors of the Hermetic books*"[874]. Immediately after this assertion his says that "Iamblichus may have been mistaken in his belief that the Hermetica had been written by ancient Egyptian priests; but both that belief, and the fact that he himself saw fit to expound the doctrines of Hermes in the guise of

[873] FOWDEN 1986: 212.
[874] FOWDEN 1986: 167–168. The emphasis is mine.

a *prophetes*, are indicative of what seem probable and reasonable in late antiquity"[875]. Despite these very eloquent arguments in favor of an Egyptian priestly origin for the Hermetica, he still maintains that the references in the philosophical Hermetica to Egyptian priests and to the temple context are decorative elements, and not indications that could give indications hinting at the real context in which the texts were used[876]. Thus, although throughout his analysis of the context of the Hermetica, Fowden continuously highlights the different Egyptian elements present in the texts, and places the phenomenon of Hermetism in Graeco-Roman Egypt, he still concludes that "As a practical spiritual way, Hermetism was a characteristic product of the Greek-speaking milieu in Egypt described in the first part of this study – though the Coptic translations show that some at least of the literature was eventually also made available to Egyptians who did not know Greek"[877]. Therefore, although this "Greek-speaking milieu" might include Hellenized Egyptian priests such as Chaeremon, they are presented as detached from the Egyptian temple context. In his monograph, Fowden never considers the possibility of the Egyptian temple milieu as the context of the Hermetica.

Fowden's analysis is structured around a series of assumptions, or interpretations based on ideas that now, in the light of new evidence discovered since the publication of his monograph, can be nuanced or even discarded. This provides new clues towards the interpretation of the context of the Hermetica. The first of these assumptions is the view that the Egyptian temples in the Roman period were in decay, and that there was a "long-drawn-out senescence of the native tradition"[878]. He considers that the priestly activity that was taking place in the temples was characterized by

[875] FOWDEN 1986: 168.
[876] "The various references made by the philosophical Hermetica to priests, conversations in temples and so forth strike one, it is true, as more decorative than essential" (FOWDEN 1986: 166).
[877] FOWDEN 1986: 213.
[878] FOWDEN 1986: 65.

an "airless immobility" [879] and an "obsession with the refining of its own processes". He therefore discards the temple context as the place in which the Hermetica would have been composed because "It was a tradition already suffering from sclerosis when the books of Hermes were composed"[880]. Although I will discuss this assumption, which figures so prominently in the scholarly bibliography concerning Egypt in the Roman period, in chapter 6, it will suffice to say here that the date for the composition of the Hermetica has been placed around the late 1st to the 2nd century CE, a time in which we in fact find an extremely lively literary production coming from the *scriptoria* of the Egyptian temples, in the form of literary texts, as those analyzed in chapter 2, ritual compositions[881], or priestly manuals even written in the hieratic script[882], or translated into Greek, like the *Book of the Temple*. This is also the date of the texts of the Tebtunis Temple Library[883]. During the 2nd century CE we also have evidence of the construction and decoration of new structures in the Egyptian temple complexes[884]. This image does not support Fowden's description of the temple milieu as stagnant and sclerotic.

The second assumption is the consideration of the magicians as "straightforward technicians"[885] and ignorant opportunists[886]. Fowden clearly distinguishes them from the authors of the philosophical Hermetica, and argues that although these texts and the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri share some elements, they would only have been recognized by the authors of the former, and not by the "humble magician or fortuneteller"[887]. This prejudice is presented in a

[879] FOWDEN 1986: 63 for this and the following quotation.
[880] FOWDEN 1986: 65.
[881] For an overview of these texts, cf. STADLER 2012.
[882] Cf. i.e. OSING 1998.
[883] Cf. RYHOLT 2005a.
[884] At least until the reign of Antoninus Pius, and perhaps Marcus Aurelius (cf. ARNOLD 1999: 265-271). Cf. also CLARYSSE 2010: 276.
[885] FOWDEN 1986: 116.
[886] "His ignorance made him a natural opportunist, who on the circuitous road to the particular objective he had in mind might pick up some pearl of whose price he had only the faintest intuition." (FOWDEN 1986: 86).
[887] FOWDEN 1986: 117.

clearer way in the following description of the magician's intellectual abilities: "*Some* magicians were capable of writing grammatical Greek, quoting Homer and, we must suppose, thinking abstractly"[888]. He also considers that the magicians were unspiritual[889] and did not require ethical purity in order to perform their spells successfully[890], although a few of the authors of the *PGM* "were indeed evolving towards the idea that intimate contact with the gods could be an end in itself"[891], as the presence of spiritual elements in *PGM* IV seems to indicate. However, talking about the presence of Egyptian elements in magic, he points out that "the most authoritative magicians were the priests themselves"[892]. Regardless of this statement, in his analysis of the magical texts, he does not consider the Egyptian priests as their authors and practitioners, but creates the above-described image of a magician that is basically a charlatan possessing a rather mediocre body of knowledge. As the discussion of the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri above has shown, the evidence for their context suggests that they were composed and used by ancient Egyptian priests in the temple milieu. This is also the case with the other types of Hermetica discussed above, the astronomical/astrological and the alchemical texts. Fowden's interpretation of the technical Hermetica as including Egyptian elements but not belonging to the Egyptian temple context[893] has hindered his understanding of their connection with the philosophical Hermetica.

---

[888] FOWDEN 1986: 86. The emphasis is Fowden's.
[889] "The magicians' concentration on knowledge and power rather than personal virtue, and their tendency to flatter, exploit and even threaten the gods in order to get their way, caused some of the more refined minds to condemn them as unspiritual." (FOWDEN 1986: 79).
[890] FOWDEN 1986: 81.
[891] FOWDEN 1986: 82.
[892] FOWDEN 1986: 66.
[893] "the evidence for substantial continuities between the Egyptian priestly literature and the technical Hermetica is patchy, not surprisingly in view of Egypt's successive exposure to Babylonian influences at the time of the Persian supremacy, then to the Greek world as a result of Alexander's conquest," and "Hermetic astrologers and alchemists were keen to convey the impression that their learning did in fact emanate from the temples of old Egypt. While one does not have to believe them, it is likely that native clergy who knew Greek will have found much to interest them in the technical books of Hermes." (FOWDEN 1986: 68).

Considering that the evidence seems to indicate, as I have noted above, that the technical Hermetica can be located in the Egyptian priestly milieu, it is perhaps possible to reconsider this same origin for the philosophical Hermetica as well, following the references found in the texts themselves. The presence of numerous Egyptian elements in the texts[894], the existence of intertextuality between the technical and philosophical Hermetica[895], the knowledge of the philosophical Hermetica by figures such as Zosimos of Panopolis, who quotes from them in his alchemical writings, and which also include imagery deeply rooted in Egyptian theology, as I have shown above, and the presence of the technical Hermetica as part of the first level of the education of the Hermetists, are all elements that point to this common origin in an Egyptian priestly milieu. In fact, as Fowden himself notes, the idea of philosophy and magic as nourishers

[894] Fowden himself reviews in his monograph the Egyptian elements present in the philosophical Hermetica, such as the participants in the dialogues and the obvious Egyptian identity of Hermes, the instruction to carve the teachings in hieroglyphs on a stela and to place it in the temple of Diospolis in *The Ogdoad reveals the Ennead* (*NHC* VI.6), together with the eight frog and cat-faced deities (FOWDEN 1986: 35), which remind of the real Egyptian Ogdoad of Hermopolis (although the original Ogdoad is composed by four frog-faced and four snake-faced deities, more similar to Iamblichus' description of four masculine and four feminine entities in *De mysteriis* VIII.3). Fowden has also noted the abundance of Egyptian elements in the *Korē kosmou*, presented as a dialogue between Isis and Horus, for which he indicates that "its native Egyptian inspiration is unmistakable" (FOWDEN 1986: 36). Fowden refers to the defense of the Egyptian language as more effective than Greek in *CH* XVI 1-2, which he considers as a reaction from an Egyptian author against the debilitating effects of the translation on the Egyptian tradition (FOWDEN 1986: 37). In fact, the translation of Egyptian religious treatises would require an adaptation, as the author of the translation of the Imouthes/Asklepios aretalogy noted in his introduction, since these make use of many linguistic devices such as puns, or writing devices as unorthographic writings in the case of Demotic (QUACK 2010a), or sportive writings with the new possibilities that the Ptolemaic hieroglyphic script offers (KLOTZ 2012a). Fowden refers as well to the Egyptocentric view of the world in the *Asclepius*, and the connections of its apocalyptic view with texts such as the *Oracle of the Potter* and with the description of the anxieties concerning the stability of the world in *P. Salt* 825 (FOWDEN 1986: 39), which is an Egyptian temple ritual written in hieratic. Other scholars have also studied the Egyptian elements of the Hermetica, such as Derchain (DERCHAIN 1962), or Mahé, who interprets the Armenian *Definitions* as deriving from the Egyptian wisdom literature (MAHÉ 1982: 275-308). Interestingly enough, Fowden points out that the device of presenting Hermes instructing a pupil "may find a better analogy in the Egyptian priestly literature than in the *Instructions*" (FOWDEN 1986: 72), since now we have the *Book of Thoth*, which is a dialogue in which Thoth instructs a disciple, and in which its editors, Jasnow and Zauzich, have seen a possible connection with the philosophical Hermetica (JASNOW and ZAUZICH 2005: 65–71). While the presence of all these Egyptian elements in the texts could be dismissed as decorative, as earlier scholars did, it should be considered together with the other elements that point towards the Egyptian temple milieu as the place for the composition of the texts. For other discussions of Egyptian elements in the philosophical Hermetica, cf. the references in JASNOW and ZAUZICH 2005: 66 footnote 207. Concerning the elements originating in other traditions, such as the Jewish and Iranian ones, Fowden considers that they can be explained through the multicultural context of Graeco-Roman Egypt, cf. FOWDEN 1986: 36

[895] FOWDEN 1986: 84-85.

of the soul was something characteristic of late antiquity, but we can perhaps find it already in the 1st century BCE, in Diodorus' description of the inscription at the entrance of the library in the tomb of Ozymandias: ἑξῆς δ᾽ὑπάρχειν τὴν ἱερὰν βιβλιοθήκην, ἐφ᾽ἧς ἐπιγεγράφθαι Ψυχῆς ἰατρεῖον "Next comes the sacred library, which bears the inscription 'Healing-place of the Soul'" (*Bibliotheca Historica* I.49)[896]. This conveys the idea that the texts preserved in it (magical, theological, literary, etc.) were destined to the spiritual growth of their users[897].

Considering all this, we should review the evidence for the practitioners and the context of practice of the Hermetica, the Hermetic communities. Starting with the practitioners, Fowden emphasized the lack of information on the character or behavior of the adepts of Hermes[898]. However, it could be possible that this information had been there all along but has not been recognized as relevant. The texts give us many references to Egyptian priests as the translators and guardians of the texts, such as *CH* XVI 1-2, or the mention of the priest Bitys, who is also cited by Iamblichus as having found texts in the temple of Saïs and translated them to Greek. They also describe, together with the instruction of the disciples, the practice of a ritual that involves the making of prayers at sunrise and sunset in the temple, and also the consumption of a *puram et sine animalibus cenam* "a pure meal without animal-flesh" (*Asclepius* 41) by those involved in both the cult and the instruction. While Fowden considers that despite all this, "they knew nothing of the special priesthoods, cult-places and ceremonies that were essential to the conduct of the mystery religions"[899], the texts seem in fact to provide references to the Egyptian priesthood as practitioners, to the temple as a cult place, and to ceremonies as central to the Egyptian liturgy as the daily ritual and the consumption of offerings (*puram cenam*) after their

[896] Edition and translation, OLDFATHER 1933: 172-173.
[897] Cf. DERCHAIN 1965b.
[898] FOWDEN 1986: 155.
[899] FOWDEN 1986: 149.

presentation to the gods as part of the Hermetists' routine[900]. The copy of this text in *NHC* VI.7 also has a reference to an embrace among the participants in the ritual, ⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉ ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲉⲣⲟⲩ "s'embrassèrent réciproquement" (65.4)[901], which was a gesture in the daily ritual that implied protection, and which was performed in the scenes of the temples by the gods and the king indicating their closeness[902]. Although the references in Iamblichus to the Egyptian origin of theurgy have been understood as his way of providing it with an authoritative tradition, it would not be unreasonable to actually believe that Iamblichus could have derived it from the Hermetic milieu, which also combined philosophy and cult. As Fowden notes: "Egyptian priests were regarded as the authorities *par excellence* on theurgy. Nor is there anything surprising in that, granted the magical character of Egyptian cult, its practitioners' reputation for all manner of divine wisdom, and the numerous parallels that can be adduced between the magical papyri from Egypt and what is known of theurgical practice"[903]. Fowden himself points out the connections between the Egyptian concept of *ḥkꜣ* "magic" and the Stoic doctrine of universal sympathy[904], and Chaeremon was described as a Stoic philosopher. Thus, the intersection between Egyptian ritual and Greek philosophical ideas was a reality in this period, and seems to have been the background that gave birth to the philosophical Hermetica. In Roman Egypt, the only ones in a position that allowed them to master both Greek philosophy and Egyptian theology were the high-ranking Egyptian priests. The manufacture and worship of statues, which we have seen in the section on alchemical texts, and appears in the *Asclepius* as well, was also an essential part of

[900] Which might also be reflected in the banquet in the temple described in Pseudo-Demokritos, cf. section 3.2.2.1 in this chapter.
[901] Edition and translation by MAHÉ 1978: 166.
[902] Cf. WILSON 1997: 640, *s.v. ḥpt*. For this gesture in the daily ritual cf. MORET 1902: 79-102.
[903] FOWDEN 1986: 135.
[904] FOWDEN 1986: 76-77.

the Egyptian daily ritual and of Egyptian temple rituals in general[905]. A curious note on an aspect of the ritual described in the *Asclepius* is Hermes Trismegistos' rejection of the use of incense as an offering to the gods, which we know was one of the main elements offered in the Egyptian ceremonies. Fowden notes that "It is the destination of the prayer – God, not the gods – that makes the incense inappropriate"[906]. Fowden points out the idea of the superiority of "mental sacrifice and silent worship" in Hermetism over regular offering rituals[907]. However, this rejection of aromatic substances in the cult appears as well in the *Book of Thoth* 25: "Do you smell of myrrh? Do not enter into the House of Life"[908]. An offering that appears in many occasions in the temples of the Graeco-Roman period is the offering of truth or Maat. In the temple of Edfu in particular, it appears in one scene connected to a text that describes good and bad behavior[909]. In connection with this, Fowden observes how ethical virtues were emphasized in the philosophical Hermetica[910] ("The pious fight consists in knowing the divine and doing ill to no man," *CH* X.19)[911], as they were in the requirements for purity of the Egyptian priesthood ("I write down good for the doer of good in the city; I reject the character of the evil-doer," *Edfu* 334.5)[912].

Returning to the context in which we find the philosophical Hermetica, Fowden makes three statements that are very significant. The first one is that the term "Hermetism" did not exist in

[905] Cf. MORET 1902 and the description of the ceremony of the New Year in Dendera, with the procession of the statues to the top of the temple, in CAUVILLE and IBRAHIM ALI 2015: 125-148. This was, however, a controversial issue in late antiquity, especially among the Neoplatonists, but cf. my analysis of Marx-Wolf's view of Iamblichus' *De mysteriis* 3.28 in chapter 8, section 2.
[906] FOWDEN 1986: 144.
[907] FOWDEN 1986: 147.
[908] JASNOW and ZAUZICH 2014: 60-61. However, L. Kákosy has indicated that: in spite of the well-known episode in *Asclepius,* where burning of incense is condemned as a sort of sacrilege, an unambiguous and general anti-ritualism was in no way characteristic of Hermetism as a whole" (KÁKOSY 1992: 258).
[909] FAIRMAN 1958.
[910] FOWDEN 1986: 106-107.
[911] Translated in FOWDEN 1986: 106-107.
[912] FAIRMAN 1958: 87.

antiquity as such[913]. Furthermore, it was not known outside of Egypt before the third century CE[914], which seems to suggest that the phenomenon of Hermetism was a strictly Egyptian phenomenon that may have stayed limited until then to the milieu of the temples (presenting circulation among its members, which is visible in the intertextuality between the technical and the philosophical Hermetica), circulating among the people who had been initiated. The third statement is that: "direct contact with the sources of philosophical Hermetism was being lost by the later fifth century"[915]. Chronologically, this appears to run in parallel with the disappearance of Egyptian religion and the closure of most of the Egyptian temples. Thus, this can be taken as further evidence for the hypothesis that the milieu of the philosophical Hermetica was the same as that of the technical Hermetica, and ought to be located in the Egyptian temples, with the Egyptian priests as their main practitioners[916].

3.4. Conclusions

In the previous section I have proposed the hypothesis that the Egyptian priesthood should be identified with Fowden's Hermetists, placing the context of the creation of the Hermetica in the milieu of the Egyptian temples of the Roman period. Hermetism may then be considered as a development of the intellectual world of the temples in the context of the multicultural society of the Graeco-Roman Period. As such, it was intrinsically connected to the fate of the Egyptian temples. With the decline of the temples in the 3rd century CE, but especially in the 4th century and

[913] FOWDEN 1986: 155.
[914] FOWDEN 1986: 198.
[915] FOWDEN 1986: 211.
[916] Six years after the appearance of Fowden's monograph, L. Kákosy published an article in which he considered the issue of the identity of the Hermetic communities, and also suggested the Egyptian temples as the context for the Hermetica: "This body of evidence permits us to infer the dependence of Hermetic groups (schools?) on the temples and temple theology. The masters may have been Hellenized priests, versed in Greek philosophy and able to give Greek and Egyptian disciples a thorough education in theosophy as well as in the technical branches of study such as alchemy and astrology. This means, in my view, that Hermetic communities must have had an institutional structure of some sort, and it would be hard to imagine that they did not attend the ritual of the temple" (KÁKOSY 1992: 259).

5th centuries, Hermetism as a living philosophical and ritual system began to fade away, but elements from it were incorporated into other traditions, as in the case of the Hermetic treatises in the gnostic library of Nag Hammadi, or the continuity of Graeco-Roman magic in Christian magic written in Coptic. Some authors, such as Frankfurter, have argued for the conversion of the Egyptian priests to Christianity[917], which might have taken place in some cases, but the evidence is not sufficient to know the circumstances of the process.

This is, I admit, a working hypothesis that will need much research in order to clarify many elements that are currently unknown to us, for example:

- Was this development of Egyptian theology restricted to some temples and to a fraction of the priesthood, perhaps those connected to the House of Life? As Fowden has observed, those who used the philosophical Hermetica would have belonged to an elite who had been provided with at least a Hellenistic rhetorical education.
- Who took part in the initiation process? Can we see a connection between the different degrees of initiation as described by Fowden, and the initiation for the priests and that for other devotees that seems to have existed outside of Egypt[918]? It is relevant to observe here that the Egyptian priesthood was already a hierarchical system, with different degrees of access of knowledge, which required a proper initiation[919].
- Through what ways was the knowledge of the Hermetica transmitted outside of Egypt?

The purpose of the presentation of this hypothesis in the context of the present dissertation is to use the analysis of the Hermetica as a further way of understanding the

[917] Cf. FRANKFURTER 1998: 262.
[918] Cf. MALAISE 1972: 113: "Le personnel attaché au temple isiaque se divise en deux grandes catégories : la première se compose de prêtres responsables du culte, la deuxième regroupe les initiés et les fidèles réunis en colleges."
[919] On the verb *bs*, which is translated as "to initiate," cf. KRUCHTEN 1989: 147–204.

Egyptian priestly milieu of the Graeco-Roman period, and through it the depictions of the Egyptian priests that appear in the literature of the period. The understanding of the Hermetica as the product of these priests is particularly interesting when we think that the Egyptian priests are prominently described as philosophers in this period, and that a phenomenon that was taking place in the context of the 3rd century CE, when the Hermetica seem to appear to have been known outside of Egypt, is the identification of philosophers such as Porphyry or Iamblichus with priests; Iamblichus, as has been already said, even uses the guise of an Egyptian priest to present his treatise on theurgy. I will analyze this in more detail in the next chapter, and in chapter 8.

PART 1

CHAPTER 4: GRAECO-ROMAN LITERATURE

The previous two chapters share the characteristic that the texts analyzed in them belong to an Egyptian priestly context, independently from the language in which they were written. Thus, the images of Egyptian priests that they depict can be considered insider views. In the present chapter I examine the images of Egyptian priests that appear in literary works that belong to a non-Egyptian context. The works selected are all written in Greek except for Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, which is in Latin, and date from the late 1st century CE to either the mid 3rd or the 4th century CE, depending on the date given to Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*. Most of the text, however, were written in the 2nd century CE, and thus are contemporary with most of the copies of the Demotic narratives seen in chapter 2, as well as with the composition date given to the Hermetica. This chapter does not aim to be comprehensive, but to display a series of significant examples of images of Egyptian priests from a non-Egyptian context in order to contrast them with those native Egyptian ones presented in the previous chapters. Concerning the order of the presentation of the works in this chapter, I have chosen to introduce the ancient novel first, in order to start with the analysis of the figure of Kalasiris, the most developed Egyptian priestly character in the corpus included in this chapter. After that I proceed to the works that describe fictional priestly characters (Lucian's *Philopseudes*, Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, and the proem of Thessalos). Then I review the references to a real Egyptian priest, Harnouphis. Finally, I examine two philosophical approaches to Egyptian theology and to the Egyptian priesthood, Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride*, and Iamblichus' *De mysteriis*.

1. The ancient novel

The relationship between the ancient novel and Egyptian literature has been a topic of discussion since the beginning of the twentieth century[920]. It is not my goal here to engage in this discussion, but rather to explore the way Egyptian priests were portrayed in this literary genre. However, this analysis might provide some insights to the discussion.

The ancient novel originated around the end of the Hellenistic period, and developed through the first and second centuries CE, reaching its apex with Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*, which is also considered, paradoxically, the last example of it[921]. The main narrative component of the stories is a love plot in which a pair of lovers is separated, and which only gets back together after the completion of a series of adventures that make them prove the strength of their love. These adventures involve in many cases pirates and robbers, and the protagonists are sometimes turned into slaves. The action takes place in different places, including the Near East. An important common element is that they always have a happy ending[922]. The main Greek novels, preserved in a complete state, are Xenophon of Ephesus' *Ephesiaca*, Chariton's *Chaereas and Challirhoe*, Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon*, Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, and Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*. Fragments of other novels are also preserved, plus summaries of two lost ones[923]. Many of these novels feature priestly characters, some of which are of Egyptian origin.

[920] For a summary of the history of this discussion, and a state of the question, cf. RUTHERFORD 2013.
[921] For the problems of the dating of the *Aithiopika*, cf. *infra*.
[922] A good introduction to the ancient novel is HOLZBERG 1995.
[923] Among the fragments, *Ninus*, *Sesonchosis, Metiochus and Parthenope, Chione, Challigone* and *Herpyllis*, and Lollianus' *Phoenicica* have been identified, plus other smaller sections. The summaries correspond to Antonius Diogenes' *The Wonders Beyond Thule*, and Iamblichus' *Babyloniaka*. Other narratives have been considered close to the genre of the novel. These include utopian narratives such as Lucian's *A True Story*, or fictional biographies such as Pseudo-Callistenes' *Alexander Romance*. The *Ass Romance* seems to be an abridged version of a longer work by Lucian, from which Apuleius seems to have taken material for his *Metamorphoses*. For translations of all these works and others, including bibliography, cf. REARDON 2008.

In *Leucippe and Clitophon* (third quarter of the 2nd century CE[924]) two books (3 and 4) out of eight are set in Egypt, where a band of *boukoloi* are represented as a group of barbarians who practice human sacrifices, directed by a priest. In the lost *The Wonders Beyond Thule*[925], an evil Egyptian priest[926] called Paapis[927] encounters two of the protagonists, sister and brother Derkyllis and Mantinias, on three occasions[928]. Having left Egypt apparently because of an invasion, he arrives to Tyre and persuades the brother and sister to use a spell to lengthen the life of their parents, which instead leaves them in a sort of coma. In a second encounter, they are able to steal from Paapis his satchel of herbs and magical books. In a third encounter, in Thule, he curses them to die every day and live only at night by spitting on their faces. Finally, Paapis meets his death at the hands of Throuskanos, who was in love with Derkyllis. Both these priests are characterized as antagonists, identifying Egypt as a dangerous place, and the Egyptians as deceitful and evil. The priest in *Leucippe and Clitophon* is successfully tricked by Menelaos and Satyrus, and thus he is presented, together with the rest of the *boukoloi* as intellectually inferior to the main protagonists. Egypt appears as a threatening environment. It is interesting to observe that *Leucippe and Clitophon* seems to have been very popular in Graeco-Roman Egypt[929], a

[924] WINKLER 2008: 170.

[925] This novel survives only in a summary by the patriarch of Constantinople Photius, which dates to the 9th century CE, and in four papyrus fragments (P.Oxy. 70.4760). Nothing is known about its author, Antonius Diogenes, except for his name, and the dating of the novel is not clear, ranging from the end of the 1st century BCE to the middle of the 2nd century CE (for the different arguments, cf. HOLZBERG 1995: 58, and SANDY 2008: 775). Holzberg has noted that a comparison of Photius' summary of the *Aithiopika* with the original shows that the former is not very reliable, and thus this should be born in mind when considering *The Wonders Beyond Thule* (HOLZBERG 1995: 57-58).

[926] In his analysis of this character, De Salvia indicates that Paapis appears designated as ἱερεύς, "che genericamente designava il sacerdote di livello superiore, avente anche conoscenza della magia" (DE SALVIA 1987: 344). This is incorrect, the word ἱερεύς was used to designate the priests in general, independent from their rank. It was used as Greek translation of the Egyptian *wʿb*, which in the Graeco-Roman period becomes a generic term for priest.

[927] Stephens has noted that the name appears also in the episode of the lepers in Manetho (*FrGrH* 609 F 10a), and notes that, although it does not refer to the same person, the reference in Manetho might have inspired the name of the priest in the novel (STEPHENS 2013: 97 footnote 25). In Manetho this name, Amenhotep son of Paapis, has been interpreted as referring to Amenhotep son of Hapu. However, the choice of the name in the novel probably responds to the need of an Egyptian-sounding name.

[928] I follow here the description in STEPHENS 2013: 96-97.

[929] WINKLER 2008: 170.

popularity that does not seem to have been hindered by the depiction of the country. In the case of Paapis, he is depicted as a powerful magician who successfully hinders the protagonists' travels, and his knowledge is connected to magical books. These negative representations are not unknown in Demotic literature, as we have seen, in particular, in the short stories of the *Story of Peteisis*[930]. It is unfortunate that the original *The Wonders Beyond Thule* is not preserved, since an analysis of the specific ways of presenting Paapis would have provided interesting details on the presentation of an evil Egyptian priest. Nevertheless, another very prominent Egyptian priestly character, Kalasiris from Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*, offers a more complex picture.

1.1. The *Aithiopika* of Heliodoros

The *Aithiopika* has been considered the apex of the development of the ancient novel, but it is also the end of this genre[931]. Only one manuscript of it has been found[932], but it influenced later authors and had an important impact on the development of the modern European novel[933]. It is composed of ten books employing a very interesting narrative technique. This was a non-linear presentation of the story, with description of scenes that can be qualified as cinematographic, and recourse to the story-within-a-story device to provide necessary details of the protagonists' backgrounds. We have seen that this device is also very common in the Demotic narratives, with *Setne I* and *Setne II* being the paradigmatic and more complex examples[934]. There has been a long debate concerning the date of the *Aithiopika*, with basically two different positions, an earlier dating in the second quarter of the 3rd century CE, and a later date in the second half of the

[930] Cf. chapter 2, section 2.2.
[931] Here I will be using the edition of the Greek text in RATTENBURY and LUMB 1960 (vol. 1), 1938 (vol. 2), and 1943 (vol. 3), and the English translation will be cited from MORGAN 2008.
[932] WINKLER 2008: 171.
[933] HOLZBERG 1995: 99.
[934] Cf. chapter 2, section 4.

4th century[935]. As for Heliodoros, he identifies himself at the end of the novel as a Phoenician from Emesa (Syria)[936], belonging to the clan of descendants of the Sun (τῶν ἀφ᾽ Ἡλίου γένος, *Aithiopika* 10.41.4). Nothing else is certain about his identity[937]. The novel tells the story of Charikleia, daughter of the Ethiopian king Hydaspes and the queen Persinna, who was exposed as a child with some tokens of recognition, and grew up in Delphi with her adoptive father, the priest of Apollo Charikles. There she falls in love with Theagenes. Kalasiris, an Egyptian priest of Isis, is sent by Persinna to search for the child, and finally finds her in Delphi and convinces both Charikleia and Theagenes to go with him to Ethiopia. They are attacked by pirates and end up shipwrecked in the Egyptian delta, where the couple falls in the hands of *boukoloi*, led by Thyamis, who happens to be one of Kalasiris' sons. After many adventures the couple is captured by Ethiopians and taken to Hydaspes, and finally king Hydaspes recognizes his daughter and the couple can marry, becoming priest and priestess of the Sun and the Moon.

In the following analysis I am going to focus on Kalasiris as a very complex example of the construction of an Egyptian priest as literary character in the ancient novel. However, I will also refer to relevant aspects of the other main Egyptian priestly character of the narrative, Thyamis[938]. The character of Kalasiris has received much scholarly attention from different points of view. Since my goal here is to explore the construction of the character exclusively as an Egyptian priest, I refer the reader to these studies for the exploration of other aspects of the

[935] Most of the discussion revolves around the comparison of Julian's account of the siege of Nisibis by Sapor II with Heliodoros' description of the siege of Syene. The earlier date has been argumented by T. Szepessy's and is followed by HOLZBERG (1995: 104). For a criticism of this date, and a defense of the later one, cf. BOWERSOCK 1994: 149-160.

[936] T. Whitmarsh highlights the importance of Emesa in the imperial period, being one of the most important cities of the region. It was the native town of Julia Domna and her son Elagabalus. He also points out that Heliodoros may have belonged to a hereditary priesthood of the local form of Ba'al, identified by the Greeks with Helios (cf. WHITMARSH 2011:109-110).

[937] He has been identified with a Christian bishop in Thessaly (HOWATSON 1989: 264).

[938] I will not discuss here the identity of Thyamis as a *boukolos*. For the connections between the *boukoloi* and the Demotic narratives, cf. the section on the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun* in chapter 2, and RUTHERFORD 2000.

character, in order to avoid unnecessary repetition, although references to them will be made when relevant to my study[939].

1.1.1. Kalasiris

The first appearance of Kalasiris in the story takes place in book 2.21.2, in which his physical characteristics are described as Knemon approaches to him. He is described as an old man with long white hair, like that of a priest (ἡ κόμη πρὸς τὸ ἱερώτερον καθεῖτο, *Aithiopika* 2.21.2). He has a long beard that gives him a venerable aspect, and he is dressed with Greek-looking clothes. He is walking along the riverbank immersed in his thoughts, and Heliodoros emphasizes the depth of his reflection by writing that he did not notice Knemon until he stood right in front of him. When Knemon addresses him, and after Kalasiris replies, Knemon thinks that he is Greek. Kalasiris quickly corrects him and tells him that he is Egyptian. In the next exchanges, Kalasiris repeatedly refers to Homer, first describing his previous misfortunes as a parallel to the *Odyssey*, with the quotation Ἰλιόθεν με φέρεις "You are carrying me from Troy" (*Aithiopika* 2.21.5)[940], and actually quoting Homer in order to delay the beginning of his narrative in 2.22.5. This description is exceptionally rich, and touches on two important elements, the physical appearance of an Egyptian priest, and the issue of language and culture.

[939] The studies are the following: SANDY 1982, in which the philosophical contents of the *Aithiopika* are analyzed, especially in the case of Kalasiris, describing the character's presentation, and concluding that their inclusion in the narrative is not meant to have a hidden philosophical meaning, but acts just as a literary device; WINKLER 1982 studies the two opposite aspects of Kalasiris, as a pious wise man, but also as a deceitful one, and how these aspects play in his role as narrator and actor in the novel; EDSALL 1996 is a PhD dissertation that analyzes the role of the priests in the ancient novel, concluding that they are literary constructs built with elements taken from "familiar knowledge, the literary tradition and literary invention" (EDSALL 1996: 225); RUTHERFORD 1997 compares Kalasiris with Setne, but also draws other possible parallels from Demotic literature; RUTHERFORD 2000 explores the *boukoloi* in both Heliodoros and the Inaros-Pedubastis cycle; BAUMBACH 2008 studies the figure of Kalasiris in three levels, as a priest, as a philosopher, and as a holy man, in the religious and philosophical context of the third and fourth centuries CE; Bremmer 2013 reacts to Baumbach's affirmation that the role of the priest increased in importance in the novel, doing an overview of the priestly characters, and concludes that the role of the priests did not increase in importance, and (of interest for the present study) that Egyptian priests are generally presented as superior to Greek ones.

[940] Corresponding to *Odyssey* 9.39.

The first element that is noted of Kalasiris is his age, being first described as an old man (πρεσβύτης τις ἀνήρ, *Aithiopika* 2.21.2). The image of the venerable Egyptian priest is common in Graeco-Roman literature, and other characters such as the old priest who facilitates Thessalos' vision, for example, come to mind[941]. This image is clearly meant to emphasize the priest's wisdom. The image of an old Egyptian priest surpassing in wisdom and instructing a younger Greek runs in parallel to the common idea that Egypt was an old land of ancient wisdom. On the description of the physical appearance of Kalasiris much has already been said. Edsall has observed that the description of Kalasiris' appearance is that of a Greek philosopher and not the one corresponding to a priest of Isis, demonstrating the assimilation in this period of Egyptian priest to philosopher. Edsall also connects this appearance with the Homeric references, and suggests that Kalasiris is here presented as Odysseus, about to tell his story to Knemon as Odysseus did with the Phaeacians[942]. Baumbach remarks that the description of Kalasiris is that of a Greek priest, and not the description of Egyptian priests traditionally known from Herodotus (2.36). For Baumbach, the novel claims "the universality of the position of priest," in which case the origin or kind of priesthood is not meant to be relevant[943]. He also declares, as Edsall, that the appearance of Kalasiris also presents him as philosopher, and his walking to and fro along the riverbank immersed in his own thoughts reminds one of a peripatetic philosopher in particular[944]. All these arguments are reasonable and pinpoint the most important traits used by Heliodoros in the construction of the character of Kalasiris in this fragment. Since his identification as Egyptian priest will be clear from the development of the story and his own self-presentation (2.24.5), as will be seen below, the description of his appearance as a Greek philosopher puts the

[941] For Thessalos, cf. section 4 in this chapter.
[942] EDSALL 1996: 88. This corresponds to *Odyssey* 7.215.
[943] BAUMBACH 2008: 171-173.
[944] BAUMBACH 2008: 174.

emphasis on the character's identification as a wise man and a scholar from the start. There is no reason, however, to think that priests who had been educated in the Greek *paideia* would not have adopted the appearance of Greek philosophers if they were not involved directly in the cult. Purification rules such as the use of particular types of clothes or the shaving of all the hair in the body were only necessary in preparation for the performance of rituals. Kalasiris, being a priest in exile, was not involved in the direct cult of the Egyptian deities at that moment. Connecting this to chapter 3, it is also easy to imagine Chaeremon during his time in Rome, but also during his intellectual activity in Alexandria, dressed as a Greek philosopher, and we have seen that he was indeed identified as one. In statues of priests from the Roman period we can see that they were not clean-shaven, although it is true that long hair and beard were definitely not among the normal characteristics in the depictions of Egyptian priests at any time[945]. The image of Kalasiris dressed as a Greek after his return to Egypt also emphasizes his status as an exile even in his own country. This situation is only resolved with his arrival to Memphis and the resolution of the confrontation of his two sons, and the establishment of Thyamis as his rightful heir in the priesthood. In this scene, which takes place in book 7.7, Kalasiris is not recognized by his own children, Thyamis and Petosiris, τοῦ μὲν ἔτι τοῖς πτωχικοῖς ἠμφιεσμένου ῥάκεσιν "for he was still clad in his beggar's rags" (*Aithiopika* 7.7.1). The moment of revelation of his identity is described as follows: ἐγυμνώθη μὲν τῶν ἐπιβεβλημένων ῥακῶν τὴν δὲ ἱερὰν κόμην ἄδετον οὖσαν καθῆκε καὶ τὸ κατ᾽ὤμων φορτίον καὶ τὴν ἐν χερσὶ βακτηρίαν ἀπορρίψας ἔστη κατὰ πρόσωπον καὶ ὤφθη γεραρός τε καὶ ἱεροπρεπής "he threw off his disguise of rags, untied his priest's mane of hair, cast aside the pack from his back and the staff from his hands,

[945] Cf. i.a. the statue of a priest from the Staatlichen Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst in Munich ÄSS 22, which shows a priest with bald head but hair on the sides (YOYOTTE et al. 1997: 204 No. 206). The priests of Serapis were also represented with short hair but not clean shaven, and a band around the head with a medal decorated with a star over the forehead (cf. i.e. Musée d'Unterlinden, Colmar Inv. 9311, in YOYOTTE et al. 1997: 218 No. 229).

and confronted them, revealed in all his sacerdotal dignity" (*Aithiopika* 7.7.2). Kalasiris' long hair is here taken as one of the characteristics of his priestly dignity. After this episode, Kalasiris is escorted to the temple of Isis by the priests and elders, and there he passes on his office, the high priesthood of Isis, to his elder son Thyamis, which is symbolized by his taking his τὸν τῆς ἱερωσύνης στέφανον "crown of priestly office" (*Aithiopika* 7.8.7) off his head and putting it upon Thyamis'. This crown can be seen in the aforemention representations of priests from the Roman period.

Concerning his condition as an exile, Bremmer has argued, following Frankfurter's "priest to magician" model[946], that Egyptian priests are constructed as *magoi*, and that "Calasiris [...] unlike Egyptian and Greek priests, is no longer connected to a specific temple but, so to speak, approaches the model of the wandering sage"[947]. Kalasiris' wandering, however, is circumstantial, he does not wander to sell his expertise because of the closure of the temples. This wandering is resolved when he finally returns to Memphis and establishes his son Thyamis as his heir in the priesthood.

The second part of Kalasiris' presentation highlights an important aspect of this character: competence in Greek language and Greek education. The knowledge of Greek of the priests is an aspect that I have already discussed for Manetho and Chaeremon, in which case it referred to two real Egyptian priests. Fictional characters such as those in the *Aithiopika* are also evaluated in terms of their knowledge of languages, which brings to the fore the particular concern with languages of the multicultural society that was Egypt in the Graeco-Roman period[948]. In fact, some scholars have already remarked on the special importance that Heliodoros

[946] For an in-depth analysis and a rebuttal of this model, cf. chapter 7.
[947] BREMMER 2013: 160.
[948] On the significance of the choice of a particular language in the creation of identity in Graeco-Roman Egypt, cf. TORALLAS TOVAR 2010.

assigns to communication in different languages in his novel, using it in order to create special narrative situations. Winkler considers that this feature of Heliodoros is unique in ancient literature, and comments that "To navigate one's way through this conspicuously polyglot world it is very helpful to know at least two languages," pointing out how characters such as Knemon, Kalasiris, and Hydaspes display this bilingualism[949]. He notes how knowledge and ignorance of a language are used to create complications and misunderstandings in the plot, and especially how this is done in a complex way, integrating different degrees of linguistic knowledge among the characters[950]. It is interesting to observe that the novel features both Egyptian characters who know Greek in different degrees, such as Kalasiris or Thyamis, and Greek characters that have learned Egyptian, such as Knemon. For my purposes here, it is relevant to point out the difference between Kalasiris and Thyamis. In his introduction, Knemon identifies Kalasiris first as a Greek after starting conversation with him («Ἕλλην δὲ» εἶπεν «ὁ ξένος;», *Aithiopika* 2.21.4). It is not just Kalasiris' external aspect which makes Knemon identify him as a Greek, but his reply, which seems to indicate that his command of the Greek language was as good as to make a native Greek speaker like Knemon think that he was Greek. Not only he can speak the language fluently, but he also shows signs of having had a Greek education in his quotations and direct references to Homer. The copy and study of Homeric verses were already present in the first level of Greek education, as R. Cribiore has written in her study of education in Graeco-Roman Egypt[951]. Kalasiris' competence in the language, however, points to a higher training with a grammarian. Cribiore refers to Asclepiades of Myrlea's distinction of three areas of study in the activities of grammarians, a historical one, dedicated to the analysis of the historical,

[949] WINKLER 1982: 104–105 for this and the following references to Winkler's article.
[950] Winkler also uses other elements such as hearing impairment in his communication situations (WINKLER 1982: 105).
[951] CRIBIORE 2005: 179.

mythological, or geographical contents of the literary texts, a technical one, focused on the language itself, including the study of "sounds, word classes, orthography, and correct Greek (*hellēnismos*)"[952]. The third area of study was textual criticism. This corresponds to what we could expect Kalasiris to have studied to reach the linguistic and cultural competence that he shows in the novel. It is relevant to remind the reader at this point that Chaeremon was the head of a grammatical school in Alexandria according to the *Suda* (*FrGrH* 618 T 4), and thus provides a real-life parallel of an Egyptian priest with an advanced Greek education[953]. An interesting detail based on the number of copies of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* found in Egypt is that the former was favored to the latter in school papyri[954], which gives even more value to Kalasiris' citations, demonstrating an interest in literature beyond the typical school exercises. In Kalasiris' narrative of his backstory, the Homeric references and quotations multiply, together with other references to Greek mythology, which he recognizes even in graphic representations[955], confirming the depth of his *paideia*. The highest level of Greek education was rhetorical school[956], the ultimate goal of which was to train the student in eloquence, of which Kalasiris certainly has a strong command, although this could just be a natural skill. Of course, since Kalasiris is a fictional character, his construction depends on Heliodoros' own knowledge, and his intention to create a parallel between the adventures and misfortunes of his characters with those of Odysseus. Apart from the normal knowledge of Homer, Kalasiris claims also to understand hidden allusions: "In the way that Homer, the wise poet, alludes to (αἰνίττεται), although the ignorant majority miss the allusion (αἴνιγμα)" (*Aithiopika* 3.12.2). Sandy points out

[952] CRIBIORE 2005: 186. For a complete description of the teaching of the grammarian, cf. chapter 7 in Cribiore's study.
[953] A real example of bilingual individuals in Graeco-Roman Egypt is that of the recluses of the Serapeum Ptolemaios and Apollonios. On this topic cf. LEGRAS 2011.
[954] CRIBIORE 2005: 194.
[955] Cf. i.e. the description of the mantle of Theagenes, in which Kalasiris indicates that the battle between Lapiths and Centaurs was embroidered (*Aithiopika* 3.3.5).
[956] CRIBIORE 2005: 221.

that the Platonists searched in the works of Homer for a "deeper, hidden meaning worthy of his ethical and religious teaching", and thus here Kalasiris is portrayed virtually as a Platonist allegorist[957].

A contrasting character to that of Kalasiris with regard to fluency in Greek and involvement in Greek culture is his son Thyamis. In *Aithiopika* 1.19.3 it is said that Thyamis is not fluent in Greek (ὁ δὲ Θύαμις οὐκ ἠκρίβου τὰ Ἑλλήνων), and thus Knemon, who understands Egyptian, acts as translator. Other Egyptian priests with incomplete knowledge of Greek are mentioned in the literary texts, such as Lucian's Pankrates[958], who is said to speak Greek imperfectly (οὐ καθαρῶς ἑλληνίζοντα, *Philopseudes* 34[959]), interpreted by Festugière as "avec un peu d'accent"[960]. Returning to Thyamis, its is relevant to observe, however, that in *Aithiopika* 1.28.1 Heliodoros puts in his mouth a quotation from *Iliad* 6.492[961], in which Hektor addresses his wife Andromache. This creates a parallel between the Trojan hero and Thyamis and Charikleia, and presents her already as his wife. In this case, the reference to Homer seems more like a literary wink from Heliodoros to the reader more than a way of characterizing Thyamis' knowledge of Greek literature. However, since apart from a priest he is also a warrior, it is not out of the question that he would be interested in and know some passages of the *Iliad*. The papyri found in Egypt show that the most copied books in school exercises were the first six[962], which would have made the conversation between Hektor and Andromache a common literary reference for a husband who bids farewell to his wife before going to battle. The difference between Thyamis and Kalasiris in terms of Homeric quotations is that in the case of

[957] SANDY 1982: 155. Sandy considers this portrayal as part of the presentation of Kalasiris as a trickster.
[958] On the description of Pankrates, cf. section 2 in this chapter.
[959] Greek text from HARMON 1921: 372.
[960] FESTUGIÈRE 2014: 62.
[961] I take the indication of the reference to the *Iliad* from MORGAN 2008: 375 footnote 29.
[962] CRIBIORE 2005: 194. Cribiore indicates that the first six books of the *Iliad* represents half of the total of copies of the Homeric poems.

Kalasiris his references are much more transparent, since they mention Troy (*Aithiopika,* 2.21.4) and Homer explicitely, so they are not just a narrative device of Heliodoros, but a clear characterization of the character.

A final word on the issue of languages refers to the elements coming from different contexts present in the novel. While Kalasiris seems to have received a Greek education such as the kind of Greek education found in Egypt during the Graeco-Roman period, the story is clearly set during the Persian domination, since Egypt is ruled by a satrap[963]. This might indicate that one of Heliodoros' sources was Herodotos[964]. In this context, Kalasiris' surprise in finding a Greek like Knemon roaming around the marshes of the delta makes sense: πῶς δὲ τὴν φωνὴν Ἕλλην ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ; "How does a man who speaks Greek come to be in Egypt?" (*Aithiopika* 2.21.5). Furthermore, in the international context of the novel, Kalasiris is presented as being able to read the "Ethiopian script (γράμμασιν Αἰθιοπικοῖς)" embroidered in Charikleia's band, which Kalasiris says to be "not the demotic (δημοτικοῖς) variety but the royal kind (βασιλικοῖς), which closely resembles the so-called hieratic (ἱερατικοῖς) script of Egypt" (*Aithiopika* 4.8.1). It is interesting to observe that the designation of Ethiopian script appears also in Tzetzes' exegesis on the Iliad, when he refers to the Egyptian hieroglyphs citing Chaeremon (F 12)[965] Van der Horst states that in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods there was the belief that the Egyptian script, and even the Egyptian culture, had its origins in Ethiopia. Heliodoros, however, distinguishes the Ethiopian script on the bands from the Egyptian sacred script. This reminds one also of the descriptions of the different Egyptian scripts in Herodotus (*Histories* 2.36), who talks about two types of writing, sacred (ἱρά) and common (δημοτικά), and Diodorus, who repeats

[963] Kalasiris mentions the fact that Egypt is ruled at that time by a satrap in *Aithiopika* 2.24.2.
[964] In fact, names like Kalasiris and Rhodopis seem to have been taken from the second book of Herodotus' *Histories*. For Kalasiris, cf. *Historiae* 2.164-166; for Rhodopis, cf. *Historiae* 2.134-135.
[965] VAN DER HORST 1984: 24-25, and 62 note 3 for comments.

the idea that there were two types of writing (*Bibliotheca Historica* 1.81), and also comments that the Ethiopian writing is called hieroglyphic among the Egyptians (3.4). It is interesting to recall that the kingdom of Meroë, which ruled the region from the south of Aswan to the area of modern Khartoum between the 3rd century BCE and the 4th century CE, developed in the 2nd century BCE a script derived from the Egyptian Demotic, written also from right to left. It was probably created for administrative purposes. Later, a hieroglyphic script was developed for royal and religious use, employing signs from the Egyptian hieroglyphic script, but assigning them different values. It is read starting from the sign opposite to where the hieroglyphs look, unlike Egyptian hieroglyphs (except in the case of retrograde script). Both systems are syllabaries[966]. Returning to the description of the script by Kalasiris, it is indeed remarkably accurate, and perhaps was based on actual knowledge of the existence of these scripts, since the kingdom of Meroë was in contact with Rome[967]. It is, of course, an anachronistic element, since the novel is set in the Persian period.

After the external presentation of the character by the omniscient narrator, Kalasiris introduces himself in the beginning of the narrative of his own backstory (*Aithiopika* 2.24.5). It is here that his name is revealed for the first time, and he describes himself as having been a prophet (προφήτης) of Isis[968]. A few lines later he says that he had grown up in the priestly environment: "the priesthood with which I had grown up" (*Aithiopika* 2.25.3). Like other fictional Egyptian priests in Demotic literature, during his life as a priest in Egypt he was a family man, having a wife (who is said to have passed away long before his misfortunes began),

[966] I have elaborated this summary of the Meroitic scripts from RILLY 2010:11–17. This study has a table with both scripts, the transliteration of each sign and its phonetic value on p. 16. In his translation of the *Aithiopika*, Morgan includes a footnote on the Meroitic scripts, but incorrectly says that the cursive form evolved over time from the hieroglyphic one (MORGAN 2008: 432 footnote 111).
[967] Due to an attack to Aswan on the part of the Meroites in 24 BCE, in which they took down statues of Augustus, Rome sent an attack that reached Napata, and established a garrison in Qasr Ibrim. The Meroites sent an embassy to Rome to negotiate a treaty (cf. SHINNIE 2001: 383).
[968] Indicated in *Aithiopika* 2.25.2.

and two sons. The characteristics of his life as a priest correspond closely to Chaeremon's description, which I have suggested before might in fact have been used as inspiration by Heliodoros for the creation of Kalasiris. He puts emphasis on the practice of self-control (ἐγκράτεια), which is one of the words used by Chaeremon to describe the characteristics of the Egyptian priestly life[969]. He also highlights this aspect in *Aithiopika* 5.12.1: "a philosopher (σοφός) never wants for anything. His will is a thing of substance. He knows what he may properly ask of the gods, and he receives all that he asks." This way of life is hinted at even before Kalasiris' description in the dietary rules that he follows, avoiding the use of wine (*Aithiopika* 2.23.1 and 2.23.5) and meat (2.23.5)[970]. In Chaeremon's description of the priests' diet, he declares that there were different food taboos, but some priests "even entirely abstained from all animals"[971]. This is also mentioned by Apuleius in his description of the purifications of the priests for the cult, saying that there was a total abstinence from meat and wine for ten days before the performance of a religious rite (*Metamorphoses* 11.23, 28, 30[972]). Griffiths has written both in his commentary to Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* and to Apuleius' *Metamorphoses,* book 11, that the Egyptian sources on purifications, to which I have already referred before in the section on Chaeremon, do not include the complete abstinence from meat[973]. However, it is relevant to observe that P. Jumilhac lists among the abominations for the 18th nome of Upper Egypt *wnm ỉwf n sf nb{.tt}* "Eating meat of any sacrificed (beast)" (P. Jumilhac 12.20). These dietary taboos should be considered in relation to the cult, and raise the issue that in some areas of Egypt, and in association with some cults, the consumption of meat might have been

[969] VAN DER HORST 1984: 16 and 57 note 9, in which he indicates that ἐγκράτεια also apperas often in other "idealized descriptions of comunities of sages."
[970] This is repeated again in *Aithiopika* 3.11.2: "He does not drink wine nor eat any creature that is endowed with a soul."
[971] VAN DER HORST 1984: 18-19.
[972] Cf. references in GRIFFITHS 1970: 261-262, and also commentary to these sections in GRIFFITHS 1975: 290-291.
[973] Cf. references in the previous footnote. Edsall also points out that total vegetarianism and abstinence of wine are unattested (EDSALL 1996: 90).

considered taboo in its entirety. Thus, Chaeremon's description of the dietary prescriptions including an extreme level that completely avoided meat would be correct. The association of Egyptian priests with other communities that practiced total abstinence from meat, such as the Pythagoreans, would have influenced the descriptions in Plutarch and Apuleius, who chose to represent all the Egyptian priests using the most extreme case of abstinence in Chaeremon's description[974].

Another aspect of Kalasiris' ascetic life is the control over sexual passions, which he fails to maintain, this being the chief reason for his exile (*Aithiopika* 2.25.4). Earlier in the novel, when describing Thyamis' infatuation with Charikleia, he points out that it is not for sexual pleasure that he wants her, but to marry her. He makes reference to his priestly status and says that "the priestly caste despises common sex" (*Aithiopika* 1.19.7). The expression used in particular is τὸ προφητικὸν γένος, which alludes specifically to the priestly rank of his father. In his 1997 article on Kalasiris, Rutherford compares Kalasiris' seduction by Rhodopis with the Tabubu episode in *Setne I*, highlighting that in both cases the protagonists are priests and that the action happens in the priestly environment. He considers this parallel to be a borrowing, either from a translation of the Setne cycle, or through an intermediary source, such as Manetho[975]. The literary topos of the *femme fatale,* however, was quite universal already at that point, being present in other Egyptian narratives, such as the *Tale of the Two Brothers* and in other narrative traditions such as in the story of Joseph and the wife of Potiphar, in the Hebrew Bible (*Genesis* 39). This does not mean that Heliodoros could not have known of Tabubu's episode, but the

[974] Edsall's remark that "Rather than reflecting the dietary prohibitions of Egyptian priests, Kalasiris' diet agrees with the stereotypical description of the diet of a disciple of Pythagoras" (EDSALL 1996: 90) thus would not be correct.
[975] RUTHERFORD 1997: 205.

similarities are not strong enough to prove this connection, especially since Kalasiris leaves before anything can happen between him and Rhodopis[976].

Kalasiris' representation as an Egyptian priest[977] highlights particularly his condition as scholar and possessor of secret knowledge. When he explains his misfortune, he expresses his belief in the codification of destiny in the stars: "the preordained celestial cycle of the stars turned the wheel of our fortunes" (*Aithiopika* 2.24.6), and states that he had been able to foresee it through his science (σοφία, *Aithiopika* 2.24.6). He mentions his knowledge of the predictive science later as well, designating it as "the god-sent wisdom of which I may not speak" (ἡ ἄρρητός [...] ἐκ θεῶν σοφία, *Aithiopika* 2.25). All this alludes to Kalasiris' mastery of the science of astronomy/astrology, which was one of the most characteristic areas of Egyptian priestly knowledge. Here figures such as Nectanebo or the legendary Petosiris in connection to king Nechepsos come to mind. He also displays medical knowledge, explaining to Charikles the physiological causes of the evil eye (*Aithiopika* 3.7.3). He describes in this section the airborne transmission of illnesses, and gives a cure that he says is recorded "in the sacred texts (βίβλιοις ἱεραῖς) on animals" (*Aithiopika* 3.8.1). In this and other instances, Kalasiris locates the provenance of his knowledge in sacred books. This agrees with the description of the knowledge of Egyptian priests in the Demotic sources as based on the access to specific books. It is also perfectly in accord with the presentation of real-life priests such as Manetho and Chaeremon. When Heliodoros refers here to sacred texts on animals, treatises such as the one on ophiology preserved in P. Brooklyn 47.218.48 and .85 come to mind. This lengthy treatise describes

[976] Rutherford remarks this but does not seem to consider it a problem (RUTHERFORD 1997: 205).
[977] Some elements in Kalasiris' presentation do not correspond to the practice of the Egyptian priests, such as the reading of the future in entrails of animals, which he performs in *Aithiopika* 5.13.2. I am focusing here in the analysis of the elements that can be traced back to Egyptian sources.

different types of snakes, and accompanies them with remedies against their poison[978]. This is a more practical handbook than what Heliodoros describes, which according to Morgan corresponds very closely, and even *verbatim* in some parts, to a section in Plutarch's *Symposiaka*. He indeed believes that they probably share the same source[979]. Regardless of the source of the information, the presentation of Kalasiris as a man versed in bookish knowledge agrees with what we see in the Demotic narratives[980]. This is a very important aspect in the characterization of an Egyptian priest. It is relevant to note here Dillery's observation with respect to Manetho concerning his use of books in the composition of his *Aigyptiaka*, as opposed to the Greek emphasis on personal experience. While the Egyptian priests were invested in the study and copy of old manuscripts that contained the knowledge of the past, and justified their authority in their antiquity, Greek historians such as Thucydides or Polybios relied on their own records and not so much on access to a library[981]. This point of view, however, would change in later periods, when libraries became an indispensable element for the scholar. The association of Egyptian priests with bookish knowledge, of which Kalasiris is a prime example, was maintained as one of the main characteristics of this group. This trait is actually used by Helidoros, as Bremmer has noted[982], to distinguish the Egyptian priests from the Greek ones such as Charikles. The Egyptian priests' wisdom is always presented as superior, and Kalasiris always performs the role of master who explains, while both Knemon (who is not a priest) and Charickles (priest of Apollo) listen and praise his knowledge.

[978] The edition of this text is SAUNERON 1989, who dates the papyrus from the 30th dynasty to the early Ptolemaic period.
[979] MORGAN 2008: 416 footnote 88.
[980] However, Sandy indicates that the use of a source like Plutarch for what Kalasiris says to be information from "sacred books" is part of Kalasiris' "sardonic characterization" (SANDY 1982: 165). I will discuss this in more detail *infra*.
[981] DILLERY 1999: 98.
[982] BREMMER 2013: 160.

Kalasiris' knowledge is always presented as having a divine element, and in order to make the allegorical interpretation of the Homeric verse cited in *Aithiopika* 3.12.2, which I have mentioned above, a particular process is described: "Kalasiris paused for a moment until he had achieved the exalted state of mind appropriate to the contemplation of holy mysteries (τὸ μυστικώτερον)" (*Aithiopika* 3.13.1). Once more, scholars such as Sandy interpret passages like this as part of Kalasiris' image as a trickster[983]. Although in other sections of the text Kalasiris clearly identifies his actions as being a pantomime in order to convince other characters that he is performing magic, as in *Aithiopika* 3.17.1[984], here this is not the case, and after this passage Kalasiris actually proceeds to give the allegorical interpretation of two Homeric passages in Egyptian terms[985]. This follows the previously mentioned Platonist allegorist image, but the introduction of Egyptian elements connects his interpretation also with the exegetical tradition of Egyptian religious texts, in which religious concepts are introduced and then explained with the explicative phrase *ky ḏd* "otherwise said"[986]. In his explanation, Kalasiris emphasizes that, in order to understand the hidden meaning of things, one has to be initiated. Sandy relates this idea both to Iamblichus' explanation of Egyptian symbolism, as well as to the previously mentioned practice of Platonist allegorical explanation[987]. Although the connection with Neoplatonism seems to be clear, and has been also pointed out by Edsall[988], it is worth noting that in real Egyptian priestly manuals we also encounter this idea that only through initiation can one comprehend the real meaning of things. A perfect example is the *Book of Thoth*, which is

[983] SANDY 1982: 144.
[984] "The situation, I decided, called for a spot of showmanship (τερατεύεσθαι)."
[985] He had before indicated that Homer was an Egyptian (*Aithiopika* 2.34.5, and again in 3.13.3). Kalasiris gives an explanation for this interpretation in *Aithiopika* 3.14.2-3, saying that Homer was the son of a high priest from Thebes, but that his real father was Homer.
[986] This is the same lemmata-comment structure to which I have already referred in the section about Manetho.
[987] SANDY 1982: 159-160. For Iamblichus, cf. *infra*.
[988] EDSALL 1996: 107: "His pause until he reaches a state appropriate to the contemplation of the mysteries perhaps reflects the psychic state aspired to by Neoplatonists contemplating philosophy."

actually an initiation text into the mysteries of the Egyptian scribal knowledge[989]. The introduction of the concept of initiation, thus, is another truly Egyptian element in the construction of Kalasiris. This is very relevant in the interpretation of the next section.

In close connection with the practice of divination was magic, which is one of the most discussed elements with respect to Kalasiris. When Charikles meets Kalasiris, he tells him his story and asks for his help with Charikleia's "sickness" in the form of the practice of magic: "Use your magic and cast an Egyptian spell on her" (*Aithiopika* 2.33.6). As many authors have already pointed out, Charikles' reaction follows the common idea that all the Egyptian priests were magicians. Magic was, in fact, indistinguishable from religion in ancient Egypt, and it consisted in the manipulation of phenomena using the force or power, *ḥk3*, that was considered to impregnate everything[990]. In *Aithiopika* 3.16.2-4 Kalasiris explains that the wisdom (σοφία) of Egypt is of two kinds, a passage that has been thoroughly discussed by many scholars. The text opposes a wisdom of low rank (δημώδης), characterized by dealing with corpses, and the use of magic herbs and common spells, having negative effects; to true wisdom (ἡ ἀληθῶς σοφία), which is what the first type tries to copy. Kalasiris declares that this is the wisdom practiced by the priests; it belongs to the gods and of which astrology is a part, having as its goal the creation of that which is good. Edsall interpreted this attack on magic, as she understands it, as a contradiction: "While magic is one of the forms of wisdom commonly attributed to Egyptian priests in the literary tradition, Kalasiris condemns it"[991]. Edsall believes that here Kalasiris is characterized as a Pythagorean sage, since previously he had described his wisdom as ἄρρητος "unspeakable", which is also how Pythagoras' wisdom was defined[992]. Baumbach goes a step

989 On initiation in the *Book of Thoth,* cf. JASNOW and ZAUZICH 2005: 54-61.
990 On the concept of *ḥk3*, cf. RITNER 1993: 14-28. For a more recent treatment, cf. MORENZ 2016.
991 EDSALL 1996: 95.
992 EDSALL 1996: 95.

beyond and argues that Kalasiris does not believe in magic, which according to him Kalasiris "has previously dismissed as a sign of lack of education"[993]. While the conflation of the Egyptian priests with the image of philosophers seems to be out of the question, and will be discussed below, the distinction of magic vs. religion that Edsall seems to present did not exist in an Egyptian context. Even more incorrect is Baumbach's assertion of Kalasiris' disbelief in and rejection of magic. What Kalasiris is offering in this passage is a qualitative distinction between the true religious practice of the Egyptian priests, which includes the practice of magic, and a debased version of it, which he qualifies as an imitation: "true wisdom, of which the first sort is but a counterfeit that has stolen its title (ἧς αὕτη παρωνύμως ἐνοθεύθη)." Sandy actually presents a more nuanced interpretation of the passage as "the distinction between popular religion and high-minded theosophy"[994]. While it is not possible to know how much direct knowledge of Egyptian religion/magic Heliodoros had, he may have used works such as those of Manetho and Chaeremon for his construction of Kalasiris, which are cited by Iamblichus in his *De mysteriis*, a fact showing that they were circulating at the time. Unfortunately, the works of these authors on Egyptian religion, as I noted in chapter 3, are only preserved in short references and quotations cited by different ancient authors, and thus it is not possible to know if they presented an evaluation of magic. If we look at the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri, the use of magical herbs was a common feature of many spells, together with the practice of necromancy, which we have also seen in some Demotic narratives, being practiced by Egyptian priests. This could appear to confirm Edsall's allusion to a contradiction in Kalasiris' presentation. However, the key to understanding this distinction in a way that also makes sense according to real Egyptian religious beliefs might lie in who is performing the magical rituals, in which

[993] BAUMBACH 2008: 177.
[994] SANDY 1982: 163.

circumstances, and for which purpose. Another passage from the *Aithiopika* in which the first type of wisdom is presented in a practical way provides more clues. In *Aithiopika* 6.14-15 Kalasiris and Charikleia encounter an old woman who performs a necromantic ritual on the corpse of her son. Kalasiris' negative reaction to witnessing this ritual has been commented on to support his condemnation of magic[995]; Bremmer even indicates that this attitude "seems to have been shared by Heliodoros himself"[996]. If we look at the scene in detail, a series of elements should be emphasized. The old woman's ritual is described first as: "a performance which, abominable as it may be, is common practice among the women of Egypt" (*Aithiopika* 6.14.2), which clearly identifies women as the actors in these rituals. Although there were female Egyptian priestesses[997], most of the priests were men, and the higher ranks of the Egyptian priesthood seem to have been occupied exclusively by men. The women to whom this passage refers belong to the populace, exemplified in the old woman. The way the ritual is performed reminds one of Odysseus visit to the Netherworld in *Odyssey* 11, with the excavation of a trench (βόθρος) and the use of blood in the ritual, since according to Homer, blood is what brings memory back to the dead (the ritual is explained in *Odyssey* 11.23-33). In the case of Odysseus, however, the blood used in the rituals belongs to sheep, while the old woman uses her own blood. In the rituals in which the dead are temporarily brought back to life in Demotic literature, the priests who perform them only use magical formulas, and the rituals are completed successfully in every case, followed immediately by the correct funerary ceremonies and burial of the

[995] EDSALL 1996: 93.
[996] BREMMER 2013: 159.
[997] *Pace* Bremmer: "Naturally the priest is male, as the Egyptians did not have priestesses" (BREMMER 2013: 143). He seems to follow Herodotus' wrong statement on this issue (*Historiae* 2.35). On the Egyptian priestesses cf. DUNAND 1978, who concludes that in the Graeco-Roman period women maintained the same presence in the cult as in pharaonic times, being normally the mothers, wives, and daughters of priests, since the priesthood had become a family business. For a more recent study, cf. COLIN 2002. On the concept of *t3 rḫ.t* "wise woman" cf. KARL 2000.

deceased[998]. In the case of the old woman, the ritual is clumsy, the dead son's corpse is unable to speak at first, and pathetically "he suddenly collapsed and fell flat on his face" (*Aithiopika* 6.14.6), and subsequently the woman awakens him again using more powerful spells. Thus, the difference between the rituals performed by this old woman and the Egyptian priests of the Demotic narratives is evident. The second time, the corpse of the son delivers an angry speech, in which he condemns his mother. He describes her action as a "transgression of the laws of man's nature" (παρανομοῦσαν εἰς τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν, *Aithiopika* 6.15.1) and as μαγγανεία "trickery." He also accuses her of not performing his funerary rites, not allowing him to traverse to the afterlife. This was a very important aspect, and the Demotic narratives put a special emphasis on it, as I noted above. The most important aspect of his speech, which characterizes these types of practices and supports Kalasiris' description of them, is the following: "These are forbidden mysteries, cloaked in secrecy and darkness (τὰ οὕτως ἀπόρρητα καὶ σιγῇ καὶ σκότῳ φυλαττόμενα μυστήρια), but you have had the audacity to perform them, not in solitary privacy but in the presence of others, and you even parade the secrets of the dead before witnesses such as these" (*Aithiopika* 6.15.3). He then describes both Kalasiris and Charikleia, and here is the key to the understanding of the passage: "one is a high priest–and in his case the offense is of lesser importance, for he is wise enough to lock such secrets away in the silence of the heart and never divulge them; besides, the gods love him" (*Aithiopika* 6.15.4). The ritual in itself is not the main problem, the main transgression is the fact that a non-initiated person has performed it in an impure and unorthodox way. The old woman has accessed mysteries that are not permitted to her, and thus, she is to be punished with her own

[998] Naneferkaptah takes care of his son's burial after having brought him back to life in order to tell him the reason for his death in *Setne I* (4.11), and Pharaoh commands a good burial for the scribe of the divine book after he describes the circumstances of his death in the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros* (P. Krall 2.2). For more details on both episodes, cf. the pertinent sections in chapter 2.

death and that of her other son. Kalasiris, on the contrary, as a high priest initiated in the mysteries of Egyptian religion, is allowed to have access to these secrets, and knows how to interact with it. The old woman's sin is thus the violation of secret knowledge, which I have also discussed in chapter 2 concerning Demotic literature. Naneferkaptah (*Setne I*) we will recall was together with his family punished with death for his theft of the book of Thoth, and the scribe of the divine book (*Fight for the Armor of Inaros*) who dared to use magic in order to listen to the forbidden conversations of the gods. Other characters, such as Horus son of Paneshe, or his "reincarnation" Si-Osiris, are allowed by the gods to access and use the secret knowledge kept in the temples, and the mysteries of the dead, respectively, since they have undergone the proper initiation. Returning to Kalasiris' explanation of the two types of Egyptian wisdom in *Aithiopika* 3.16.2-4, the passage in book 6 illuminates its meaning, and shows that the difference lays in the preparation of the person who performs the ritual. The priests, who are initiated in their practice since childhood, know the divine forces involved in it, and, more importantly, have a good purpose. The Demotic examples demonstrate that even when the person performing the rituals is a proficient magician and a wise man, if his goal is not a proper one, but simple curiosity, the results are also negative.

To continue this analysis of Kalasiris' characterization of the two types of Egyptian wisdom, striking is the similarity between Kalasiris' description and Iamblichus' critique of bad theurgists (image-makers) in *De Mysteriis* (3.28-30). The parallelism between both texts has been observed by several authors, sometimes highlighting their differences in terms of what is considered or not as magic as a derogatory term[999]. The parallel with Iamblichus actually supports my interpretation of Kalasiris' description, since it focuses on the quality of the

[999] Cf. i.e. SANDY 1982: 161-163.

performers of the rituals, and it is due to their inexperience and their mistakes that the rituals go wrong.

However, the reason for Kalasiris' explanation is the misconception concerning the kind of rituals performed by Egyptian priests. Kalasiris has already been asked by Charicles to use his magic to cure Charikleia (*Aithiopika* 2.33.6), and by Theagenes because of his love (*Aithiopika* 3.16.2). This is relevant to the question of the "stereotype appropriation" model proposed by Frankfurter. Despite the fact that in some occasions Kalasiris appears to be lying to other characters, and even performs a fake incantation, these instances cannot be identified as appropriating a stereotype of the Egyptian exotic magician. Throughout the novel, Kalasiris remains true to the characteristics of his status as Egyptian priest, and even explains the reality of the Egyptian cult as opposed to the common misconceptions, which want to make it similar to the practices of the old woman. Heliodoros composed the novel, at the earliest, in the second quarter of the 3rd century CE, and at the latest in the second half of the 4th century. However, he did not create an Egyptian priest that responds to an exotic model[1000], but built a character that corresponds to what has been transmitted through authoritative descriptions such as that of Chaeremon, to whose works he may have had access. The obvious question of the possibility that Heliodoros could have had access to Demotic narratives such as *Setne I* or the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros* cannot be answered, since the evidence for direct influence is not strong enough.

Another of the most relevant aspects of Kalasiris' presentation is his identification with a philosopher, which I have already mentioned in regard to the first description of his physical description. In the narrative of his misfortunes, Kalasiris explains his choice of Delphi because it was "sacred to Apollo but a holy place for the other gods too, a retreat where philosophers could work far from the madding crowd" (*Aithiopika* 2.26.1). His choice combines religious and

[1000] I will discuss this issue in depth in chapter 8.

intellectual reasons, and reminds one once more of Chaeremon's depiction of the Egyptian priestly life, in which he says that the Egyptian priests "chose the temples as a place to philosophize" and that "they were able to live a quiet life, as contact with other people occurred only at assemblies and festivals"[1001]. Once there he describes his activities as consisting of the performance of holy ritual and participation in sacrifices, and discussions with philosophers, who would ask him about the mysteries of Egypt, highlighting the Greek's interest in Egyptian lore (Αἰγύπτιον γὰρ ἄκουσμα καὶ διήγημα πᾶν Ἑλληνικῆς ἀκοῆς ἐπαγωγότατον, *Aithiopika* 2.27.3). Egyptian wisdom is presented as the object of philosophical discussion, as it had been in the works of philosophers such as Plato, and later, in the context of Heliodoros, of the Neoplatonists and Neopythagoreans. Kalasiris has here a privileged position due to his direct access to the original Egyptian sources as a priest. This is manifest in his declaration about the source of his knowledge as response to one of the philosopher's enquiry about the Nile: "I told him everything I knew, all that is recorded about this river in sacred texts (βίβλοις ἱεραῖς), things of which none but members of the priestly caste (τοῖς προφητικοῖς) may read and learn" (*Aithiopika* 2.28.2). This begins a short excursus on different aspects of the Nile. Baumbach has remarked that with this explanation Kalasiris "seems to dissociate himself verbally from the circle of Egyptian priests by betraying their secret knowledge"[1002]. Although Baumbach's comment about Kalasiris' contradiction is reasonable, there might be a different way of understanding the character here. Again, the model for Kalasiris would be a priest like Chaeremon, or even Manetho, who in a Greek context would present in writing, and perhaps verbally through lectures, their wisdom. In both cases there are references to their works on different aspects of Egyptian wisdom, and particularly on religious matters and the explanation

[1001] Translation from VAN DER HORST 1984: 17.
[1002] BAUMBACH 2008: 176.

of the hieroglyphic script. This was clearly priestly knowledge, but it was probably transmitted in an adapted form, as I have written above concerning the issue of translation. As for the contents of his explanation, Baumbach rightly perceives that Kalasiris' explanation seems to be a response to Herodotus' lack of explanation about the Nile[1003]. I would add that Heliodoros' source might actually have been Manetho's response to Herodotus. This would have created a clear connection for the readers of Heliodoros between Kalasiris and real-life priests such as Manetho and Chaeremon.

Considering Kalasiris from a moral point of view, different authors have seen an apparent contradiction in his construction as a character: Kalasiris' dual personality as a wise and pious priest, but also as a deceitful trickster. This view has been contested by several authors, who interpret it in different ways. Winkler, in his article "The mendacity of Kalasiris and the narrative strategy of Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*," considers that the supposed duplicity is actually a way of developing the narrative, delivering information in small doses, and also a way that Kalasiris uses to protect Charikleia and make sure that her destiny is fulfilled. He also argues that the novel has different readings, a basic one in which it is just a romantic narrative, and a more complex reading that follows Kalasiris' pursuit of divine wisdom, and of which the love story is just an incidental aspect. Winkler carefully analyzes the development of the plot to show how Kalasiris progressively learns the details of the different oracles that he has received, and how the goal of his pursuit has "a deeper cosmic meaning underlying the romantic exile and return of the Aithiopian princess"[1004], noting how her return takes place in the summer solstice, the moment when the inundation of the Nile takes place. The return of Charikleia also concludes with the abolition of human sacrifice in Ethiopia as a higher goal, the culmination of Kalasiris'

[1003] BAUMBACH 2008: 175 footnote 23.
[1004] WINKLER 1982: 151.

journey that takes place after he has already died. Winkler argues that the merit of the *Aithiopika* is actually the interplay between these two levels: "a higher mysteriosophic point of view and a lower, demotic response to the mere thrill of it all"[1005]. Thus, concerning the character of Kalasiris, the way he is constructed morally responds to this narrative model and to his role as narrator in part of it.

In the same year of Winkler's study, Sandy published his analysis on the philosophical characterization in the *Aithiopika*, exploring in particular the figure of Kalasiris. He views the character from a Platonist lens, to which I have been referring throughout this analysis, and considers the concealment of information in the narrative as a recourse in order that "only the sage can discern the mysteries implanted in the enigmas of theosophic literature, so only the discerning reader can extract meaning from the labyrinthine narrative twists of the *Aethiopica*"[1006]. Sandy, like Winkler, rejects the view of Kalasiris as a trickster or "charlatan," but proposes a different take on Heliodoros' construction of the character, situating him in the light of the holy men of the Imperial period, who he claims displayed the same duplicity as Kalasiris. In this interesting analysis Sandy reviews the instances in which Kalasiris might be accused of being a trickster, such as his pretension of ignorance in his conversation with Theagenes about his love in *Aithiopika* 3.17.1, which I quoted above[1007]. While some characters accuse him of being a charlatan (Charikles in 10.36.4), and others see him as a holy man (Charikleia), Sandy argues that Kalasiris' concealment of the truth at different points actually responds to a conscious objective, which he equates with Plato's "noble lie"[1008], and for which he gives a quote from Synesius of Cyrene, in which he says that the philosophical mind hides the

[1005] WINKLER 1982: 156.
[1006] SANDY 1982: 141.
[1007] *Republic* 3.415b-c, SANDY 1982: 148.
[1008] *Republic* 3.415b-c, SANDY 1982: 148.

truth from those who are not ready for it yet[1009]. Thus, Sandy concludes that: "Calasiris is a complex character and cannot be labeled fraud *or* holy man. He is both. The result, artistically, is not an incomprehensible character, as Rohde charged, but rather the successful albeit sardonic portrayal of an authentic type of holy man of late antiquity"[1010].

Baumbach took this idea of Kalasiris as holy man and analyzed it further. I have already referred to some aspects of his views of Kalasiris as priest and philosopher. Considering Kalasiris as a holy man, Baumbach believes that he is an imperfect one, and follows Winkler in seeing his travels as a quest for knowledge, which he never fulfills. He suggests that Charikles, Kalasiris, and Sisimithres, the leader of the Gymnosophists in Ethiopia, represent the three stages of this quest of knowledge, of whom only the last one is a complete holy man. He sets Kalasiris against the historical background of the late antique holy man. Baumbach examines how Heliodoros creates this image in a syncretistic environment similar to that of the third and fourth centuries CE, in which the holy man appears as a new type of priest of universal character, that would probably be recognized by the ancient reader of the novel.

These three studies reject the accusation of Kalasiris' deceitfulness and justify it from a narrative, philosophical, and historical point of view. I basically agree with these interpretations, but I would emphasize, as I have done throughout this section, the connection of Kalasiris with the description of the way of life of the Egyptian priests according to Chaeremon, and how in the creation of the character Heliodoros seems to have taken this image and humanized it. He is, as Baumbach remarks, an imperfect human being seeking intellectual perfection, and despite his intelligence and knowledge, he has weaknesses (Rhodopis episode) and employs deceit, but in the end all these features are justified by a higher, good goal that is gradually revealed. Like

[1009] SANDY 1982: 148.
[1010] SANDY 1982: 154.

other priests in the Demotic narratives, such as the young priest of Horus of Pe in Buto (*Fight for the Sinecure of Amun*), he is a polyhedral character moved by divine motives, and thus, a simplistic analysis of good or evil does not apply to him, as in the case of less complex characters such as the magician Paapis. Other characters in the novel, such as the two sons of Kalasiris, display plainer moral characterizations. Petosiris is described as a treacherous priest ("He had a younger brother, Petosiris, at Memphis, who had treacherously (ἐπιβουλῇ) and in defiance of ancestral usage usurped the office of high priest from Thyamis," *Aithiopika* 1.33.2). In book 7 we find the explanation of his plot against Thyamis in order to gain access to the high priesthood held by his brother after Kalasiris' disappearance (*Aithiopika* 7.2.4). Thyamis, on the other hand, is described as chaste according to his priestly education (*Aithiopika* 7.2.3), and even when he appears as the head of the *boukoloi,* he behaves honorably with Charikleia, and regains his rightful status as heir of Kalasiris in the end. An interesting final aspect is this combination in Thyamis of the conditions of priest and warrior, leading a group of herdsmen in the marshes of the Delta. Rutherford has noted the similarity of this character with the young priest of Horus in Buto from the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun*[1011]. In both narratives there is a conflict over a priesthood that leads to combat between two-priests. To be sure, the context of the confrontations is different, and in the case of the Demotic narrative many aspects still remain tentative due to the missing beginning and the end of the story.

To conclude this analysis of Kalasiris and the *Aithiopika,* I want to discuss the parallels between the novel and some Demotic narratives which have been proposed by Rutherford. In my analysis of Kalasiris I have remarked some similarities between aspects of his character and elements found in the Demotic narratives. However, one has to be very cautious when proposing

[1011] Cf. RUTHERFORD 1997 and 2000. He remarks that this connection had already been proposed by Graham Anderson (RUTHERFORD 1997: 205).

direct parallels, unless there is clear textual evidence. As I have pointed out in the previous paragraph, there are many similarities between the story of Thyamis and Petosiris and the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun*. Rutherford, following Anderson, has proposed that the conflict between Thyamis and Petosiris may be modeled on the Demotic narrative. This is a very intriguing and attractive proposal, but there are in fact many differences between the two stories, and they are set in different contexts[1012]. Even less clear are the connections between the episode of Tabubu in *Setne I* and that of Kalasiris and Rhodopis[1013]. Especially doubtful is the proposed parallel between the narrative of Charikleia's return to Ethiopia, and the *Myth of the Sun's Eye*, for which Rutherford proposes to see Charikleia as Tefnut, since she is a descendant of the Sun, and Kalasiris as Thoth, since he knows hieroglyphs[1014]. While I am not completely rejecting any of these possibilities, I prefer to remain circumspect about them until more evidence provides clearer links between both literary traditions.

2. Lucian's *Philopseudes*

Lucian of Samosata (c. 115-180 CE) is the author of many satirical works in different forms. In a dialogue called *Philopseudes,* he makes a poignant critique of the supernatural beliefs common even among the intellectuals of his time. In the dialogue, a character called Tychiades recounts to

[1012] Rutherford himself has pointed out some of the differences, such as the fact that in the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun* the contenders are not related, while in the *Aithiopika* they are two brothers, or that the action happens in Thebes and Memphis respectively (which is less relevant) (RUTHERFORD 1997: 207). He proposes, however, as an important parallel that "the conflict between Thyamis and Petosiris for the priesthood of Memphis is resolved by the unexpected appearance of, not a *kalasiris* exactly, but rather Kalasiris, the Memphite priest" (RUTHERFORD 2000: 118). He refers here to the arrival of the warriors (*kalasiris*) Minnebmaat and Montubaal as a decisive moment in the fights. However, these two characters actually take part in the fights as support for one of the sides, and in the case of Minnebmaat, we do not even know what the result of his intervention was (*pace* Rutherford, who says that he fails, cf. RUTHERFORD 2000: 118). Although the equation between the term for the warriors and the name of Kalasiris is attractive, nothing else in the characters seems to be similar enough to support this connection.
[1013] Cf. RUTHERFORD 1997: 204-205.
[1014] RUTHERFORD 1997: 209.

another, Philokles, what happened during a symposium that he attended, in which philosophers from different schools (a Stoic, a Platonist, a Pythagorean, a Peripatetic, and a physician follower of Hippocrates) relate their supernatural experiences in the house of a rich man, Eukrates. It is this one who, in the last story told completely, mentions an Egyptian priest, Pankrates, who will be the object of my analysis here. But before moving on with Pankrates, I wish to remark that the Pythagorean philosopher of this dialogue, Arignotos, who is presented as a wise and holy man, is described as having long hair and a majestic (σεμνός) pose (*Philopseudes* 29). This corresponds, of course, to the typical description of a philosopher, similar to the first presentation of Kalasiris in the *Aithiopika*. In *Philopseudes* 31 he tells a story in which he freed a house from a ghost that was haunting it, and for that he is said to have used Egyptian books, which he took with him to the house (τὰς βίβλους λαβὼν–εἰσὶ δέ μοι Αἰγυπτιαι μάλα πολλαὶ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων– "taking my books–I have very many Egyptian ones about those matters"[1015]). It is further stated that he used a spell spoken in the Egyptian language (αἰγυπτιάζων τῇ φωνῇ "speaking in Egyptian language"). Later on, during Eukrates' story of his encounter with Pankrates, Arignotos asserts that he had been a student of Pankrates himself. This presentation of Arignotos shows again the great importance that the use of books had in the context of magic, and particularly magic of Egyptian origin, which is completely consistent with what we have seen in Egyptian literature, even from the Middle Kingdom in the story of the magician Djedi from P. Westcar, but in particular in the Demotic narratives[1016].

[1015] All the citations of the Greek text of the *Philopseudes* are from HARMON 1921. The translation here is mine.
[1016] Cf. chapter 2.

2.1. Pankrates

The story of Pankrates is introduced in *Philopseudes* 33-36. Eukrates says that he was sent to Egypt by his father in order to complete his education, a practice that was modeled after the tradition of the visits to Egypt of sages such as Plato or Pythagoras, who were said to have studied with Egyptian priests and to have acquired from them many of the ideas that would then be part of their philosophy and way of life[1017]. This, of course, is the reason why Arignotos as a Pythagorean presents himself as a disciple of an Egyptian priest as well. In his narrative, Eukrates says that he first sailed to Coptos in order to visit, from there, the statue of Memnon. This statue, which was actually one of the two remaining colossi of Amenhotep III from his funerary temple, was located in Thebes, which is further south from Coptos. Coptos was since the Pharaonic period a cult center of Isis, as the encounter of Naneferkaptah with the priests of the goddess in *Setne I* shows. The mention of this city is significant due to the magical theme of the story, since Isis was a goddess known particularly for her powerful magic. In *Setne I* Coptos also becomes the location of the book of Thoth. The reference to the statue of Memnon has been connected by some authors with Hadrian's visit to Egypt[1018], being perhaps a clue that relates his Pankrates to the Pakhrates that appears in *PGM* IV.2446-2455[1019], a prophet of Heliopolis who is said to have demonstrated his magic to Hadrian, or to Pancrates 'Epicus,' an Egyptian poet who wrote about a lion hunt of Hadrian and Antinoos, and was rewarded for it, mentioned by Athenaeus (667d-f)[1020].

[1017] Cf. ASSMANN 2000: 42-44. On Plato's trip to Egypt, cf. JOLY 1982, KÁKOSY 1993, MATHIEU 1987.
[1018] A Demotic ostracon connected to Hadrian's visit to Egypt has been found in Narmouthis, cf. MENCHETTI 2004.
[1019] Cf. BETZ 1992: 83.
[1020] Both these references are mentioned by DE SALVIA 1987: 346, and also by OGDEN 2004: 106-107. Ogden analyzes the language of both references and concludes convincingly that they might have their origin in the same historical figure, which created a tradition of Pancrates as a magical guru to Hadrian" (OGDEN 2004: 108). Eukrates, with his visit to the statue of Memnon, would be identified in the *Philopseudes* as Hadrian, being the disciple of Pancrates.

Eukrates met Pankrates sailing north from Thebes, and describes him as a Memphite (Μεμφίτης) and as a man belonging to the sacred scribes (ἀνὴρ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμματέων), this is, a ἱερογραμματεύς, like Chaeremon. As such, he is characterized as a very wise man who was well versed in Egyptian knowledge, including magic (μαγεύειν παιδευόμενος "having learned to use magic"), which he had acquired living in the subterranean sanctuaries (ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις ὑπόγειος) of Isis for twenty-three years. This information is clearly based on the tradition that Pythagoras, during his stay in Egypt, had also studied with Egyptian priests in sanctuaries, but for twenty-two years[1021]. Furthermore, in the *Book of Thoth,* the place where the initiation takes place is called the *ꜥ.t kkj* "Chamber of Darkness," which seems to point to a subterranean location[1022]. Isis was the goddess of magic *par excellence* especially in the Graeco-Roman period, and Kalasiris was also described as being a priest of Isis from Memphis, as has already been discussed in the previous section. It is interesting to observe that Lucian delays the presentation of the name of Pankrates until after this information has been delivered, introducing the main element of the story, his deep training in magic, even before the description of the character *per se*. This is similar to the way Kalasiris is progressively introduced to the reader of the *Aithiopika*, although in that case it is his physical appearance and his meditative demeanor (which mark him as a philosopher) which are first described.

The name of the character is mentioned by Arignotos, who recognizes him from the brief description given so far. This shows that Lucian intends him to be seen as an exceptional character without equal, who could be recognized just by his wisdom and his training in magic.

[1021] Ogden indicates that this reference connects Pankrates with the Pythagorean tradition (OGDEN 2004: 111), and it is interesting that he happens to be the teacher of the Pythagorean Arignotos as well, closing the circle.
[1022] On the Chamber of Darkness, cf. JASNOW and ZAUZICH 2005: 36-38.

Concerning the name, it has been proposed that it could be originally Egyptian[1023], reinterpreted in Greek as Pankrates, perhaps on purpose[1024].

After this follows his physical description, also given by Arignotos: "a holy man, clean shaven, in white linen, always deep in thought, speaking imperfect Greek, tall, flat-nosed, with protruding lips and thinnish legs"[1025]. The description corresponds with the typical characteristics of Egyptian priests in Greek literature since Herodotus: shaven head, wearing linen, etc., which we also see in the representations all over the Roman empire, such as those in the frescoes of the House of Octavius Quartio in Pompeii, dating to the 1st century CE[1026], or those from the temple of Isis in the same city, also from the same period, now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples[1027]. Ogden has observed that the description of the lips and the legs seems to be a characteristic of Lucian's Egyptian characters, together with his strong accent when speaking Greek[1028]. I have already discussed the representation of the priests' knowledge of Greek in the section about Kalasiris. The most interesting element of Pankrates' description is given by Eukrates. He describes him as performing all sorts of wonders, especially riding on crocodiles. This image that can be interpreted in a humorous way could have been inspired by the so-called cippi of Horus-on-the-Crocodiles[1029], a type of healing and protective statue that appeared in Egypt in the 18th Dynasty (ca. 1550 BCE) and was in use until the Roman Period. They are characterized by a central representation of Horus as a young boy, holding in his hands a series of wild and dangerous animals such as snakes, scorpions, antelopes and lions, and standing on

[1023] De Salvia gives *pa-n-ḫrd* (wrongly transliterated as *pꜣ-n-ḫrd*) as origin, translating "colui che appartiene a (Horo?) il fanciullo," as a reference to Harpokrates (DE SALVIA 1987: 346).
[1024] Meaning "All-powerful," which as Ogden says, is "an all-too-appropriate speaking name for a sorcerer" (Cf. OGDEN 2004: 112).
[1025] Translation from HARMON 1921: 373.
[1026] Cf. i.e. MOL 2016: 141.
[1027] Inv. 8922, 8925, 8923, 8920 (color photographs in POOLE 2016: 116-117).
[1028] OGDEN 2004: 110.
[1029] This was already noted by RITNER 1989: 114, who also indicates that Hadrian issued coins representing himself as Horus spearing and trampling a crocodile.

two or more crocodiles[1030]. These stelae were located in the temples, where their healing and protective power could be obtained by pouring water over their inscribed surfaces and drinking it[1031]. There were also small wearable amulets in the shape of cippi that could be carried around and used when necessary. Returning to the description of Pancrates, after the demonstration of these wonders, Eukrates says that Pancrates took him as his companion and associate (ἑταῖρος αὐτῷ καὶ συνήθης), and shared with him all his secret knowledge (πάντων [...] τῶν ἀπορρήτων). This again is in accord with the tradition of the Egyptian priest taking a foreigner as disciple, mentioned above.

At this point, the narrative of the pestle starts, which is known in the modern world through Goethe's *Die Zauberlehring* (1779), but especially through Dukas' *Sorcerer's Apprentice* (1897), and the animated version in Disney's *Fantasia* (1940) with Mickey Mouse as Eukrates[1032]. Ogden has analyzed the particular choice of the pestle (ὕπερον) and compared it with other Lucianic references, and to the animation of figures and objects in previous Greek literature and spells for animation of objects and for conjuring a human shaped servant in the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri[1033]. He also refers to a hypothesis that "has become a commonplace amongst Egyptologists that the pestle reflects shabtis," quoting in particular Petrie as the first to propose this idea, followed by Schneider[1034] and Ritner[1035], and noting that they proposed that the three-syllable magic word could be a form of the word shabti[1036]. This hypothesis seems to me quite unconvincing, since according to C. Riggs shabtis were actually

[1030] For this type of statues, cf. GASSE 2004; RITNER 1989; STADLER 2008; STERNBERG-EL HOTABI 1994; STERNBERG-EL HOTABI 1999, with important corrections in QUACK 2002c.
[1031] For the usage of these cippi, cf. KOENIG 1994: 110-112.
[1032] For more detailed references cf. OGDEN 2004: 101 footnote 1.
[1033] Cf. OGDEN 2004: 114-118.
[1034] SCHNEIDER 1977: 349-352.
[1035] RITNER 2001: 334.
[1036] Cf. OGDEN 2004: 115 footnote 44 for bibliographical references.

rare in Roman period burials[1037]. De Salvia refers to the *Tale of the Two Brothers*, the *Book of the Dead* and *Setne II* for examples of shape-shifting but this is not what takes place in the story of Pankrates[1038]. More accurately he also mentions the creation and animation of wax figurines in *Setne I* and *Setne II*[1039]. An even more interesting connection would be the creation in P. Vandier of the man of clay by the magician Merire, which is a figure that also talks, since, as Ogden has pointed out, the pestle is said in the text to be able to buy provisions, for which it would presumably need to be able to speak[1040]. Another element of this story that connects it with Demotic literature is the punishment (in this case just the interruption of the association with the priestly teacher) for the access to knowledge that was not meant to be obtained by that particular character, represented in Eukrates' hearing of the magical word for the animation of the pestle.

Not much more can be deduced about Pankrates from Lucian's description, since he appears mostly as an accompanying figure to Eukrates. Although it displays some common elements in the representation of Egyptian priests, such as the description of his appearance, and his identity as a wise man, his story preserves some features that betray a more direct knowledge of Egyptian traditions, such as his allusion to the riding of crocodiles.

[1037] RIGGS 2005: 2. On the decline in the use of shabtis, cf. SCHNEIDER 1977: 346-354. Schneider claims that the Greek conquest had an impact on the idea of the afterlife and of the deceased that resulted in a change in the funerary equipment. However, M. Smith has recently noted tht that "Although some distinctive new features do appear in the funerary art of the Ptolemaic Period, there is no evidence that these reflect any changes in Egyptian conceptions of the afterlife" and that "Items of burial equipment used in the former (*scil*. Late Period) like shabtis, canopic boxes, hypocephali, and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures continued to be used in the latter (*scil*. Ptolemaic period) as well [...]. As far as one can judge from the textual, representational, and archaeological evidence, the change to Greek rule at this time did not have significant imact on ideas about the afterlife" (SMITH 2017: 372). Thus, according to Riggs the main changes took place during the Roman period. Nevertheless, shabtis and pseudo-shabtis have been found for the Roman period in other provinces of the Empire, cf. DEAC 2017.
[1038] DE SALVIA 1987: 348.
[1039] DE SALVIA 1987: 349. He also mentions here the connection with shabtis.
[1040] OGDEN 2004: 116.

3. Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*

Another text that includes descriptions of Egyptian priests is Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, the only Latin novel preserved in its entirety. Concerning its dating, Griffiths has collected the different arguments, concluding that Apuleius probably wrote it in the last part of his literary career, after he had settled in Carthage, and gives c. 170 CE as a possible date[1041]. Most authors agree that it is based on a lost Greek work called *Metamorphoseis*, which is only preserved in a 9th century summary by Photius, and of which the shorter Greek *Lukios e Onos* seems to be a version which only keeps the story of the ass, removing the shorter stories interspersed in the original narrative. Apuleius seems to have included some of those narratives present in the original Greek, and to have created new ones, such as the story of Cupid and Psyche and Book 11[1042]. Some scholars have wished to see autobiographical elements in these added fragments, especially in the initiation process described in Book 11. In the *Apologia*, a speech he wrote to defend himself from the accusations of use of magic brought against him by the relatives of his wife, Aemilia Pudentilla[1043], Apuleius confesses to having participated in several initiation ceremonies, and Griffiths assumes that the Isiac rites might have been part of these[1044], giving him the first hand experience that he would have reflected in the description on Book 11. The argument of the novel follows the story of Lucius, who is represented as a person driven by lust and aimless curiosity. He is turned into an ass[1045] after witnessing a magical ritual performed by a witch. He suffers all kinds of misadventures until, at the end, he prays to the goddess Isis and is

[1041] Cf. the different arguments in GRIFFITHS 1975: 7–14.
[1042] GRIFFITHS 1975: 1-3; HOLZBERG 1986:73-74.
[1043] HOWATSON 1989: 46.
[1044] GRIFFITHS 1975: 4.
[1045] Griffiths has noted the identification of the ass with a Sethian animal, opposite to Isis, which had already been recognized by Kerényi, cf. GRIFFITHS 1975: 24.

transformed back to human form when he eats some roses from a garland carried by the high priest of Isis. He is then initiated into the mysteries of Isis. Even from this description the importance of the Egyptian elements of the story is clear. Here what interests me is the depiction of the priests in the novel. I will focus on two characters, the Egyptian priest Zatchlas (Book 2.28-30) and the high priest of Isis in Book 11. In general terms, however, it is important to remark that the main theme of the novel seems to be the curiosity concerning magical powers, which are exercised by someone who is not a real initiate, the witch, in Book 3. This is similar to what happens in the episode of the old woman in the *Aithiopika*. Lucius is punished, unlike the old woman, who is condemned to death by her dead son, or the scribe of the divine book in the beginning of the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros,* and Naneferkaptah in *Setne I*. Lucius does not die, but is condemned to a life of suffering until he can correct his behavior, and actually access the religious secrets through proper initiation. Thus, the *Metamorphoses* is a representative of the trend emphasizing the importance of initiation that appears both in Greek and Demotic literature.

3.1. Zatchlas

Zatchlas' name has been identified by Griffiths with the name Σωταλᾶς, which appears in Egypt[1046]. He is said to be "an Egyptian prophet of the first rank" (Aegyptius propheta primarius, *Metamorphoses* 2.28[1047]) and a few sentences later as sacerdos "priest". This is a crucial point, since he is described in this chapter performing a necromantic ritual, which I will discuss shortly. But first, the external appearance of Zatchlas is described. He is said to be a young man (*iuvenem*) wearing long linen robes and sandals made of palm leaves, and having his head completely shaven. To the elements that we have already seen as characteristic of Egyptian

[1046] GRIFFITHS 1975: 29. The name is attested 13 times in Trismegistos People, 7 in Greek as Σωτάλας, and 4 in Egyptian, 3 as *s3t3l3s* and 1 as *s3ṯ3ls* (http://www.trismegistos.org/name/5947 [last accessed on 06/24/2017]),
[1047] The edition of the Latin text and translation that I have used for Book 2 of the *Metamorphoses* is HANSON 1996.

priests in Graeco-Roman literature, like the shaven head or linen clothes, which were also part of Pancrates' description, what is interesting about Zatchlas is that, despite the veneration that he arouses in the old man, he is described as a young man. It is relevant to note that, although Lucian does not mention Pancrates' age, the fact that he had spent twenty-three years studying in underground sanctuaries indicates that he might have been, if not old, at least middle aged. The fact that Zatchlas is described as *iuvenis* and not just as a *vir* might be intended to emphasize his age, perhaps in contrast with the old man (*senior*). It is important to keep in mind, however, that the meaning of *iuvenis* in Latin is "one in the flower of age, a young person, youth (i. e. between twenty and forty years)"[1048]. In any case, this creates an interesting contrast with Kalasiris or the priest that Thessalos encounters in Thebes[1049]. The old man's plea to Zatchlas, apart from mentioning the different natural forces that the priest may conjure in his ritual, refers to the sanctuaries of Coptos (*adyta Coptitica*[1050]), which was the place where Eukrates had sailed to in order to, from there, visit the statue of Memnon. I have already discussed in the section on Pancrates the implications of this reference to Coptos, which seems to have enjoyed high repute for its particular magical power due to its connection to Isis in the Graeco-Roman period.

A relevant aspect mentioned here is that the old man has paid Zatchlas for his performance of the ritual: *qui mecum iam dudum grandi praemio* "who has already contracted with me for a great price" (*Metamorphoses* 2.28). The payment of Egyptian priests for their ritual expertise has been used to argue for the mercantilization of the wisdom of the Egyptian priests in the last period of existence of Egyptian religion as evidence for their transition from priests of regular cults to itinerant magicans. I will argue in detail in chapter 7 that this

[1048] *L&S s.v. juvenis*.
[1049] For Thessalos, cf. section 4 in this chapter.
[1050] This section of the text, however, is an emendation that, as indicated by Hanson, is not certain (cf. HANSON 1996: 92 footnote 60).

interpretation has no basis, because the reward in exchange for magical performances was a common practice since the Pharaonic period[1051].

The necromantic ritual is described as a simple procedure in which Zatchlas placed some herb on the mouth and chest of the corpse and invoked in silence the rising power of the sun (incrementa Solis augusti tacitus imprecatus). In the examples of necromantic rituals that I have analyzed in Demotic literature, as discussed in the section on Kalasiris, the priests only used magical formulae. The other extreme of the spectrum was [1052]the old woman in the *Aithiopika*, who performs a ritual that involves many more paraphernalia, and is partially ineffective. It has been argued, using as reference Kalasiris' description of the two types of Egyptian wisdom, that the use of herbs was being condemned (βοτάναις προστετηκυῖα "it is addicted to magic herbs," *Aithiopika* 3.16.3). The verb προστήκομαι "stick fast to, cling to"[1053] might actually indicate the excessive reliance in herbs of this debased kind of magic, not the rejection of every herb. In the case of Thessalos, the book of which his story is the introduction is actually a treatise on astrobotany, *De virtutibus herbarum*, revealed to him by none other than Asklepios. The wise king Nechepsos, who is represented as having been unsuccessful in his attempt to explain the proper preparation of the remedies in Thessalos' prologue, is nevertheless also described as having devoted himself to the study of botany. Traditional Egyptian medical treatises also combine the use of different substances, including plants, with magic spells, and the same occurs in the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri. Thus, the distinction given by Kalasiris can be interpreted as one of degree and purity of use, as I have argued in the analysis of the *Aithiopika*.

[1051] Cf. chapter 7, section 2.3.
[1052] Cf. i.e. DE SALVIA 1987: 350.
[1053] *LSJ s.v.* προστήκομαι.

Other Egyptian priests described using herbs are Nectanebo in the *Alexander Romance*[1054], and the evil Paapis of Antonius Diogenes' *The Wonders beyond Thule* (who has a satchel of herbs).

Once this is done, the animation of the corpse is described in detail. It starts to speak at once, which is another difference with the way the ritual performed by the old woman in the *Aithiopika* develops, and parallels what we know from Demotic literature. After an initial protest, Zatchlas commands the dead man to talk by threatening him. The use of threats is something that also appears in Demotic literature, as we have seen in the case of the conversation of Peteisis with the ghost, and in general in the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri[1055]. As in the other cases of necromancy, the ritual is only meant to reveal the circumstances of the death of the person, after which the person returns to his original state.

Nothing else is said of Zatchlas, so I may conclude that he is depicted in the normal terms used for Egyptian priests in Graeco-Roman literature, highlighting perhaps his age. He appears in a positive light, since unlike other characters such as the witch in book 3 of the *Metamorphoses*, or the old woman in the *Aithiopika*, he has been properly initiated and has the necessary knowledge to perform the ritual. He is a parallel figure, thus, to Kalasiris. The most interesting aspect is the reference to Zatchlas' payment for his services, which will be discussed in the context of the arguments referring to the transition from priest to itinerant magician in part 2.

[1054] Cf. chapter 3, section 1.
[1055] On this topic, cf. SAUNERON 1951.

3.2. Priests in book 11 (the Isis Book)

I move now to book 11, the so-called Isis Book. Since Griffiths has analyzed the Egyptian motifs of this book in his detailed commentary, I will limit myself to highlighting the elements relating to the descriptions of priests, giving the references to his analysis, and noting other aspects relevant for my study not in Griffiths'. The priest (*sacerdos*) whom Lucius encounters in the procession is first described by Isis referring to the ritual accouterments that he will be carrying in the procession, "[he] will carry a crown of roses attached to the systrum in his right hand" (*roseam manu dextera sistro cohaerentem gestabit coronam*[1056], *Metamorphoses* 11.6)[1057]. The goddess Isis tells Lucius that she will tell her priest in his sleep what he will have to do next. This indicates the close connection of the goddess with her priesthood, and how at her will she could appear to those initiated in order to communicate a message. In chapter 10 the initiates in the Isiac rites appear in the procession (*sacris divinis initiatae*, *Metamorphoses* 11.10), which are described as men and women of every rank and age (*viri feminaque omnis dignitatis et omnis aetatis*), playing sistra. They are distinguished, however, from the actual performers of the rituals, and Griffiths remarks on how Egyptian initiation was actually limited to the priests[1058]. These follow in the procession, and are designated as sacrorum proceres, literally "leaders of the sacred

[1056] The edition of the Latin text and translation for all the citations from book 11 are from GRIFFITHS 1975.

[1057] Griffiths describes the use of flower offerings in Egyptian rituals, and the depiction of Isis wearing these garlands, although he notes that they are not particular from the cult of this goddess, and they were not an attribute of Isis in the Pharaonic period (GRIFFITHS 1975: 132). For the rose garlands, cf. GRIFFITHS 1975: 159-161. He mentions here that Derchain has seen the origin of these garlands in chapter 19 of the *Book of the Dead,* the title of which is "Formula for a garland of justification," a spell used first in the Third Intermediate Period but especially from the Late to the Ptolemaic period, according to Quirke (QUIRKE 2013: 75-77, which includes a new transliteration and translation of the chapter from the papyrus of Nespasef). Griffith also makes a reference to the placement of garlands in funerary contexts, and highlights the presence of floral garlands held in the hands of the deceased in the mummy portraits and masks from the Graeco-Roman period. For newer references on these cf. BIERBRIER1997; RIGGS 2005: esp. 243.

[1058] GRIFFITHS 1975: 189. On the concept of initiation in the cult of Isis and Osiris outside of Egypt, cf. MALAISE 1972: 230-238.

rites". They are six, described as wearing long white linen robes[1059], which are said to be tied around their chests (*cinctum pectoralem*). Griffiths has observed that this leaves the upper part of the chest and the shoulders bare, and offers numerous iconographic parallels from the representations in Pompeii[1060]. They hold different emblems: a lantern in the shape of a golden vessel[1061], an altar[1062], a palm branch[1063], a left hand[1064] and a vessel in the shape of a breast[1065], a

[1059] Griffiths remarks that the white linen clothes were associated outside of Egypt specifically with the cult of Isis, certainly because this was the most widespread Egyptian cult (GRIFFITHS 1975: 192).
[1060] GRIFFITHS 1975: 194. For a good color image of a priest represented in this way, holding two candelabra, from the portico of the temple of Isis in Pompeii, cf. POOLE 2016: 115 No. 84.
[1061] Cf. GRIFFITHS 1975: 195-196, in which he connects the shape of the lamp with the *Isidis Navigium*.
[1062] Cf. GRIFFITHS 1975: 196-198. Griffiths calls the shrine bearers *pastophorus*, which has been proven to be an incorrect designation by HOFFMANN and QUACK 2014. He mentions the statues carrying cippi of Horus as probably the best parallels for the description in Apuleius, for which cf. in addition to Griffiths references those mentioned in footnote 1030.
[1063] Cf. GRIFFITHS 1975: 198-203. Griffiths identifies this priest "clearly" as priest of Anubis, since a palm appears as one of the attributes of this god in *Metamorphoses* 11.11. He notes that although this element was not part of Anubis' iconography in the Pharaonic period, it derives from the identification of the god with Hermes, in his role as psychopompos, and gives a series of iconographic examples of Anubis and Hermanubis holding a branch. Since Hermes is the *interpretatio graeca* of Thoth, he wants to see the branch as taken from this god, as the *rnp.t*-sign on which Thoth counts the years. On this note, the reference in Clement of Alexandria to the ὡροσκόπος priest, who carries the φοίνικα ἀστρολογίας "palm of astrology (*Stromata* 6.3.35.4; edition of the Greek text in STÄHLIN 1906: 448) might not be a reference to Anubis as Griffiths indicates, but to Thoth or even Seshat. However, Griffiths also indicates that it has been proven that the palm branch appears in the Graeco-Roman period as an attribute of gods such as Osiris, Serapis, Isis, Harpocrates, Thoth, Asclepius (Imhotep), Tychê, Hygieia and Alexandreia, gods mostly of the Osirian cycle. After citing a series of references to the palms in Pharaonic and Graeco-Roman Egypt, such as the presence of deities holding palm scepters in the Amduat, he concludes that the palm branch of Anubis might well be an originally Egyptian symbol. On a Demotic stela found in the first court of Luxor temple in 1981, and published by R. Jasnow, we see two figures facing each other and holding palm-branches (JASNOW 2007b, with extensive bibliography on the use of branches in Egyptian cult in the Graeco-Roman period). For the "rosette" of Seshat, cf. SCHNEIDER 1997, cited in JASNOW 2011.
[1064] Cf. GRIFFITHS 1975: 203-207. Here Griffiths cites an article by Kákosy published in Hungarian in 1968, the title of which translates as "Pythagorean Influence in Apuleius, Metamorphoses XI?" where he says that hand-amulets were used for protection in Egypt since the 5th dynasty. He indicates that the word for hand and the number five are etymologically related, as demonstrated by Sethe, and cites a passage in Iamblichus' *Theologumena Arithmeticae* (27), in which he sais that the pentad is equivalent with justice and also with Bubasteia and Aphrodite. Kákosy then notes that Isis (Aphrodite) is also equated with Maat. He considers that Pythagoras would probably have been acquainted with these ideas, and Apuleius was equally acquainted with Plato and Pythagoras. In his critique of this view, Griffiths says that it is not clear if the Pythagoreans actually used the hand as a symbol for Justice, but considers that "it may be suggested with some confidence" that the connection with the hand comes from the ceremony of presentation of Maat in the ritual of the Egyptian temples. He notes that he has noticed that the hand used in most of these offerings is actually the left hand, which is the hand mentioned by Apuleius. However, he indicates that a hand with a Maat figurine was not taken in procession, but a censer in the shape of a hand. Since this hand is normally not represented in much detail, this could be the reason for its description as *deformata*. Since the censer in itself is not a symbol of Justice, the connection would be that the censer is identified with the arm that presents Maat. He considers that this is confirmed by the indication of Clement of Alexandria that the stolist is the one who carries the cubit of justice and the offering bowl (*Stromata* 6.4.36.2). He also discusses the idea of the left hand as being negative.

winnowing-basket of laurel twigs[1066], and an amphora[1067]. The next priests carry the images of the gods (*Metamorphoses* 11.11), and after them the priest who had been chosen by Isis to give Lucius the crown of roses appears, described as holding in his right hand a sistrum, and the crown. The priest is said to marvel (*miratus*, *Metamorphoses* 11.13) at the accuracy of his dream vision, and to look at Lucius with a "benign expression" (*vultu geniali*, *Metamorphoses* 11.14). He is the character that summarizes Lucius' misadventures, explains the reason for them, and tells him that he should enroll in the service of the goddess. After this speech, which is described as a prophecy (*vaticinatus*, *Metamorphoses* 11.16) the priest takes "several gasping weary breaths and was silent" (*fatigatos anhelitus trahens conticuit*), which shows that he was in a sort of trance, to deliver these words. This brings to mind the description of Kalasiris' preparation in order to deliver the allegorical interpretation of the Homeric verses, which I discussed above: "Kalasiris paused for a moment until he had achieved the exalted state of mind appropriate to the contemplation of holy mysteries (τὸ μυστικώτερον)" (*Aithiopika* 3.13.1). More extreme effects of prophecy on the individuals who deliver them appear in the *Prophecy of the Lamb* or *Nectanebo's Dream*, in which both the lamb and Peteisis die after the prophecy has been transmitted[1068].

In the following chapters, the ritual of initiation in the temple is described, together with the details of their ritual objects and appearance of those present. A lector priest is referred to in *Metamorphoses* 11.17, and the priest that takes Lucius into the shrine is described as a "very

---

[1065] Cf. GRIFFITHS 1975: 208-211. This refers to the situla, and Griffiths points to its origin perhaps in the 19th Dynasty, although it becomes a normal cult object in the Late Period. He gives references to examples from the Graeco-Roman period, and highlights its connection with Isis as mother of Harpocrates.

[1066] Cf. GRIFFITHS 1975: 211-213. Griffiths relates this with the λίκνον, the winnowing fan that was incorporated to the rites of different cults. If it has an Egyptian origin, Griffith connects it to Thermuthis (Renenutet), a goddess connected with birth and the nurture of children, and associated to Isis in the Graeco-Roman period. He gives references to representations of "Isis Agraria" emerging from a basket.

[1067] Cf. GRIFFITHS 1975: 213-215. The amphora is perhaps connected to the water to wash the hands of the priest and the cult statue in the ritual.

[1068] Cf. chapter 3, section 1 on *Nectanebo's Dream*. On prophetic literature in Egypt, cf. BLASIUS and SCHIPPER 2002.

kindly old man" (*senex comissimus*, *Metamorphoses* 11.22). The next passage has been the object of much discussion. It mentions a shrine in the hidden quarters (*opertis adyti*) of the temple from which the priest brought "certain books in which the writing was in undecipherable letters" [1069] (*libros litteris ignorabilibus praenotatos*, *Metamorphoses* 11.22). This is an interesting reference to the library of the temple[1070], the *pr-mḏ3.t*. Griffiths has observed that the description of its location as *opertis adyti* might refer to the crypts of the temple[1071]. In fact, in the temple of Hathor in Dendera, the western crypt number 3 is called "crypt of the archives," and according to the inscriptions on the walls it seems to have been a depository of manuscripts[1072]. In the temple of Edfu a shrine-like structure in the first hypostyle hall or pronaos is designated as *pr-mḏ3.t*, but this might have been a place to put books often used in the cult[1073]. This passage in the *Metamorphoses* underscores the importance of the use of books in the Egyptian cult, and in particular, in this case, the priest uses them for "the preparations necessary for the rite of initiation" (*teletae necessario praeparanda*, *Metamorphoses* 11.22). This brings to mind Egyptian treatises such as the *Book of Thoth,* which describes the ritual of initiation in the scribal

[1069] The following description of the writings in the books describes some of them as being written using "forms of all kinds of animals" but the signs in others are described as follows: "their extremities were knotted and curved like wheels or closely intertwined like vine-tendrils." Griffiths discusses if the first script could be hieroglyphs, or refer to vignettes, and discards the possibility of demotic for this description, since "the forms of this script are much more abbreviated and could hardly apply to the present description" (GRIFFITHS 1975: 285). I, however, think that the description seems to fit quite well with how someone without knowledge of it would describe both late hieratic or even demotic. The description does not need to refer to the combination of both scripts, hieroglyphic and hieratic/demotic in the same manuscript, since Lucius indicates that several books were brought, but the presence of biscriptural manuscripts is attested in Graeco-Roman Egypt, as in the case of P. Rhind I and II (cf. MÖLLER 1913, with images of the manuscripts, and SMITH 2009: 302-348 for a new translation of the demotic section of both manuscripts). The possibility of the texts combining hieratic/demotic text with vignettes can also be exemplified through P. Rhind I and II.

[1070] On libraries in ancient Egypt, cf. RYHOLT 2013. In this chapter Ryholt reviews the history of temple libraries in ancient Egypt, with especial attention to the Tebtunis Temple Library, and the types of texts found in them. He suggests that the existence of these libraries might have had an impact in the creation of the library of Alexandria: "The possibility that the large-scale, systematic collections of religious, scientific and historical writings kept at the temple libraries may have played a part in inspiring the creation of the library of Alexandria should, in my opinion, be given serious consideration" (RYHOLT 2013b: 23).

[1071] GRIFFITHS 1975: 284.

[1072] For a description of this crypt, cf. CAUVILLE 2004a: 61-66. For a translation of the texts inscribed in it, cf. CAUVILLE 2004a: 450-482.

[1073] For a translation of the texts of Edfu's *pr-mḏ3.t*, cf. KURTH 1994: 140-147.

office[1074]. In Lucius' initiation in the mysteries of Isis, and later of Osiris, different elements typical of the description of Egyptian priests in this period appear, such as references to the diet, especially in *Metamorphoses* 11.30. This passage mentions in particular a vegetarian diet of ten days prescribed by "immemorial law" (*lege perpetua*). He furthermore must shave his head in order to enter in the college of the *pastophori* (*collegium pastophorum*). Now, Hoffmann and Quack have written that in the Roman Imperial period, outside of Egypt, the role of the *pastophoroi* seems to have been expanded, to cover more or less those functions of the Egyptian priest, unlike in the case of Egypt, where they were temple personnel but not ritual experts[1075]. This would explain why Lucius, in order to become a pastophoros, had to go through a process of initiation. These pastophoroi are still differentiated from the priests (*sacerdotes*), whose training involves, among others, the knowledge of the Egyptian language and scripts. It is appropriate to ask at this point if the high-ranking priests mentioned in this ritual would be originally Egyptian, educated in Egyptian temples. The presence of high-ranking Egyptian priests in the rest of the territories of the Roman Empire is attested in figures such as Chaeremon and Harnouphis. However, this period also began to see the spread of pseudo-hieroglyphic inscriptions even in Egypt[1076]. We also find cult objects of Roman origin such as the Mensa Isiaca (Tabula Bembina), which dates to the 1st century CE, and contains representations of rituals of Egyptian appearance, around a representation of Isis[1077]. Thus, the Egyptian cults outside of Egypt evolved in their own fashion, reinterpreting and reusing Egyptian imagery, but without its original sense. This needs to be kept in mind also in the analysis of the image of Egyptian priests in authors from the Graeco-Roman world. In this respect, the aforementioned description of the

[1074] Cf. JASNOW and ZAUZICH 2005; JASNOW and ZAUZICH 2014.
[1075] Cf. HOFFMANN and QUACK 2014: 147.
[1076] For the use of pseudo-hieroglyphs and the end of Egyptian writing, cf. STADLER 2008.
[1077] Cf. LEOSPO 1978.

life of the Egyptian priesthood in the Roman period by Chaeremon, being an Egyptian priest but writing in a Graeco-Roman context, is an invaluable source.

To conclude, in Apuleius we find a traditional description of an Egyptian priest in the character of Zatchlas, who behaves along the lines of what we have already seen both in Demotic and in Greek literature. Book 11, however, in presenting what seems to be an autobiographical account of Apuleius' own experience of initiation in the Isiac cult, offers a different view. The Egyptian priests are not characterized in a detailed way, but are presented in a ritual context that is minutely described, probably reflecting the real characteristics of the Isis cults in the Roman Empire in the 2nd century CE[1078].

4. Thessalos

Another work that features representations of Egyptian priests is the prologue to the astro-botanical treatise *De virtutibus herbarum*, which is presented in the form of a letter from the author to a Roman emperor[1079]. The treatise has survived in different manuscripts written in Greek and Latin, of which only Codex Matritensis Bibl. Nat. 4631, preserves the prologue in its entirety in Greek[1080]. The original composition of the text has been the subject of discussion. Recently, Moyer has used the astronomical data provided in the manuscript, which gives sign entries for the sun, in order to calculate the date of composition of the treatise. His conclusion gives a range between mid 1st century CE to early 3rd century CE, with the higher possibility in the

[1078] On the spread of the Egyptian cults in Italy and their characteristics, cf. MALAISE 1972.
[1079] On this format, cf. MOYER 2011: 247 footnote 160.
[1080] On the manuscript tradition cf. MOYER 2011: 211-212 and esp. footnote 10.

2nd century CE[1081]. Another problem of this treatise is its authorship. Although the prologue in the Madrid manuscript attributes the treatise to Harpokration of Alexandria, this seems to be a corruption deriving from the position of the text after a copy of Harpokration's *Kyranides*[1082]. From other Latin manuscripts, however, we know that it belongs to a Thessalos[1083]. The identity of the Roman emperor has also been a matter of debate and it is not clear[1084]. The letter tells in first person the story of how Thessalos compiled the treatise. After having studied "letters" in Asia, that is, after being trained as a grammarian, Thessalos went to Alexandria to expand his knowledge[1085]. There he searched in the libraries for medical materials to study before going back home, and he found a treatise on medical remedies based on stones and plants written by king Nechepsos[1086]. In his enthusiasm with the find he wrote home boasting about his newly-acquired and untested knowledge, only to find that the remedies did not work. He traveled around Egypt searching for the knowledge which he desired, and arrived at Thebes, where he started talking to the priests. He convinced one to induce a divine vision for him. In a sacred

[1081] MOYER 2015: 448. This is a revision of his calculations in MOYER 2011: 293-297. The first one to use the astronomical data of the text in order to calculate its date was Cumont in 1918, but his approach was not followed by other authors (cf. MOYER 2015: 438).

[1082] The main problem for this attribution is that Harpokration was from Alexandria, and the author of the letter clearly says that he travelled to Alexandria in order to complete his studies. This problem was already identified by P. Boudreaux in his edition of the Greek text, and connected it to another manuscript from the Vatican with a similar discussion of the hemlock, attributed to Thessalos the Astrologer (MOYER 2011: 212-213).

[1083] For the history of this discussion, cf. MOYER 2011: 212-213. Cumont identified this Thessalos with the Greek physician Thessalos of Tralles, but this has been questioned. Some authors have considered the work as pseudonymous, but Moyer convincingly questions the reason for it, since Thessalos of Tralles was not known for his astrological knowledge (MOYER 2011: 216). On the physician Thessalos of Tralles, cf. SMITH 1978: 174 footnote 12.

[1084] Most authors mention Claudius or Nero, but cf. Moyer's discussion of the different arguments MOYER 2011: 213-215.

[1085] This responds to the motif of the young intellectual that traveled to Egypt in order to acquire special knowledge, due to the reputation and antiquity of Egypt's wisdom. It was considered that this journey was necessary for any wise man's complete education, and in this tradition sages like Thales, Pythagoras, or Plato, were considered to have traveled to Egypt in order to study (cf. Plutarch *De Iside* 10). Thus, in Iamblichus' *Vita Pythagorica* 2.12, Thales advises the young Pythagoras to go to Egypt and study with the priests: "(Thales) urged him to sail to Egypt, and especially to meet with the priests in Memphis and Diospolis. For it was by these, he said, that he himself had been provided with the very things in virtue of which the multitude believed he was wise" (translation from DILLON and HERSHBELL 1991:39). On Roman visitors to Thebes cf. KLOTZ 2012b: 15-31, with footnote 1 for references on tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt.

[1086] On Nechepsos and Petosiris, and the identification of his name in Egyptian, in the Demotic narrative *Eine neue demotische* Erzählung, cf. RYHOLT 2011. On the Greek tradition on Nechepsos and Petosiris, cf. MOYER 2011: 231-234.

precinct of a deserted part of the city he prepared for the ritual, and once they were in the chamber prepared by the priest for it, Thessalos requested to see Asklepios, and asked the priest to let him be alone with the god. After the god appeared, Thessalos, in awe, asked him why Nechepsos' remedies did not work. Asklepios told him that Nechepsos had discovered the properties of the plants through his "noble nature," but did not know about the appropriate times and places to collect the plants. Thessalos, having brought papyrus and ink without the priest's knowledge, copied all the instructions given by the god. The body of the treatise consists of the presentation of the plants associated with zodiac signs, and detailed instructions on how to prepare the remedies with each one of them, which correspond, according to the introduction, to Nechepsos' treatise.

This text has been discussed from many different points of view, and used to support many different arguments[1087]. Here I will focus exclusively on the description of the Egyptian priests and their context. Thessalos' encounter with the Egyptian priests happens at his arrival at Thebes, which is described as the oldest city in Egypt[1088], having many temples, and populated by ἀρχι ιερεῖς φιλόλογοι "scholarly high priests"[1089] and <γέροντες> ποικίλοις κεκοσμηηένοι μαθήμασιν "<elders> adorned with subtle learning" (Thessalos I prooem. 12). The three aspects highlighted in this description are the intellectual character of the priests, their high rank, and also their old age. All these, as we have seen, are common elements in the depiction of priests in Graeco-Roman literature, applicable to Kalasiris, or to the priests with whom Apuleius interacts in the temple of Isis in *Metamorphoses* 11. Thessalos then says that he spent time with them so

[1087] The most recent comprehensive treatments of Thessalos are MOYER 2003 and 2011. Cf. FESTUGIÈRE 1939; SMITH 1978 and RITNER 1995: 3356-3358 in response to it. FOWDEN 1986: 162-165 also discusses Thessalos with respect to the context of the technical Hermetica. FRANKFURTER 1998 and DIELEMAN 2005 mention Thessalos in different sections.

[1088] As Stadler has noted, this does not respond to the indigenous Egyptian view, in which the oldest city was always Heliopolis (Cf. STADLER 2015: 395).

[1089] I quote here from Moyer's translation in MOYER 2011: 287-292. Greek text from FRIEDRICH 1968.

as to become closer with them. Once he had some familiarity he requested to know "if some sort of magical operation was still preserved" (εἴ τι τῆς μαγικῆς ἐνεργείας σῴζεται, Thessalos I prooem. 13)[1090]. The interpretation of the response of the priests is problematic, and has been taken, on the one hand, to mean that the priests were indignant at Thessalos' question, and on the other, that Thessalos was disappointed with the responses obtained from the majority of the priests, who would promise him things not fulfilling his expectations[1091]. I will discuss the implications of the first interpretation later. In any case, according to Thessalos there was only one priest διὰ τὸ <οὐ> σοβαρὸν τῶν ἠθῶν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας μέτρον πιστευθῆναι δυναμένου "who could be trusted because of the impressiveness of his character and the measure of his age" (Thessalos I prooem. 14). The priest is singled out from the others because of his solemnity and particularly because of his old age, which is equated with wisdom. This is once again the motif of the old Egyptian priest as symbol of the ancient knowledge of this civilization, transferring it to a younger disciple, in this case a foreigner. In the case of Thessalos, however, the priest actually acts as intermediary between the disciple and a higher master, the god Asklepios himself. This has been noticed by many authors, who have connected Thessalos treatise to the tradition of the Hermetica. The man is described as having αὐτοπτικὴν ἔχειν λεκάνης ἐνέργειαν "the power to effect a direct divine vision by means of a vessel" (Thessalos I prooem. 14), which is a common practice attested in the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri[1092].

[1090] Klotz remarks that in the Latin version Thessalos asks for "works of divination" (*si aliquod opus divinandi erat in civitate eorum*) (KLOTZ 2012b: 26; the Latin text is from FRIEDRICH 1968: 49).

[1091] The first interpretation follows an emendation by Cumont, and has been adopted by most scholars (cf. references in KLOTZ 2012b: 26 footnote 85), but Moyer in his new translation rejects the emendation and tranalates the text according to the second interpretation. For the philological details and references cf. MOYER 2011: 253 footnote 183. The problem that I see with Moyer's translation is the continuity of meaning with the following sentence, which says "but I was not shaken from the friendship of one of them," which seems to indicate that the other priests had terminated their friendship with Thessalos, and thus the first interpretation would make more sense.

[1092] Ritner mentions as examples P. Leiden I 384 vo. §3; P. London and Leiden §2; and P. Louvre E 3229 §13, cf. RITNER 1995a: 3357. Cf. in more detail MOYER 2011: 252-253. Cf. also chapter 3, section 1 for Nectanebo's lecanomancy in the *Alexander Romance*.

Thessalos and the priest go then to ἐν τοῖς ἐρμοτάτοις τόποις τῆς πόλεως "the most deserted parts of the city" and εἴς τι ἄλσος ἡσιχίᾳ βαθυτάτῃ περιεχόμενον "into a sacred precinct surrounded by the deepest silence" (Thessalos I prooem. 15 and 16). There Thessalos implores the priest to induce a vision for him. The priest consoles him gently, which is similar to the attitude that Lucius encounters from the priests in *Metamorphoses* 11. The priest is thus presented as a compassionate person, trying to procure good for those in need. This agrees with the moral prescriptions for the priesthood that appear in the descriptions of purity in the Egyptian context[1093]. He then commands him to follow purification prescriptions for three days, necessary for the participation in a ritual[1094]. The ritual is described as taking place in a οἶκος καθαρός "pure chamber" (Thessalos I prooem. 21) that has been prepared with everything necessary for its performance. The priest asks Thessalos who will be the object of his inquiry, giving the soul of a dead man or a god as options. The first option reminds one of the conversations with ghosts in Demotic literature, such as the one in the preserved beginning of the *Story of Peteisis*[1095]. Thessalos replies that he would like to speak with the god μόνῳ μοι πρὸς μόνον "one on one" (Thessalos I prooem. 22), which has been connected with the personal experience of the divine of the Neoplatonic theurgists[1096]. The priest invokes the god and leaves the chamber, closing the door after him. This is his last appearance[1097]. An interesting aspect of the end of the revelation, which is only preserved in a few versions, is the request of the god that he may keep both

[1093] On the Egyptian conceptions of purity, cf. QUACK 2012.
[1094] In book 11 of the *Metamorphoses* the number of days is ten (*Metamorphoses* 11.30).
[1095] Cf. chapter 2, section 2.1.
[1096] Cf. SMITH 1978: 180 and references in footnote 40.
[1097] Moyer indicates that the story of Thessalos continues in the medieval Latin copies of the text as an epilogue in which the god ascends to heaven after the vision, and Thessalos is dismissed by the priest, but Thessalos asks him to go with him "so as to prove with me the power of the herbs transmitted to me by the god" (MOYER 2011: 263 footnote 222). Here Moyer interprets that Thessalos asks the priest to go with him to Alexandria, "and they departed from Thebes almost as colleagues" (MOYER 2011: 263). Although from the text it can be interpreted that the priest went to Alexandria with Thessalos, since the collection of plants seems to take place there, the nuance of being "almost as colleagues" is absent, since the priest is not mentioned again: "And after the time for collecting herbs arrived, I came to Alexandria and collecting plants containing sap, I demonstrated the greater power and found it to be as was proclaimed" (MOYER 2011: 263-264 footnote 222).

Nechepsos' text and the new revelation away from the multitude[1098]. This brings to mind the attitude of Setne in *Setne I*, who after obtaining the book of Thoth, spent his days reading from it aloud to everyone. In both cases, the knowledge comes directly from a deity, who authorizes only a select group of people to have access to it. The deities in question, Asklepios in the case of Thessalos, and Thoth in the case of Setne, are furthermore the two main figures of the Hermetica and appear prominently in the *Book of Thoth*.

There are two aspects that I want to highlight from this passage, which have been the object of controversy. The first one is the context of the Egyptian priests in Thebes. Although Thessalos describes first the city of Thebes as containing many temples, populated by scholarly priests, the indication that he took the priest later to "the most deserted parts of the city" has made many scholars argue that Thebes was then a city in decadence. J. Z. Smith, in his chapter "The Temple and the Magician," asserts that: "The Thebes described by Thessalos is not the 'golden city', the center of wealth and wisdom imagined by most writers of this genre. It is rather a realistic portrait of the city in Late Antiquity, such as we find in Strabo, a shadow of its former glory, with a handful of religious specialist inhabiting a few ruined temples" and describes the priests as "a group of timid old men who are shocked by the "rashness" of Thessalos' query as to whether the "energizing power of magic still exists""[1099]. This description of Thebes is not based on what the text says, which in fact does not give any details of the state of the "many temples." It equally does not reflect the actual description of the priests, since only one of them, the one that helps Thessalos, is described as being old (and singled out from the others through that description). The idea that they are "timid" is also a conjecture that depends only on the reading of the difficult passage concerning the reaction of the priests, and even if the first reading is

[1098] For references to the manuscripts that preserve the end of the revelation, and a copy of the Greek text with Moyer's translation, cf. MOYER 2011: 254-255 footnote 187.
[1099] SMITH 1978: 178-179.

taken, the priests reject Thessalos in a way that is not timid. This interpretation of the text is imposed on it due to an image of the city derived from the reading of other ancient authors, which Smith also cites, such as Strabo, and a modern scholarly tradition of understanding of them[1100]. Smith interprets Strabo's *Geography* 17.1.46 as describing the city as "a shadow of its former glory, with a handful of religious specialists inhabiting a few ruined temples"[1101]. This is again an overinterpretation of what the actual text says. It is important to keep in mind that Strabo visited the city in year 27-26 BCE. The elements of his description that have led Smith to his interpretation are the idea that of its numerous temples many were damaged by Cambyses, and that at the moment of his visit the city was composed of "a collection of villages" (κωμηδὸν σινοικεῖται)[1102] on each bank of the river. From this J. Z. Smith understands that the temples were "a few ruined temples"[1103]. D. Klotz, in his study of the temples of Roman Thebes, comments on this passage and says that the key issue lies in the interpretation of κωμηδὸν σινοικεῖται and gives references to the authors that have formed a negative vision of the prosperity of the city based on them[1104]. He counteracts this argument, asserting that the structure of Thebes based on small communities goes back to the New Kingdom, to its moment of peak of prosperity[1105]. Even if this argument may not be too strong due to the lack of archaeological evidence, it is true that a particular type of urban organization as appreciated by someone like Strabo, used to different urban patterns, cannot be used as evidence for urban decay. As for the damage by Cambyses, Klotz indicates that the verb used, ἀκρωτηριάζω[1106], means "to mutilate, to amputate", which does not necessarily imply that the temples were completely destroyed, but

[1100] Smith refers to Bataille's description of the city as a "ville musée" in the Roman period.
[1101] SMITH 1978: 178.
[1102] Translation and Greek text from JONES 1932:122-123.
[1103] SMITH 1978: 178 footnote 30.
[1104] KLOTZ 2012b: 16-17.
[1105] KLOTZ 2012b: 17 and footnote 17 for archaeological references on the urban structure of the city. He remarks, however, that there is not much archaeological evidence outside of the temples.
[1106] Klotz gives ἀκροθριάζω (KLOTZ 2012b: 16).

that parts of them had been removed. Here I would like to add that one of the historical events that became a literary *topos* in Demotic literature was the looting of temples and removal of statues from them. K. Ryholt, in his study of a passage of the *Life of Imhotep* (P. Carlsberg 85), described it as a "severe trauma," and stated that "the retrieval of exiled divine images is a well-attested topos in literature and propaganda during the Greco-Roman period"[1107]. Although the enemies in this narrative are the Assyrians, who became the foreign enemy *par excellence* in Demotic narratives[1108], the looting took place also during the Persian Period[1109]. Thus, Strabo's comment in *Geography* 17.1.46 may actually refer to this tradition told by one of his guides while he was visiting the temples in Thebes, perhaps pointing to some supposedly absent statues, and not a general impression of decay of the temples. These two points invalidate the use of Strabo as justification for the description of the Theban temples as being in decay during his visit (1st century CE), and therefore this text cannot be used as support for the same interpretation in the case of Thessalos, where the evidence is also inexistent.

Concerning the passage that says that Thessalos took the priest to a sacred enclosure in a deserted area of the city, there is also nothing in the text that indicates that this was a temple in ruins. Several scholars have tried to identify where the vision takes place, proposing places such as the shrine of Amenhotep son of Hapu and Imhotep in Deir el-Bahri, the temple of Ptah in Karnak, or the temple of Thoth, Imhotep, and Amenhotep son of Hapu in Qasr el-'Aguz[1110]. The

[1107] RYHOLT 2009b: 308. Also in RYHOLT 2004: 500-501, referring to the *Life of Imhotep* as well.
[1108] Cf. RYHOLT 2004. The Persians are also depicted as enemies in Demotic texts, as in the *Demotic Chronicle*. These anti-Persian feelings were often used by the Ptolemies to present themselves as liberators, cf. the Satrap Stela of Ptolemy I (GOZZOLI 2006: 133).
[1109] The return of the images of the gods taken by the Persians is mentioned in the Satrap Stela, and also in the decrees of Canopus and Raphia. For a contextualization of the removing of statues of gods as a common in the ancient Near East, and particularly for case of Egypt and the Persians, cf. GOZZOLI 2006: 133-138. Ryholt notes that together with the statues, the Persians took with them writings form the Egyptian temple libraries. Ptolemy I in the Satrap Stela emphasize the fact tht he returned these writings (RYHOLT 2013b: 24).
[1110] MOYER 2011: 250-252 gives all these different options but does not express a particular preference for any of them. Klotz, on the other hand, reviews the hypothesis of Kákosy, who proposed the temple of Ptah in Karnak as the

room in which the ritual takes place is just referred to as οἶκος καθαρός "pure house" (Thessalos I prooem. 21). This has been again the source of tremendous controversy, and used as proof for the hypothesis that at this point a change from a temple-based religion to a mobile religion with a mobile magician and mobile divinity was taking place. Although I will discuss this important issue in detail in chapter 7, I want to examine the specifics of the passage in Thessalos here. Smith, following his general interpretation of Thebes in decay, considers that the term οἶκος is evidence that the divination is actually not taking place in a temple, but an "ordinary dwelling which has been specially prepared and purified (thus, simply, a room); or, less likely, but more tempting, a special construction for the occasion"[1111]. He, however, concedes that οἶκος can also refer to a temple, but discards this meaning swiftly and without justification. The word οἶκος has the basic meaning of any dwelling-place, including a room or chamber in a temple. The adjective καθαρός modifying it seems to point to this direction, and reminds of the name of a particular area of the Graeco-Roman temples called *wꜥb.t*, literally "the pure one", and associated with the celebration of the New Year[1112]. However, Thessalos' text seems to refer to any chamber in the temple that had been the object of purification rituals[1113]. J. Z. Smith is clearly biased by his own theoretical model of the decentralization of the cult[1114]. Moyer has remarked that if the οἰκός is actually a chamber in the temple, the description that Thessalos offers would not be unusual for the common practice of Egyptian temples[1115].

---

place of the divination, and rejects it with the argument that access to the interior of the temple would be restricted only to some priests. Instead, he proposes the shrine of Imhotep and Amenhotep son of Hapu in Deir el-Bahari, which was accessible to non-Egyptians, as the numerous graffiti left on the walls show (KLOTZ 2012b: 27). Although this hypothesis is attractive, I would stay cautious and consider the different options as Moyer thus, since the text is not explicit in its description of the place.

[1111] SMITH 1978: 181.

[1112] Cf. ARNOLD 1999: 277.

[1113] The interpretation of the expression as indicating a chamber in a temple was already expressed by Festugière, correcting his previous interpretation as "house," as Smith indicates (SMITH 1978: 181 footnote 43).

[1114] Described in detail also in SMITH 1995 and SMITH 2003.

[1115] MOYER 2011: 261 footnote 215.

Considering that the text clearly says that the οἰκός is in a "sacred precinct" (Thessalos I prooem. 16), I am more inclined to interpret it as a chamber in a temple. The fact that the place is described as "surrounded by the deepest silence" does not imply that this was an abandoned temple, since silence is presented as one of the characteristics of the literary descriptions of the Egyptian priesthood in this period[1116]. This description would just increase the solemnity of the place.

The second aspect to consider, which is connected to the interpretation of the context of the priests just reviewed, concerns the image of Egyptian wisdom and magic depicted in the text, and how it has been interpreted. Going back to J. Z. Smith's interpretation of the Egyptian priests, where he understood them as a group of timid old men, his interpretation depends on the understanding of the text according to the first translation that I noted before, in which the priests react in a negative way to Thessalos' query. J. Z. Smith points out that other scholars believed that the priests' reaction was due to the Roman legislation against magic, but he asserts that the reason why the priests reacted in that way to his question is due to their loss of faith in the efficacy of magic[1117]. This opinion is similar to that held by Baumbach in the case of Kalasiris' explanation of the two kinds of Egyptian wisdom[1118], and it is, in my opinion, equally incorrect. Ritner has strongly disagreed with Smith's opinion. He highlights the importance that *ḥk3* had in Egyptian religion, and the temple context of the magical papyri of this period. He considers more plausible the interpretation of fear of Roman law[1119]. Ritner also emphasizes that Smith uses this disbelief in magic as proof for his argument of the decentralization of the cult, in which

[1116] Chaeremon indicates that the priest led a quiet life, and describes the purification and fasting of the priests as taking place individually while they are separated in different chambers (VAN DER HORST 1984: 16-19).
[1117] SMITH 1978: 179: "rather it is his faith in the continued efficacy of magic itself–a faith which the priests had evidently lost."
[1118] BAUMBACH 2008: 177. Cf. the analysis of Kalasiris in this chapter, section 1.1.1.
[1119] RITNER 1995: 3357.

"Thessalos and his "room" have replaced the archaic complex of king, priest and temple"[1120], which Ritner emphasizes is not correct. Ritner rightly points out that "the magician responsible for the vision was definitely not Thessalos but the traditional Egyptian priest trained in traditional temple practice." Moyer has a different take on this issue and thinks that Thessalos actually "appropriates an Egyptian priestly identity and turns it to advantage in the Roman imperial context"[1121] He interprets Thessalos' experience as having gone through an initiation process that turns him into a magician, "since entering sacred space and encountering the image of the god constituted the primary features of Egyptian priestly initiation"[1122]. He concedes, however, that the divination rite "was not in itself an initiation"[1123], but that Thessalos had transformed the meaning of the ritual through his narrative, presenting the divination as a process in which he had had access to restricted knowledge. The central aspect of Egyptian initiation, as it is best seen in the *Book of Thoth*, is the acquisition of knowledge[1124]. One can argue, as Moyer has done, that through the vision Thessalos has had access to this restricted knowledge. However, this would not be an initiation at the level of an Egyptian priest, in the same way as Lucius' initiation in the *Metamorphoses* does not place him at the same level as the priests who perform the ritual. Thessalos is still the disciple in this initiation, even when the master in the process changes from the priest to the god himself. This ambiguity god/priest seems to also be present in the *Book of Thoth,* in which the identity of "He-of-Heseret" can be interpreted as Thoth himself, or as a priest taking this role[1125]. Moyer identifies Thessalos with Petosiris in the Nechepsos/Petosiris tradition, as in the case of P. CtYBR 422 + P. Lund 2058, where Peteisis

[1120] SMITH 1978: 183.
[1121] MOYER 2011: 248.
[1122] MOYER 2011: 249.
[1123] MOYER 2011: 249.
[1124] "The Book of Thoth revolves around the acquisition of knowledge" (JASNOW and ZAUZICH 2005: 61). On knowledge in the *Book of Thot,* cf. JASNOW and ZAUZICH 2005: 61-65.
[1125] On the union of the priest and the god in the recitation of a text in Egyptian cult, cf. ASSMANN 1995; also mentioned, in the context of Iamblichus, by QUACK 2008: 254.

(whom Ryholt identifies as the same as Petosiris[1126]) interprets a treatise written by Imhotep for king Nechepsos. Although I agree with the interpretation that Thessalos' claim of having completed Nechepsos' treatise places him in the Nechepsos/Petosiris tradition, as a way of legitimizing his treatise, I am reluctant to see in the prologue an intentional substitution of the role of the priest by Thessalos through the direct encounter with the god. Thessalos' claim of initiate-status would be at the same level as the experiences of Lucius in the *Metamorphoses*, who is a *pastophoros*, and Eukrates in the *Philopseudes,* whose access to restricted knowledge is partial, and thus renders the spell he had learned useless. Moyer's last argument that the treatise can be seen as a commodity, the result of cultural appropriation, and thus having "some sort of detrimental effect on the originary culture"[1127] does not apply in the case of this text, since Thessalos' wisdom is never equated to that of the priest (Thessalos is unable, for example, to summon a god).

5. Harnouphis and the "miraculous rain"

An Egyptian priest that often appears in the discussions about the use of magic in the Roman Empire is Harnouphis, who is known through a brief reference in Xiphilinus' epitome of book LXXI of Cassius Dio's *Historiae Romanae* (LXXI.8.4)[1128]. In it he is said to have caused a miraculous rain that saved the troops of Marcus Aurelius during a battle against the Quadi in Germania in the summer of year 172 CE[1129]. According to Cassius Dio through the epitomist, the

[1126] Cf. RYHOLT 2011: 70.
[1127] MOYER 2011: 268.
[1128] Xiphilinus' epitome dates to the 11th century. Cassius Dio wrote around 200-220, about 30-50 years after the events of the miraculous rain (GUEY 1948: 59).
[1129] Other versions of the story make different attributions of the miracle, such as the reliefs in the Colonna Aureliana, which represents the rain as an old man (cf. GUEY 1948: 58), or to the prayers of Marcus Aurelius himself (cf. GUEY 1948: 60 and footnote 2).

Romans had been surrounded by the barbarians and were struggling due to the heat and thirst, when suddenly it started to rain. The text describes Harnouphis as an Egyptian μάγος in the entourage of Marcus Aurelius (συνόντα τῷ Μάρκῳ), and recounts that he summoned some deities (δαίμονας) and especially Hermes-Aerios (τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν ἀέριον) through magical arts (μαγγανείαις τισὶν)[1130].

In an artice published in 1948, Guey analyzed this passage, and linked it to an inscription on an altar found in Aquileia in 1934, which is a dedication in Greek by a Ἀρνοῦφις ἱερογραμματεὺς τῆς Αἰγύπτου and a Terentius Priscus, to the Goddess Ἐπιφανής, identified with Isis[1131]. He proposes that the inscription and Cassius Dio's passage refer to the same person, since the inscription appears to date to the same period[1132], and the name Harnouphis was not common[1133]. Since the publication of this article, however, more attestations of the name have been found, both in Egyptian (*ḥr-nfr*) and in Greek[1134]. However, the location of the inscription and the designation of Harnouphis in it as ἱερογραμματεύς make Guey's hypothesis possible[1135]. Guey reconstructs the biography of Harnouphis based on these data and the events of Marcus Aurelius' reign, placing his arrival to Rome in year 167, in which Marcus Aurelius summoned priests from all over the empire to Rome in order to fight the plague[1136]. He then probably joined the army of Marcus Aurelius and offered the inscription to Isis at Aquileia when the army was stationed there in the winter of 168-169, in an attempt to stop the plague[1137]. Guey asserts that the inscription was dedicated before the episode of the rain, since if it had been made after, it would

[1130] For the Greek text I am using DINDORF 1864.
[1131] GUEY 1948: 22. For a line drawing of the inscription, cf. GUEY 1948: 20 fig. 1.
[1132] Cf. GUEY 1948: 22 footnote 5.
[1133] Cf. GUEY 1948: 22 and footnote 4.
[1134] Trismegistos People lists 98 attestations in Egyptian and 29 in Greek (28 as Ἀρνοῦφις and 1 as Ἀρνούφης) [www.trismegistos.org/name/280, last accessed in 08/25/2017].
[1135] The identification has been accepted by many scholars, cf. i.e. POSENER 1951: 168, SAUNERON 2000: 164, IVERSEN 1961: 53.
[1136] Cf. GUEY 1948: 30-31.
[1137] Cf. GUEY 1948: 46.

have been more elaborate due to Harnouphis' reputation[1138]. In the summer of 172 the miraculous rain happened, and in 173 it was commemorated by the minting of coins that depict Hermes in a shrine of Egyptian appearance[1139]. Guey thinks this shrine was erected in Rome, and with the legend RELIG*io* AVG*usti*, which commemorates a special link between the emperor and the god[1140].

Guey also analyzed the identity of the god mentioned by Cassius Dio, Hermes-Aerios, and proposed an identification with Thoth-Shu, which was later corrected by Posener, who indicated that it is not necessary to create such a combination, since the god Thoth was powerful enough to create such a miracle by himself. He added, however, that one of Thoth's epithets is "the one who gives the wind," and so perhaps this could be the aspect highlighted with the epithet Aerios[1141]. In any case, the Egyptian identity of the god seems to be clear; Posener lists a series of examples in which Egyptian gods are connected to episodes of rainfall, including the magical contest of Horus son of Paneshe in *Setne II*, already mentioned by Guey[1142]. The identity of the god as Thoth, together with Harnouphis' self-identification as a ἱερογραμματεύς and his reputation that led him to be in the entourage of the emperor, raise the possibility that he could have been part of the high-ranking priests that may have composed, studied, and taught the Hermetica[1143].

The most interesting element of the mention of Harnouphis for the present study is that Cassius Dio designated him as μάγος, and his performance as μαγγανεία, which is often translated as "trickery" in a magical context. Guey states that it is not clear if the term μάγος had

[1138] Cf. GUEY 1948: 22 footnote 1.
[1139] Cf. GUEY 1948: 42 fig. 2.
[1140] Cf. GUEY 1948: 41
[1141] POSENER 1951: 165-166.
[1142] Cf. POSENER 1951: 162-163.
[1143] For the Hermetica, cf. chapter 3, section 3.

a negative connotation for Cassius Dio, while γόης was definitely always negative, equivalent of charlatan (and he applies it to Apollonios of Tyana). This has been used by some authors such as Frankfurter to present the story of Harnouphis as a proof of his hypothesis of stereotype appropriation: "In Roman times there is no better historical example of Egyptian priests acquiring a "magical: role through itinerant service than Harnouphis, the priest who accompanied Marcus Aurelius in Germany and whom Cassius Dio describes specifically as *magos*"[1144]. However, there are two elements that Frankfurter is not considering, and that invalidate his argument. First, although Cassius Dio designates Harnouphis as a μάγος, he presents himself in the dedicatory inscription as a ἱερογραμματεύς, this is, as an Egyptian priest associated with the sacred writings of the Egyptian temples. The second element is that he was not an "itinerant magician" according to Frankfurter's description of such figures[1145], but a member of the entourage of the emperor, who according to his designation had been trained in Egypt and was probably only temporarily in Rome. A parallel example would be Chaeremon, who spent some years in Rome as Nero's tutor before returning to Egypt. The fact that Cassius Dio designated him as μάγος is not an indication of how he presented himself, and the performance of the "miraculous rain" fits with the practices that are attested in Egyptian religion and in Demotic literature, as indicated by Posener. Furthermore, the commemoration of the "miracle rain" by Marcus Aurelius through the minting of coins with the image of Hermes-Mercury-Thoth demonstrates that his interpretation of the episode was as a divine event, and not as an act of sorcery, since the emperor despised these[1146], and distinguished them from legitimate

[1144] FRANKFURTER 1998: 236-237.
[1145] For a detailed analysis and refutation of this model, cf. chapter 7.
[1146] Cf. i.e. *Meditations* I.6.2, I.16.18, VII.51.1 (cited in GUEY 1948: 25 footnote 3).

cultic acts[1147]. In the *Suda,* Harnouphis is designated as a φιλόσοφος[1148], like other priests such as Chaeremon and Manetho[1149].

6. Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride*

Plutarch[1150], a Greek from Chaeroneia in Boeotia, who lived from *c*. 45 to *c*. 125 CE[1151], described the characteristics of the Egyptian priests in his work *De Iside et Osiride*. For my present analysis it is interesting to observe that he was the student of Ammonios, who according to Eunapios was from Egypt and had moved to Athens, where he became a teacher of philosophy and was elected *strategos* at least three times[1152]. He was not an Egyptian priest, like his contemporary Chaeremon, and instead appears to have been a devotee of Apollo[1153]. Dillon has proposed that perhaps Plutarch's dualist thought, especially present in the *De Iside et Osiride*, and his knowledge of Persian religion may have been taught to him by Ammonios, although the evidence about him comes only from his apperarance, fictional or not, and told by Plutarch himself, as participant of some of his dialogues. Plutarch belonged to a good family and became himself a priest of Apollo at Delphi around 100 CE, which gave him a direct insight into Greek religion. He was also a Platonist, but his philosophy shows also Pythagorean[1154] and Stoic

[1147] Cf. POTTER 2004: 30.
[1148] *s.v.* Ἄρνουφις and Ἰουλιανός.
[1149] Cf. chapter 3, section 2.
[1150] A new book on Plutarch and his connection with Egypt has just been published, edited by ERLER and STADLER (2017), but unfortunately, at the moment of the completion of this dissertation I have not been able to consult it.
[1151] DILLON 1977: 185-186.
[1152] On Ammonios cf. JONES 1967, who reconstructs the historical evidence for his life. For the characteristics of his philosophical thought, cf. DILLON 1977: 189-192.
[1153] JONES 1967: 211.
[1154] Dillon cites as Pythagorean influences Plutarch's interest in the symbolism of numbers, his objection to eating meat during his youth, or his defense of the rationality of animals (DILLON 1977: 186-187 with references to particular passages in his works).

influences, even though he actively criticized the latter[1155]. This combination gave him a particular take on mythology, which he approached from a rational point of view[1156]. According to Griffiths, in *De Iside et Osiride* "a serious attempt is made to follow the avowed aim of adapting the Egyptian theology to the Platonic philosophy, using rational and allegorical explanations as his chief means"[1157]. As for which sources Plutarch used in his approach to Egyptian religion, he actually went to Egypt and collected testimonies from the priests and other Egyptians, which he marks explicitly in the text with expressions like "the priests say"[1158]. However, Griffiths observes that most of his sources seem to be literary, and indicates that in some cases the testimonies of the priests seem to have been collected from written sources[1159]. Among these written sources identified by Plutarch himself there are many Greek authors, but Manetho is also mentioned, which constitutes an Egyptian priestly source of high level. As Griffith has compiled, Plutarch makes more than thirty references to elements in the Egyptian language, which display real knowledge not only of the words in themselves, but also of their hieroglyphic orthography in the Roman period. This shows that his sources, either oral or written, had to be of the higher priestly ranks. Manetho is definitely part of these, but there were probably more. As I have indicated already, Plutarch was a contemporary of Chaeremon, and his description of the characteristics of the Egyptian priests, as I will describe shortly, corresponds in many respects to that given by the Egyptian priest, even though he does not appear as one of Plutarch's sources. The philosophizing character of Egyptian religion in Plutarch is also similar to Chaeremon's description.

[1155] For a list of his treatises against the Stoics and the Epicureans, cf. DILLON 1977: 187.
[1156] GRIFFITHS 1970: 19.
[1157] GRIFFITHS 1970: 32.
[1158] GRIFFITHS 1970: 101 with references.
[1159] GRIFFITHS 1970: 101-102. Griffith remarks here that while the priestly sources of Herodotus seem, according to Spiegelberg, to have been priest of lower ranks, it is not clear if this is the case for Plutarch.

It is important to remark that Plutarch portrays the Egyptian cult as practiced in his time in Egypt, which is different from what we have seen with Apuleius. It is not clear, however, if Plutarch himself was initiated into the mysteries of Osiris. Griffiths has written that he makes a series of references to elements of the rites that should not be mentioned, and makes a distinction between the myth accessible to all and the ritual reserved for the initiates[1160]. Griffith remarks that the way the cult of Osiris was practiced by the Greeks in Egypt adapted elements from the other Mystery cults, particularly in reference to initiation: "The conception of initiation, formerly restricted to priests, was now extended to all participants. This can be regarded as both broadening and narrowing the basis of the cult. On the other hand, the secret rites were now shared by all the participants, priesthood and laity; on the other hand, the process of initiation probably restricted entry to some extent, and the vow of secrecy was imposed on all initiates, whereas formerly a general participation in the cult was open to anyone, but a knowledge of the *arcana* was limited to the priestly few"[1161]. This brings back once more the issues of initiation already highlighted in the case of Lucius, Eukrates with respect to Pankrates, or Thessalos and the Theban priest. As in those cases, Plutarch did not know Egyptian, which is the main element that seems to distinguish all these initiates or presumed initiates, from the real Egyptian priests who had direct access to the wisdom recorded in the temple libraries. It is perhaps not accidental that the majority of the copies of the *Book of Thoth,* a ritual of initiation into the scribal knowledge, and thus restricted to the highest echelons of the Egyptian priesthood, date to the 1st and 2nd centuries CE, and thus were contemporary with all these Graeco-Roman sources. An initiation into the knowledge of the kind described in the *Book of Thoth* would be the main difference between a regular initiate of the kind shown by the Graeco-Roman sources, and the

[1160] GRIFFITHS 1970: 96-98.
[1161] GRIFFITHS 1970: 67.

initiation required to become an Egyptian priest. This is in accord with the documentary evidence of the requirement of knowledge of hieratic and perhaps hieroglyphs for access to the priestly office, as attested in P. Tebtunis II 291 Fr. b 2.41-43[1162]. Further evidence for this comes from the temples of the Graeco-Roman period, where we read instructions such as  *m bs ḥr*[*-nb*[1163]] *jw.tj rḫ m zš* "Do not initiate anyone who is not versed in the (sacred) writings", which comes from the temple of Dendera, and can also be found in Kom Ombo[1164].

Although references to the Egyptian priests are interspersed throughout the treatise, it is mainly in chapters 3 to 9 that Plutarch offers a detailed account of their life. Before this, in chapter 2 Plutarch presents the intellectual search for truth about the gods, which he considers more important than purification and temple ritual. This praise of knowledge is connected to Isis, whom he presents as a goddess of wisdom, responsible for the transmission of the "sacred word" (τὸν ἱερὸν λόγον[1165]) to those who are being initiated (τοῖς τελουμένοις). In his commentary, Griffiths states that the interpretation of this expression is complicated, and gives parallels to its use that suggest that it could be a religious narrative or doctrine, or even sealed writings[1166]. The characteristics of the process are an ascetic life, and the realization of "austere and difficult services in sacred rites" (ἀθρύπτους δὲ καὶ στερρὰς ἐν ἱεροῖς λατρείας), and its goal to access "the knowledge of the First and the Lord, whom only the mind can understand" (ἡ τοῦ

[1162] P. Tebtunis II 291 Fr. b 2.41-43: [ἀπ]όδειξιν δοὺς τοῦ ἐπίστασθαι [ἱε]ρατικὰ [καὶ] Αἰγύπτια γράμ[ματ]α ἐξ ἧς οἱ ἱερογραμματεῖς προήνενκαν βίβλιου ἱερατικῆς "having given proof of knowledge of hieratic and Egyptian writing from a hieratic book presented by the hierogrammateis" (GRENFELL, HUNT and GOODSPEED 1907: 57-58).
[1163] Or *m bs ḥr* [*nṯr*] "do not lead into the god" (FAIRMAN 1958: 87).
[1164] For the hieroglyphic text, cf. SAUNERON 1962: 56. Also discussed in FAIRMAN 1958: 87, from whom I have borrowed the English translation.
[1165] Greek text and translations from GRIFFITHS 1970. Throughout my analysis I refer mostly to Griffiths commentary of the text. A previous commentary is HOPFNER 1940.
[1166] Cf. GRIFFITHS 1970: 260.

πρώτου καῖ κυρίου καὶ νοητοῦ γνῶσις). This seems to fit within Plutarch's philosophical monotheism[1167]. Thus, the culmination of the process of initiation is the access to the goddess and through it to the knowledge of the nature of the divine. In this description, which shares many elements with the initiation of Lucius in the *Metamorphoses*, several elements correspond to the normal descriptions of the priestly way of life: abstinence, participation in the cult of the temple, and closeness to the gods. This last aspect is present as well in Kalasiris' description of the superior type of Egyptian wisdom, corresponding to that of the priests who have been initiated since childhood: "it keeps company with the gods and partakes of the nature of the Great Ones" (θεῶν συνόμιλος καὶ φύσεως κρειττόνων μέτοχος, *Aithiopika* 3.16.4[1168]).

Moving on to chapter 3, Plutarch mentions two types of priests, the ἱεραφόροι ("Bearers of the Sacred Vessels")[1169] and the ἱεροστόλοι ("Keepers of the Sacred Vestments")[1170], whom Griffiths equates in his commentary with the στολισταί. These two types of priests are said to carry in their soul the sacred lore about the gods "as in a box", an interesting expression since books were kept in boxes, and in particular the book of Thoth in *Setne I* is described as being in a series of nested boxes (*Setne I* 3.17-19)**[1171]**. Both types of priests are put in the same level here, although according to the description in Clement of Alexandria, the στολισταί were the most important class of priests after the προφῆται, while if the ἱεραφόροι are like the παστοφόροι, they would be temple personnel perhaps assisting in some areas of the cult, but not belonging to the priesthood. It is not one of the normal priestly classes listed in the bilingual decrees or in the list of Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata* 6.4.35.3-37.3). Griffiths considers the κανηφόροι of the

[1167] For Plutarch's conception of God, cf. DILLON 1977: 199. Also GRIFFITHS 1970: 19-20.
[1168] Translation from MORGAN 2008: 422; Greek text from RATTENBURY and LUMB 1960: 119.
[1169] Commentary in GRIFFITHS 1970: 265-266.
[1170] Commentary in GRIFFITHS 1970: 266-267.
[1171] Here comes to mind as well the find of the Middle Kingdom magical library of the Ramesseum, which was kept in a box with a recumbent jackal on its lid, forming the hieroglyph  *ḥr.j sšt3* "keeper of secrets" (*Wb*. 4, 298.22-299.13). For this find and its contents cf. RITNER 1993: 222-225).

decrees as a minor class of ἱεροφόροι[1172], but his argument on the παστοφόροι is now out of date[1173].

An important statement follows in chapter 3 concerning the appearance of the philosopher and "true devotee of Isis" (Ἰσιακός ... ὡς ἀληθῶς): "For it is not the cultivation of a beard, Clea, and the wearing of a threadbare cloak that make a philosopher, nor does dressing in linen and all manner of shaving make an Isiac devotee; the true devotee of Isis is he who, whenever he hears the traditional view of what is displayed and done with regard to these gods, examines and investigates rationally what truth there may be in it" (λόγῳ ζητῶν καὶ φιλοσοφῶν περὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀληθείας). Here Plutarch highlights as the main characteristic of the devotees of Isis the knowledge to be able to interpret Egyptian mythology allegorically. This description can be connected with Kalasiris, high priest of Isis in the *Aithiopika*, who is presented by Heliodoros as a Platonist allegorist, performing this kind of interpretation both with respect to the traditional Egyptian wisdom when asked by other philosophers, and to the verses of Homer. It is interesting to observe that in his first appearance he is described with the characteristics of a philosopher (long hair and beard, Greek clothes) but, despite being dressed as such, he soon demonstrates his status as high-ranking Egyptian priest through his knowledge. It would not be unreasonable to think that Heliodoros might have had this passage in mind when composing Kalasiris' first presentation. Concerning the terminology, Plutarch does not use here the word ἱερεύς, but afterwards in the beginning of chapter 4 he connects the idea of shaving the hair and wearing linen clothes to the priests (ἐφ' ὅτῳ τὰς τρίχας οἱ ἱερεῖς ἀποτίθενται καὶ λινᾶς ἐσθῆτας φοροῦσιν, "why it is that the priests cut off their hair and wear linen clothes,"

[1172] GRIFFITHS 1970: 266 footnote 3.
[1173] Cf. HOFFMANN and QUACK 2014.

De Iside 4). It is not clear if Plutarch distinguishes here two levels of initiation or not[1174]. Returning to the first statement, since the description that Plutarch presents of the priests/devotees is that of an inquisitive mind characteristic of the philosophers, the superfluity of their external appearance justifies the unification of both figures, philosopher and priest, in one person. This follows Plutarch's initial argument that the knowledge of the divine is the most important thing, even more important than the temple rituals, which require the purifications described in this passage, that is, the shaving of the hair and the donning of linen clothes. This could be used as a distinction between a general initiate and a priest with higher knowledge, despite the adoption of the same appearance of the latter by the former.

Chapter 4, thus, focuses specifically on the priests. Here Plutarch gives an explanation for the purity prescriptions of shaving and wearing linen, and discards the veneration of the sheep as a reason for not wearing wool, indicating that the real reason is that wool is the hair of animals, and thus represents the "surplus matter" (περίττομα) that needs to be removed. Since human hair is shaven, animal hair should not be worn. The avoidance of wool was also a Pythagorean element[1175]. Chapter 5 begins the description of the dietary prescriptions of the priests, declaring that they generally abstain from legumes and meat from sheep and swine. Griffiths comments that Pythagoras seems to have taken the prohibition of beans from Egypt, but there does not seem to be specific Egyptian evidence for it, since beans were offered to the gods and produced in large quantities in Egypt[1176]. Thus, this might actually be an original Pythagorean element. In the other descriptions of dietary prescriptions analyzed above, a different selection of the animals

[1174] Cf. Griffiths' commentary, where he suggests that Plutarch distinguishes between priests and initiates of Isis "Plutarch, however, is concerned not with the priests but with the Isiac initiates in general [...] It may be assumed that the priestly rule was later applied to initiates," but then indicates that with Ἰσιακός "Plutarch is referring mainly to the priests. The word implies a follower or devotee or initiate of the goddess (including, especially, the priest)" (GRIFFITHS 1970: 269 for all the references).
[1175] Cf. GRIFFITH 1970: 271.
[1176] GRIFFITH 1970: 272.

included in the prohibition is given[1177]. Plutarch adds that they would also abstain in their periods of purification[1178] from salt in the food[1179]. The reason given for the dietary prescriptions is a dualistic one that regards the body as a weight around the soul. This is not an Egyptian concept, but a Platonic one[1180], since for the Egyptians the body was considered equal in importance to the soul[1181]. Chapter 6 continues with the dietary prescriptions mentioning wine, which I have already discussed in the case of Chaeremon[1182]. Plutarch gives as a reason for this both the need of having a clear mind for philosophizing, learning, and teaching about the divine (φιλοσοφοῦντες καὶ μανθάνοντες καὶ διδάσκοντες τὰ θεῖα), and a folk etymology on the name of Psammetichus as "the man of the mixing bowl" in Demotic (*p(ỉ)-s-mṯk*). Griffiths writes that this etymology seems to be the origin of the story told by Herodotus (*Historiae* 3.321), in which Psammetichus makes a mixing bowl out of his helmet[1183]. Plutarch says that the drinking of wine as something acceptable to the gods was introduced by Psammetichus, and this association between wine and the 26th dynasty is interesting if we think that in the Demotic story of *Amasis and the Skipper* the pharaoh that gets drunk is Amasis, the fifth ruler of this dynasty[1184]. The reference of wine as blood of the enemies of the gods seems to be connected to the myth of the *Destruction of Mankind*, as Griffith has noted in his commentary[1185]. The concept of drunkenness in a divine context was issue of controversy during this period, as can be seen in P. PSI inv. D 114a + PSI inv. 3065 verso, and O. Leuven 1 and 2, which refer to the Festival of

[1177] Cf. Chaeremon's description in Porphyry *De Abstientia* 4.7 (VAN DER HORST 1984: 18-19), and GRIFFITHS 1970: 272-273 for Plutarch's references to sheep and swine.
[1178] These particular periods of purification are described also by Chaeremon (in Porphyry, *De Abstinentia* 4.6), cf. VAN DER HORST 1984: 18-19.
[1179] Cf. GRIFFITHS 1970: 272-273.
[1180] On Plutarch's idea of the soul and mind, cf. DILLON 1977: 211. For his theory of the material and the immaterial, cf. DILLON 1977: 221-223, and esp. 222 for the connection between the soul and body.
[1181] For the elements that constitute the individual according to Egyptian theology, cf. ASSMANN 2005: 87-112.
[1182] Cf. chapter 3, section 2.2.
[1183] For a discussion of the name and its orthographies in different scripts, cf. GRIFFITH 1909: 201 note 3.
[1184] For *Amasis and the Skipper* cf. chapter 2, section 6.
[1185] Cf. GRIFFITHS 1970: 276.

Drunkenness (*ḥb tḏ*), a series of rituals involving drunkenness, music, and sexual intercourse with the goal of having a divine vision[1186]. Chapter 7 describes the abstinence from some types of fish, and in particular describes the oxyrhynchus fish with regard to the myth of Osiris. Plutarch also provides a Homeric explanation, considering the fish as a last recourse food[1187]. Chapter 8 discusses also onions, and again pigs. In both cases he gives arguments related to the moon[1188]. It is interesting to note that the pig was actually connected with astronomical representations in the temple of Dendera, but in that case with a solar eclipse[1189]. An important element in this chapter is that Plutarch shows how the mythological explanations have a physical reason, which follows his previously expressed idea on the rationalization of the myths. The last part of this chapter returns to the notion of abstinence, but Plutarch attributes it here to all the Egyptians.

In chapter 9 Plutarch discusses the origin of kings in the priesthood or the military. He declares that a king who came from the military would become immediately a priest. Although not related to kingship, it is interesting to observe the presence in Demotic literature of priests who are also warriors, such as the young priest of Horus of Buto in the *Fight for the Benefice of Amun*, also present in Greek literature, with Heliodoros' Thyamis in his *Aithiopika*.

Chapter 10 includes a list of sages who travelled to Egypt to receive instruction from priests, mentioning Solon, Thales, Plato, Eudoxus, and Pythagoras. Plutarch also cites the names of the priests who instructed them: Khonouphis the Memphite for Eudoxus, Sonkhis the Saïte for Solon, and Oinouphis the Heliopolitan for Pythagoras[1190]. Nothing is specified of these priests individually, but refering to Pythagoras, Plutarch says that he "imitated their symbolism and mysterious manner, interspersing his teachings with riddles" (ἀπεμμήσατο τὸ συμβολικὸν

[1186] Cf. JASNOW and SMITH 2010/2011.
[1187] Cf. discussion in GRIFFITHS 1970: 277-278.
[1188] For a detailed commentary cf. GRIFFITHS 1970: 280-282.
[1189] Cf. CAUVILLE and IBRAHIM ALI 2015: 16.
[1190] For the real Egyptian character of the names, cf. GRIFFITHS 1970: 286-287.

αὐτῶν καὶ μυστεριῶδες ἀναμίξας αἰνιγασι τὰ δόγματα), which characterizes the priests as enigmatic figures, and connects this also to the characteristics of the hieroglyphic script, in whose enigmatic character Pythagoras would have inspired his sayings.

The following sections of the treatise recount the myth of Osiris and different rituals connected to it, in which the priests who perform them are mentioned. However, no specific description of the priests as individuals is provided that adds much to what has already been analyzed. In chapter 31 there is a reference to the priests in charge of sealing the sacred animals, and chapter 39 refers to the στολισταί and the priests (οἱ ἱερεῖς) as belonging two different categories. This might be a reference to the distinction between specialized priests and general ones, who would just be designated as *wʿb* in Egyptian. Plutarch also mentions priestly treatises as the repository of Egyptian religious and ritual knowledge, including some titles, such as "the book called the Birthday-Celebrations of Horus"[1191] (Γενεθλίοις Ὥρου, *De Iside* 52). Although Griffiths states that this book is not known from other sources, there are in fact a series of rituals from the Graeco-Roman period that appear recorded in temples such as Edfu, Kom Ombo, or Esna, as  *ms-nṯr*, rituals for the birth of a god, with different variations, of which some include Horus[1192]. More generally, he mentions the "Books of Hermes" (*De Iside* 61). These would in Egyptian correspond to books of Thoth, and according to Plutarch's description, they seem to refer to the connection between language and religion, and the explanation of sacred names. This is actually not far from what we see in some sections of the *Book of Thoth,* as in the Vulture List (*Book of Thoth* 646-687[1193]). Jasnow and Zauzich have also written that Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata*, 6.4.35.3) mentions 42 books of Hermes (Thoth), which could be

[1191] GRIFFITHS 1970: 500.
[1192] Cf. SCHOTT 1990: 79 No. 143.
[1193] For a translation and representation of the nome signs according to the descripitons in the text, cf. JASNOW and ZAUZICH 2014: 175-187.

connected to the Vulture List[1194]. Griffiths also links these books to the Hermetica[1195]. In chapters 52 and 79 Plutarch refers to the offering of incense in the daily rituals in the temple, specifying in the former the different substances burnt at different times of the day: resin in the morning, myrrh at noon, and cyphi at sunset[1196]. In chapter 79 he connects these practices with the good health of the Egyptians and the idea of hygiene connected to purification. The healthy life of the Egyptian priests is also described by Chaeremon, who says that they wash themselves three times a day with cold water (in Porphyry *De Abstinentia* 4.7) and that because of this and their austerity in every respect of life, they lived without disease (in Porphyry *De Abstinentia* 4.8)[1197].

Plutarch's description of the Egyptian priests, despite being much influenced by his Platonic view of religion and of the nature of the human being, does not differ much from what we see in other authors, and especially from the description of the way of life of the priests by Chaeremon. As I stated above, although Plutarch does not mention Chaeremon as one of his sources, Chaeremon's testimony might well have been popular during his time, and thus may had been known by Plutarch.

7. Iamblichus' *De mysteriis*

With the analysis of the image of the Egyptian priest in the writings of the Neoplatonists[1198] (and here I will focus on Iamblichus and through him on Porphyry), I enter now in the 3rd century CE. This was also the context of Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*, which I discussed above in the section on the ancient novel. The predominant philosophical school of this time was Neoplatonism, a new

[1194] JASNOW and ZAUZICH 2005: 27-28.
[1195] GRIFFITHS 1970: 519-521.
[1196] Cf. GRIFFITHS 1970: 565.
[1197] Cf. VAN DER HORST 1984: 20-21.
[1198] For a general description of Neoplatonism, cf. WALLIS 1972: esp. 1-15.

form of Platonic tradition that started in the first half of the third century with Plotinus. We find now a new element concerning the treatment of the image of Egyptian priests that had not appeared until now: the assumption of the identity of a supposedly real Egyptian priest in order to present a treatise. This is what we meet in Iamblichus' *De mysteriis*, which I will discuss in the following pages.

Although the *De mysteriis* attributes its authorship to an Egyptian priest, the general consensus is that it was written by the Neoplatonist Iamblichus[1199]. In order to investigate the reason for this attribution it is necessary to explore what we know of the life of Iamblichus, which unfortunately is not much. Unlike in the case of other philosophers, like Plotinus, whose life was recounted by one of their disciples, for Iamblichus we only have some biographical notes compiled by Eunapius of Sardis in his *Vitae sophistarum,* which Athanassiadi describes as "a few anecdotes which ring true, hagiographical trivialities, and one or two details of school mythology"[1200]. He was born in Chalcis (Syria), belonging to a noble family[1201], and although the exact dates of his birth and death are not known, the consensus nowadays is that he was born around 240 CE[1202] and died around year 330 CE. Concerning his studies as a philosopher, the traditional association of Iamblichus to Porphyry does not seem to be clear from the sources. Athanassiadi states that this is based just on Eunapius' comment that, after studying with Anatolius of Laodicea, Iamblichus "attached himself to Porphyry" (*De vita sophistarum* 458) and to Iamblichus' own reference to

[1199] Michael Psellos, the byzantine monk of the 11th century, included in his manuscript a note saying that Proclus, in his commentary of Plotinus' *Enneads*, indicated that the treatise in response to Porphyry's letter was written by Iamblichus "by reason of suitability to the subject-matter" (CLARKE, DILLON, and HERSHBELL 2003: 2-3).
[1200] ATHANASSIADI 1995: 244.
[1201] Clarke, Dillon, and Hershbell note that the philosopher Damascius reported in his *Vita Isidori* that he was descended from the royal line of priest-kings of Emesa, which would explain why his family kept this Semitic name instead of taking a Greek or Roman one (CLARKE, DILLON, and HERSHBELL 2003: xix-xx).
[1202] Cf. argument in CLARKE, DILLON, and HERSHBELL 2003: xviii-xix.

having heard a theory from Porphyry[1203]. Against this idea, Athanassiadi continues, we have first the indifference of Iamblichus towards Porphyry's lectures, and more importantly the fact that Iamblichus "never recognized Porphyry as his master" and "Nor did Porphyry"[1204]. She considers that this interpretation has biased the understanding of Iamblichus' attitude towards Porphyry and thus also the context of both Porphyry's *Epistola ad Anebonem* and the *De mysteriis*. According to Athanassiadi, Porphyry "addressed to his younger[1205] contemporary an exhaustive questionnaire on divination and related issues in the genuine hope of receiving an answer from the man he now recognized as the foremost authority on the subject"[1206]. The editors of the new edition of the *De mysteriis,* however, keep the traditional idea that Iamblichus had been Porphyry's disciple[1207]. After he had completed his studies he founded his own school back in Syria, in the city of Apamea[1208], where he invented for the first time the system of commentary based on a curriculum of texts[1209], and wrote commentaries on many of Plato's and also Aristotle's works, of which some fragments have been preserved[1210]. He also wrote works on Pythagoreanism, such as a *Compendium of Pythagorean Doctrine,* and a treatise called *De vita pythagorica*, which Athanassiadi considers as a model of what his life was and what should be

[1203] ATHANASSIADI 1995: 244. Athanassiadi indicates that this comes from Eunapius' desire to "establish a linear spiritual descent between his own master and Plotinus [...] Plotinus-Porphyry-Iamblichus-Aedesius-Julian-Chrysanthius-Eunapius."
[1204] ATHANASSIADI 1995: 245. She highlights that in this period the description of someone as the disciple of another person implied "more than a fortuitous relationship with the master."
[1205] According to the earlier dating of Iamblichus' birth (from *c*. 265 to *c*. 240 CE), Iamblichus was actually not much younger than Porphyry, born in 232 CE. Clarke, Dillon, and Hershbell consider that this might explain their "rather uneasy pupil-teacher relationship" (cf. CLARKE, DILLON, and HERSHBELL 2003: xix).
[1206] ATHANASSIADI 1995: 245.
[1207] On the issue of Iamblichus' teachers in philosophy, cf. CLARKE, DILLON, and HERSHBELL 2003: xxi-xxii.
[1208] On the evidence for this and the description of the school, cf. CLARKE, DILLON, and HERSHBELL 2003: xxiii.
[1209] ATHANASSIADI 1995: 249.
[1210] CLARKE, DILLON, and HERSHBELL 2003: xxiii-xxiv.

imitated by his disciples[1211], while Clarke, Dillon, and Hershbell are more skeptical in that respect[1212].

Returning to Porphyry, even if Iamblichus may have not been his disciple, he did engage in the discussion of Porphyry's ideas in some of his works[1213], and in particular in response to the *Epistola ad Anebonem*. While Athanassiadi sees in Porphyry's letter a well-intentioned list of questions with the goal of receiving answers from the foremost representative of theurgy[1214] of his time, Clarke, Dillon, and Hershbell see in the letter "a vicious attack on theurgy, more than likely aimed specifically at Iamblichus and his beliefs"[1215]. Indeed, both men had a different approach to philosophy[1216], and were already seen as different by their contemporaries[1217]. Porphyry is interesting for the present study because in his work we first see the use of an Egyptian priest in the context of Neoplatonism. Already in his *Life of Plotinus*, Porphyry describes the encounter of his master Plotinus with an Egyptian priest[1218]. However, the main Egyptian priestly character that concerns me here is the Egyptian priest Anebo to whom the

[1211] ATHANASSIADI 1995: 249.
[1212] CLARKE, DILLON, and HERSHBELL 2003: xxiv: "his treatise *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* is unlikely to reflect much of the life of his own school, certainly in such matters as community of property or long periods of silence, or we would have heard about it from Eunapius."
[1213] Cf. CLARKE, DILLON, and HERSHBELL 2003: xxii.
[1214] According to FOWDEN 1982: 37: "Theurgy taught how, through sacramental actions and the use of 'the ineffable words by which a mortal charms the heart of the immortals', the initiate might purify his soul and be raised up to union with the gods."
[1215] CLARKE, DILLON, and HERSHBELL 2003: xxii. Fowden also shares this opinion, cf. FOWDEN 1986: 131 and 139.
[1216] For a general comparison of the Neoplatonism of both Porphyry and Iamblichus, cf. WALLIS 1972: 94-137.
[1217] Fowden has pointed out that Damascius, in his commentary on Plato's *Phaedo*, distinguishes between "the φιλόσοφοι Plotinus and Porphyry and the ἱερατικοί Iamblichus, Syrianus and Proclus" (FOWDEN 1986: 133 footnote 74). Iamblichus came to be considered as a θεῖος ἀνήρ, "holy man" (cf. FOWDEN 1982: 37).
[1218] Plotinus himself was considered to be an Egyptian (although Porphyry indicates that he himself never mentioned his birthplace, cf. WALLIS 1972: 37). His teacher had been another Egyptian, the Platonist philosopher Ammonios Sakkas (cf. FOWDEN 1982: 33). Porphyry tells in chapter 10 of his *Life of Plotinus* the story of an Egyptian priest who performed with Plotinus an invocation of Plotinus' personal demon in the temple of Isis in Rome, saying that what actually appeared was a god, indicating that Plotinus' personal spirit was actually divine. It is interesting that the text indicates that the only place that was pure enough for the performance of the ritual in the eyes of the Egyptian priest was the temple of Isis. The way the ritual is performed, through birds held by the priest's assistance, is however, not an original Egyptian ritual. For a translation of the text, cf. MACKENNA 1963: 8; for the original Greek, cf. HENRY and SCHWYZER 1964: 14-15.

Epistola ad Anebonem is addressed[1219]. Many scholars have taken up the study of this Anebo, whose identity is enigmatic. We do not know if he was a real person or a character created to address Iamblichus indirectly. Porphyry expounds his interpretations throughout the letter, with direct questions interspersed in the text, but does not give, as far as we know, any information concerning his addressee. Thus, the question arises of why Porphyry addressed his letter to this Egyptian priest. The name is not attested elsewhere that is not related to the letter, and most scholars have assumed that he was a fictitious character[1220]. Clarke, Dillon, and Hershbell, however, observe that the reference in which Proclus identifies Iamblichus as the author of *De mysteriis* reported by Psellos in the beginning of the treatise[1221], which does not indicate that Anebo was fictional, might mean that Anebo actually existed. This does not seem to me a valid argument, since the interest in Psellos' *scholion* is the indication of the authorship of the work to which it is attached, and not the appreciation of the authenticity of the elements in Porphyry's letter. Clarke, Dillon, and Hershbell also state that Saffrey has indicated that in Iamblichus' school at Apamea there was at least one Egyptian according to Eunapius (*De vita sophistarum* 473), and thus Anebo could have been part of Iamblichus' circle[1222]. This would be further sustained in Iamblichus' declaration that Anebo was his student (τὸν ἐμὸν μαθητήν, *De mysteriis* 1.1.2). If however we do not consider Anebo as a real person, the reason for this address could be due to Iamblichus' stay in Alexandria, where he would have gotten acquainted with Egyptian religious lore. Athanassiadi has argued that Alexandria seems to have been fundamental in Iamblichus' education, both because of the relevance of Pythagoreanism and

[1219] Although this text has not been preserved in its entirety, A. Sodano has made a reconstruction through Iamblichus' response and other references (cf. CLARKE, DILLON, and HERSHBELL 2003: xxix and footnote 53. The reconstruction of the text is published in SODANO 1958).
[1220] Cf. for references CLARKE, DILLON, and HERSHBELL 2003: xxix footnote 54.
[1221] Cf. footnote 1199.
[1222] Cf. CLARKE, DILLON, and HERSHBELL 2003: xxix footnote 54.

mathematical research there, but also because he might have been part there of a Hermetic circle, or even have created one himself, since the influence of the Hermetica seems clear in his work[1223]. She proposes that perhaps Iamblichus received the *Letter to Anebo* during his stay in Alexandria and "he replied with a dissertation soaked in the influences to which he was most prominently exposed at the time"[1224]. The dating of the *De mysteriis* ranges, according to different scholars, from 280 to 300 CE, and thus, if the hypothesis of the stay in Alexandria is followed, he would have been in the city during that period. At the moment of writing *De mysteriis* Iamblichus was already a well-regarded philosopher, and thus this stay in Alexandria would have taken place not in his formative years but already when he was a mature master[1225]. In the light of the evidence, not much more can be said with respect to the *Epistola ad Anebonem* and to Porphyry's decision of addressing it to the Egyptian priest Anebo, fictional or not.

I move now to the analysis of Iamblichus' use of the identity of the Egyptian priest Abamon to respond to Porphyry's letter. The treatise *De mysteriis*[1226] begins with the identification of its author as the Egyptian master (διδάσκαλος) Abamon. Clarke, Dillon, and Hershbell, who assume, as most scholars nowadays, and I myself, that the real author of the *De mysteriis* is Iamblichus, argue that this pseudonymity can be contextualized in the realm of the traditions that seem to have been the basis of Iamblichus' context, the *Chaldaean Oracles*[1227], the

[1223] Cf. ATHANASSIADI 1995: 246. Athanassiadi indicates that Larsen has proposed a long Alexandrian (and even Egyptian) phase for Iamblichus, from ten to twenty years of his life. On the Hermetica, cf. chapter 3, section 3.
[1224] ATHANASSIADI 1995: 246. She admits, however, that Iamblichus' "physical connection with Alexandria can only be a hypothesis."
[1225] Cf. Athanassiadi's discussion in ATHANASSIADI 1993: 116 footnote 13.
[1226] The title *De mysteriis Aegyptorum* (Περὶ τῶν αἰγυπτίων μυστηρίων) was given to it in the Renaissance by Marsilio Ficino, who also created the division of the text followed nowadays, incorporated to Des Places edition of the Greek text, which is the one used by Clarke, Dillon, and Hershbell (CLARKE, DILLON, and HERSHBELL 2003: xiv). The original title of the work was "The Reply of the Master Abamon to the Letter of Porphyry to Anebo, and the Solutions to the Questions it contains" (CLARKE, DILLON, and HERSHBELL 2003: 2-3).
[1227] Preserved only in fragments nowadays, the *Chaldaean Oracles* are a series of hexameters that were given by the gods to a Julian the Chaldean, and were considered by the Neoplatonists from Porphyry to Damascius as revealed literature equal in importance to Plato's *Timaeus*. For an edition, translation, and commentary of this text, cf.

Hermetica, or the Orphic and Pythagorean literature[1228]. As in these traditions, the choice of a particular identity for its attribution is meant to give the text authority, and to set it in a particular intellectual and religious tradition. Ph. Derchain claimed in an article that the knowledge of Egyptian theology displayed in the treatise can only be explained if we accept that Abamon was the real author of the treatise[1229], but this hypothesis has been refuted[1230], and the Egyptian elements in the treatise, as I will show below, explained otherwise. Clarke, Dillon, and Hershbell also remark that the fact that Iamblichus as "Abamon" claims that his identity is not important is actually meant to have the opposite effect, and to highlight its relevance[1231]. In this claim, however, he states clearly the group to which he belongs, identifying himself in *De mysteriis* 1.1.3.10 as a προφήτης, and thus as belonging to the higher rank of the Egyptian priesthood[1232]. In the introduction of the treatise, Abamon/Iamblichus mentions Pythagoras, Plato, Demokritos, and Eudoxos, all of whom according to different traditions visited Egypt, and in a way he places Porphyry as a modern Greek apprentice for whom he becomes the Egyptian sage who is going to reveal his wisdom to him. The name of Abamon has been the object of much discussion, and

---

MAJERCIK 1989. Majercik indicates in her introduction that the *Oracles* derive from the Middle Platonic milieu, and have links to the Gnosticism, Hermetism, and the Pythagoreanism of Numenius.

[1228] CLARKE, DILLON, and HERSHBELL 2003: xxxi. These authors comment that these attributions were not necessarily consider as true by the ancient readers, who would understand that the figures presented as authors would be the inspiration for the works. This, however, is a complicated issue for which we do not have enough evidence in order to provide a definitive argument.

[1229] DERCHAIN 1963: 225: "On pourrait, en feuilletant plus abondamment le traité des Mystères, relever d'autres exemples aussi tipiques de la pensée égyptienne, de sorte qu'on en vient facilement à partager l'opinion de ceux qui ont rejeté l'attribution traditionnelle de cet ouvrage à Jamblique, philosophe syrien."

[1230] For references, cf. CLARKE, DILLON, and HERSHBELL 2003: xxviii footnote 47. However, these authors use as counterargument the impossibility that an Egyptian priest would have acquired as much knowledge of the Greek tradition, which is equally invalid. Examples such as Chaeremon, who was even considered as a Stoic philosopher, argue for the existence of Egyptian priests with Greek high education and wide cultural knowledge.

[1231] CLARKE, DILLON, and HERSHBELL 2003: xxx.

[1232] Quack identifies Anebo as a ἱερογραμματεύς, but this does not appear in *De mysteriis* or in the *Epistola ad Anebonem*, in which Anebo is actually addressed as prophet (QUACK 2008: 241-242; an English translation of the *Letter to Anebo* can be found in TAYLOR 1895: 1-16, who starts with: "Porphyry to the Prophet Anebo greeting" (TAYLOR 1895: 1). It is important to remember that this text is a reconstruction. I have not been able to check the Greek text in SODANO 1958).

despite its Egyptian appearance, it does not correspond to a real Egyptian name[1233]. In Psellos' scholion to the *De mysteriis*, in which he mentions the reference to Proclus identifying Iamblichus as the author of the treatise, he says he chose the identity of a high-ranking Egyptian priest "by reason of suitability to the subject-matter"[1234], and Fowden has observed that Egyptian priests seem to have been "regarded as the authorities *par excellence* on theurgy"[1235]. In fact, Iamblichus describes them in the beginning of the treatise as sages eager to discuss theological matters, which are their expertise (*De mysteriis* 1.1.2). In a way this approximates them to philosophers, not unlike those described by Chaeremon, who chose the temples as the places to philosophize (in Porphyry *De Abstinentia* 4.6). It is also important to consider here the strong cultic aspect that theurgy had, which could easily be connected to the reputation of hidden wisdom and secrecy of the cults that took place at the time in the Egyptian temples, and the arcane knowledge of its practitioners. Furthermore, the practice of theurgy with its ritual purification through philosophy and through moral self-discipline[1236], and the culmination in the mystical union of the god, were all elements present in the descriptions of the life of the ancient Egyptian priests, and in the ritual of the Egyptian temples[1237]. Thus, it is not surprising that Iamblichus chose to situate himself in the context of the Egyptian temple in order to present his description of theurgy from a position of authority.

[1233] For a complete discussion of the name, cf. CLARKE, DILLON, and HERSHBELL 2003: xxxv-xxxvii. It is interesting to note that, despite his claim that Abamon was a real priest, Derchain does not comment on his name (cf. DERCHAIN 1963).

[1234] CLARKE, DILLON, and HERSHBELL 2003: 2-3.

[1235] FOWDEN 1986: 135.

[1236] Cf. WALLIS 1972: 3.

[1237] The union of the cult practitioner with the divine sphere in Egyptian temple cult has been called "Unio liturgica" by J. Assmann, a term that he borrowed from P. Schäfer (cf. ASSMANN 1995: 46). He describes it in the following way: "Das Motiv der unio liturgica findet sich in Ägypten im Kontext einer Überlieferung, die man im folgenden Sinne als "esoterisch" bezeichnen kann: sie is geheim, d.h. strengen Zugänglichkeitsbeschränkungen unterworfen, und sie ist Gegenstand einer Einweihung [...] Im Dienste dieser kultischen Aufgabe übernimmt der Priester Götterrollen und rezitiert Götterrede." He adds that the priest is able to do this due to his knowledge of the Egyptian scripts, and thus the access to the writings (ASSMANN 1995: 60). Quack already noted the connection between Iamblichus' theurgy and the concept of "Unio liturgica" (cf. QUACK 2008: 254).

Fowden has asserted that the *De mysteriis* is a synthesis of Chaldaean (Babylonian), Egyptian, and 'philosophical' (Greek) doctrines[1238]. For the present study it is particularly relevant, in order to understand from where Iamblichus was obtaining his information, to consider how the Egyptian elements of the treatise were represented. However, it is not within the aims of this study to list and analyze all the Egyptian elements present in the *De mysteriis,* and fortunately several scholars have already explored this topic. The Egyptian elements are mostly located in books 6.5-7.5, and in book 8 concerning the Hermetic doctrine[1239]. In his analysis of the *De mysteriis,* Derchain evaluates the Egyptian origin of elements such as the threats to the gods, the secret ritual of the temple at Abydos (which Derchain identifies with the House of Life and connects with P. Salt 825[1240]), the Egyptian solar religion, the image of the child sitting on the lotus, or the meaning of the name of Amun as "the hidden," or the Hermopolitan Ogdoad[1241]. Although I do not agree with his conclusion that the treatise was actually written by an Egyptian priest and not by Iamblichus, it is significant that an Egyptologist with such a deep knowledge of Egyptian theology would make this claim, which shows the real Egyptian character of the descriptions in the *De mysteriis*; it is a claim which would certainly have pleased Iamblichus. In their new translation of the text, Clarke, Dillon, and Hershbell devote a section of their introduction to the analysis of the Egyptian elements particularly of books 7 and 8[1242]. In this analysis they only seem to use one reference book[1243] for all the

[1238] Cf. FOWDEN 1986: 132.
[1239] FOWDEN 1986: 134 footnote 80.
[1240] For P. Salt 825 cf. DERCHAIN 1965a.
[1241] For the analysis of all these elements, cf. DERCHAIN 1963: 221-225.
[1242] For this analysis cf. CLARKE, DILLON and HERSHBELL 2003: xxxviii-xlviii. Concerning their explanation on p. xliii of the zodiac in the context of Egyptian astronomy, however, is erroneous and does not respond to what we know nowadays of the transmission of Babylonian astronomical knowledge to the Greek world through Egypt, with Egypt having a fundamental role in this exchange. They consider, for example, the zodiac a Greek concept adopted in the Hellenistic era by Babylonian astronomer, when the transmission was actually in the opposite direction. For an analysis of the transmission of scientific knowledge from Mesopotamia to the Greek world and the importance of Egypt in it, cf. HOFFMANN 2014; QUACK 2016; and ESCOLANO-POVEDA forthcoming.

Egyptian aspects, Rundle Clark's *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt*, which was published in 1959[1244]. For an analysis published in 2003, it would certainly have been desirable for them to have used more recent bibliography on Egyptian religion for their analysis, since not even Derchain's aforementioned article is cited. Another author that has engaged recently in the study of the Egyptian aspects of the *De mysteriis* is J. F. Quack, who has studied the description of the sacrifices in book 5, which are not described in such an explicit Egyptian way as the contents of books 6, 7 and 8[1245]. Quack concludes in this article that Iamblichus' description of sacrifices is in many aspects in agreement with the Egyptian material, and does not present contradictions. Significantly, he ends the article with the following thought: "Dies ziegt, wie sehr auch die Eigensituierung als Werk eines ägyptischen Priesters, der Lehren eines anderen ägyptischen Priesters verteidigt, durchaus tiefergehend sinnvoll ist. Wer immer das Werk verfasst hat, muss sich mit spätägyptischer Religion sehr gut ausgekannt haben"[1246]. All these studies have borne witness to the solid bases in the Egyptian religious context of many aspects of the *De mysteriis*, showing that Iamblichus was very well acquainted with Egyptian theology. This leads my analysis to the question of the consideration of his sources.

Iamblichus himself cites in the text some of his sources. Some references are vague and just refer to ancient writings, but others mention the books of Hermes (cf. i.e. *De mysteriis* 8.1). Clarke, Dillon, and Hershbell have observed that the beginning of the treatise starts with the sentence "Hermes, the god who presides over rational discourse, has long been considered, quite rightly, to be the common patron of all priests" (*De mysteriis* 1.1). Thus, the beginning of the text indicates that due to Hermes' rule over wisdom the Egyptians of the past attributed their

[1243] Only LESKO 1991 is cited (twice) in this section, all the other references are to RUNDLE CLARK 1959.
[1244] On Rundle Clark's work on Egyptian religion, cf. BAINES 1972.
[1245] On the Egyptian aspects of which he comments briefly, giving references, in QUACK 2008: 242.
[1246] QUACK 2008: 255.

writings to Hermes as an offering of their own wisdom to the god. In this way, Iamblichus is locating the origin of the so-called *Hermetica* in the context of the Egyptian temples, and in *De mysteriis* 8.4.265.13 he also declares that the books of Hermes "often employ the terminology of the philosphers; for they were translated from the Egyptian tongue by men not unversed in philosophy." This way of translation through adaptation is reminiscent of the introduction of the Imhotep/Asklepios aretalogy (P. Oxy. 1381), where the translator "supplied the elliptical and cut out superfluity" (τὸ μὲν ὕστερον προσεπλήρωσα, τὸ δὲ περισσεῦον ἀφεῖλον)[1247]. Fowden has studied the influence of the *Hermetica* in Iamblichus in detail, and considers that the theological *Hermetica* have direct parallels with the *De mysteriis*, assuming that Iamblichus used these sources in order to write the sections on the Egyptian ideas about the gods[1248]. Athanassiadi goes beyond this and considers the possibility that Iamblichus may have actually belonged to a Hermetic circle (or even have organized one) during his stay in Alexandria[1249], but there is no evidence to support this claim, since we do not actually know how these circles work, or if they even existed the way Fowden conceives them[1250]. Apart from the *Hermetica*, Iamblichus makes also reference to Manetho (once, *De mysteriis* 8.1.261.4) and Chaeremon (twice, *De mysteriis* 8.4.265.13 and 9.4.277.3). Manetho is mentioned in the context of the number of the books of Hermes (which he says were 36,525), and the references to Chaeremon associate him with astrology. Despite these being the only explicit references to these authors, it is almost certain that their works, the loss of which is especially unfortunate in this case, must have provided Iamblichus with much of his information on Egyptian theology.

[1247] WEST 2013: 87-88. Cf. also the analysis of Manetho in chapter 3, section 2.1.
[1248] FOWDEN 1986: 139.
[1249] ATHANASSIADI 1995: 246.
[1250] Cf. chapter 3, section 3.3.

To conclude with Iamblichus, the most remarkable aspect is that in him we find the adoption of the authority that was attached to the works of real members of the Egyptian priesthood writing in Greek, such as Manetho and Chaeremon, incorporated into the creation of the image of a fictional Egyptian priest. Interestingly enough, Manetho and Chaeremon are part of the sources, perhaps a very significant one, of the information provided in the treatise and delivered through the fictional Egyptian priest. Thus, the passage in which Abamon/Iamblichus claims that his identity is not important and that he could be "any other prophet of the Egyptians" (*De mysteriis* 1.1.3.10-11), actually makes more sense seen in this light, since the information transmitted in the treatise is relevant because it comes from the Egyptian priesthood, be it from the fictional Abamon, or from Chaeremon and Manetho. The image of a paradigmatic Egyptian priest, descendant of those who instructed the Greek sages of old such as Pythagoras and Plato, remains the wise master figure who can instruct also the disciples of the present, in this case Porphyry, in divine matters. In this way, Iamblichus' theurgy, through its connection with the ancient wisdom of the Egyptians, claims its antiquity and dispels, through its prestige, the accusations of magic. This is an important point that needs to be stressed. One of the main elements that is absent from Iamblichus' self-presentation as the Egyptian prophet Abamon is the idea of the Egyptian priest as a magician. This might not be coincidental, since Iamblichus himself, who had a reputation as a holy man[1251], would later be presented by Eunapius and other followers, as a magician, able to perform a series of miracles. He would deny this during his life, and differentiate between theurgy, which was connected to the gods and had the union with the divine as its goal, and magic, which was impious and oriented to the selfish benefit of lowly

[1251] On Iamblichus' consideration as a holy man and his presentation as a miracle worker by Eunapius, cf. FOWDEN 1982: 37.

men[1252]. Athanassiadi has also remarked on this distinction with respect to the approach of Iamblichus to divination, in which, for example in the case of dreams, he distinguished between the magician and the theurgist: "though the magician could produce prophetic dreams by following technical instructions, it was only the theurgist who, through his experience of divine union, could guarantee that the ὄνειροι were actually θεόπεμπτοι"[1253]. Concerning rituals, Fowden has also observed this distinction, remarking that Iamblichus distinguishes between "two extremes of naturalism and intellectualism, at varying levels of spiritual purity. Each group adopts the manner of cult appropriate to it, the first preferring material rites and offerings, the second (which is very small) leading the incorporeal, intellectual life of the theurgists (as Iamblichus calls them), while those who are neither the one nor the other 'either participate in both ways of worship, or disengage themselves from the one, or treat the [inferior] one as a starting-point for reaching the things that are of greater value (because otherwise what is superior would never be attained), or else they treat these things in some other way, as they see fit'"[1254].

It is impossible, in the light of these references, not to make a connection between these ideas and Kalasiris' description of the two types of Egyptian wisdom in the *Aithiopika* (3.16.2-4). Furthermore, in the passage of book 6 (*Aithiopika* 6.14-15) that presents the old woman performing necromantic rituals, we see exactly the definition of divination according to Iamblichus' ideas summarized by Athanassiadi. She is able to perform the ritual in a relatively successful way, in the sense that she brings the corpse of her son temporarily back to life. However, her ignorance of the forces involved in it, and her selfish intentions, result in her

[1252] Cf. CLARKE, DILLON, and HERSHBELL 2003: xxvi: "The demonstration of the miraculous was entirely a divine prerogative according to Iamblichus; wonder-working by man was at best impious, at worst an example of meaningless sorcery. It is Iamblichus's determination to distinguish between worthless magic and divine theurgy that dominates and defines the subject matter of the *De mysteriis*." Porphyry himself had distinguished between the "unclean magician (γόης)" and the "divine man (θεῖος ἀνήρ) (cf. FOWDEN 1986: 131).
[1253] ATHANASSIADI 1993: 127.
[1254] FOWDEN 1986: 128.

condemnation to death. As I have already written in the section on Kalasiris, what seems to be behind this idea is not a rejection of magic in itself, but a distinction based on the preparation of the performers of the ritual. As I stated above, this preparation consists of the initiation in the wisdom contained in the sacred books of the Egyptian temples, written in Egyptian language and scripts, which was reserved to the high-ranking priests. This knowledge consisted of the familiarity with the divine. In the Egyptian worldview this knowledge maintained the order of the cosmos (thus the name of the "place" where all these texts were composed and copied, the House of Life). Part of its ritual involved what Assmann has called "Unio liturgica," which was considered in Neoplatonic theurgy the goal of the whole process. The close correspondence between the figure of Kalasiris and his presentation of the two types of Egyptian wisdom, with Iamblichus' distinction between theurgy and magic raises the question of the possibility that Heliodoros would have been familiar with Iamblichus' teachings. In favor of this idea is the fact that both of them were from Syria, and the cities of Emesa, from where Heliodoros came, and Apamea, where Iamblichus is supposed to have had his school, are geographically very close. They may have been roughly contemporary, with a floruit at the end of the third century CE, although in both cases their chronology is not clear. However that may be, and considering what is relevant for my current analysis, both Heliodoros and Iamblichus present a very similar image of the Egyptian priests as wise men knowledgeable of the secrets of the divine, described as philosophers, and without any trace of what has been identified by some scholars as the image of the Egyptian priest as an exotic magician. On the contrary, both Kalasiris and Abamon seem to be Egyptian priests fully immersed and comfortable in Greek culture. Thus, Iamblichus' choice of self-presentation as an Egyptian priest at the end of the third century CE is also illustrative of how Egyptian priests would have been regarded at that time. Since he wanted to avoid the

accusation of magic, the conclusion must be that the general image of the Egyptian priests was not that of an exotic magician, but that of a wise ritualist devoted to the higher purpose of the union with the divine.

[Intended to be blank]

PART 1

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS OF CHAPTERS 2–4

In the previous three chapters I have analyzed the image of the Egyptian priests in Demotic, Graeco-Egyptian, and Graeco-Roman literature. In the present chapter I will summarize the results obtained in those chapters[1255], and I will compare them to the image of the Egyptian priests in Demotic and Graeco-Roman literature presented by Dieleman in chapter 6 of his monograph *Priests, Tongues, and Rites* (2005). The conclusions of this chapter will be used in part 2 in order to contest the models for the Egyptian priesthood in the Roman period elaborated by Frankfurter in a series of publications.

1. Egyptian priests in Demotic narratives

Chapter 2 presented the most important priestly characters from published Demotic narrative sources, and in a few cases also unpublished texts when described by their editors in enough detail. The sample collected there, however, represents only a very small portion of all the Demotic literary texts that would have been written and copied in Egypt during the Graeco-Roman period, and thus, the conclusions that I will derive from these data here are subject to change once more texts are edited and made accessible to the scientific community. Nevertheless, considering the material studied, I will now present a summary of the characteristics of the Egyptian priests in the Demotic narrative sources from the Graeco-Roman period.

[1255] For specific references and for the editions of the texts and translations used, I refer the reader to the detailed analyses of each text in chapters 2 to 4.

The first element to consider is the prominence that priestly characters have in Demotic literature. Either as protagonists, or as subordinate characters, priests have a prominent role in the majority of the preserved Demotic narratives[1256], which is not surprising if we think that they originated in the temple context, and were, as Vittmann indicated, a creation by priests for priests[1257]. Apart from the main characters that I have analyzed in this chapter, many stories feature the presence of groups of priests that are not individualized and either accompany one of the main characters, or are mentioned for some particular reason in the story, such as the indication of the particular religious advocation of a temple or region, as in P. Carlsberg 207, where the different locations in which the action takes place can be followed through the advocation of the particular priests involved in it[1258]. The impression that this priestly background gives is that of a society dominated by priestly figures, which again is an accurate reflection of the social context in which these stories circulated. In fact, other social groups are never represented in such a profuse and prominent way, with the exception perhaps of the warrior class in the Inaros cycle, in which we need to consider the possibility of influence from Homeric literature, as was indicated in chapter 2. Although obviously the priestly class in the Graeco-Roman period was only a small percentage of the entirety of Egyptian society, its role in the creation of the Egyptian culture as we know it was fundamental, and it is not surprising that the

[1256] A look at the narratives included in the most recently published anthologies of Egyptian literature, such as HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007, or AGUT-LABORDÈRE and CHAUVEAU 2011, or the introduction to Demotic literature published by QUACK in 2009a, shows that more than three quarters of the texts known so far include priestly characters.

[1257] "Schöpfungen von Priestern für Priester" (VITTMANN 2006: 331).

[1258] Other examples of passive priests are the first prophet of Amun and the other Amun priests in the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun*, which act as plot devices but do not have a visible active role in the development of the narrative; the scribes of the House of Life in the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros*, from which the scribe of the House of Life who brings back the dead scribe of the divine book is singled out, are meant to show that this scribe of the House of Life belongs to a community of scholars that are present in the royal court; the priests of Ra in the frame narrative of the *Story of Peteisis* are an anonymous group that balance the opinion of the lesonis Hareus and give support to Peteisis' claim; in *Setne I* the priests of Ptah, and the priests of Isis and Harpokrates set the scene in Memphis and Coptos respectively.

priests are the figures that also appear as the main Egyptian characters depicted by foreign authors, and will be shown in the second part of this chapter.

In the analysis of the priestly characters in chapter 2 I studied different elements that define the characteristics of the Egyptian priests as literary characters. In order to present a succinct image of how these characters are built and which are the most prominent elements used for their characterization, I will now summarize the results of chapter 2's analysis in a series of points. The goal will be to see which elements seem to be general traits of the priests as characters throughout all the narratives, and to contrast these results with those presented by other scholars, particularly the study by J. Dieleman in chapter 6 of his monograph *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*, which has become the standard cited work for the literary representation of Egyptian priests. After this, I will reflect on the idea of the existence or not of a literary type for the Egyptian priests in Demotic literature. The elements that I will review in the next paragraphs are: physical characteristics, age, social situation, name, epithets and titles, actions (ritual, magical), and moral characterization. I will also briefly summarize further issues such as the treatment of wisdom and knowledge in the narratives, and the issue of the payment of priests for their services.

1.1. Characteristics of the Egyptian priesthood in Demotic literature

1.1.1. Physical characteristics

One of the features of Demotic narrative literature, which follows the tradition of previous Pharaonic literature, is the general lack of physical descriptions of the characters. In most cases, characters are only described with reference to their sex, age, name, filiation, and occupation,

and almost never including all these features at once, as will be seen in the next sections. Thus, their physical appearance was not considered a relevant element to be included. Nevertheless, either through the description of particular actions, or due to their acquisition of importance in particular parts of the narrative, some physical elements appear in the narratives. In the corpus analyzed in this chapter we have the case of the young priest of Horus of Pe in Buto in the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun*, whose physical strength is highlighted in his ability to fight and defeat his enemies. This, however, does not indicate that the young priest may have looked like a warlike figure, since his superhuman strength seems to come as a surprise to his opponents, and his consistent designation as a young priest might betray a childlike appearance.

An element that seldom appears in the narratives with respect to priests is the reference to clothes and paraphernalia. The young priest of Horus in the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun* might be wearing a helmet in the shape of a falcon in col. E.1, like the helmets in the shape of bull faces of his accompanying herdsmen. This, however, is not clear due to the fragmentary state of the section. He might also be wearing herdsmen-looking clothes, since he is called *ʿ3m* "herdsman" by his opponents in several occasions (for example, P. Spiegelberg 4.8-9). We also find a reference to physical appearance in the preparation that Merire makes for the ritual to extend the life of Pharaoh in P. Vandier. He is described as going to his house, where he is shaven and dressed with fine linen, according to the normal ritual preparation for an Egyptian priest who was going to undertake ritual practices (P. Vandier 2.13-14). Finally, in *Eine neue demotische Erzählung*, the young priest from Daphnae is said to have a golden ring with two engravings, an element that certified the membership in a particular priesthood (P. Berlin 13588 2.2).

Concerning the issue of Egyptian priestesses, they do not seem to have been common characters in Demotic literature. In the corpus analyzed here, only Tabubu could be designated as a priestess, but even that is not absolutely clear from the text, as I have discussed in chapter 2. There are, however, three foreign sorceresses: the Nubian sorceress in *Setne II*, and the Assyrian sorceresses from the *Life of Imhotep* and the *Epic of Inaros*. Their role is exclusively as antagonists; they are displayed as rather powerful, but not enough to defeat their Egyptian opponents.

1.1.2. Age

An element that is specified in some cases is the age of the characters, which adds a particular nuance to their identity. Thus, the indication of age is considered as an exceptional element for the character, and generally plays an important role in the plot. In most cases, when the age is not made explicit, we might assume that the character is middle aged.

There are six characters in the corpus analyzed in chapter 2 who are described as being young. The first one is the young priest of Horus of Pe in Buto from the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun*. Even though he is designated as a *ḥm-nṯr* "prophet," which is the highest priestly rank that appears in the narratives, he is described most prominently as *ḫm-ḫl n wʿb* "young priest." This, as I indicated in the pertinent section in chapter 2, seems to be connected to his identification with his patron god Horus in his role as avenger of his father. Another character whose youth is also emphasized is Harsiesis from the frame narrative of the *Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*, who in the first part of the story is presented as being very young when he passed the exams to become a physician and very shortly after when he became chief physician. In this case, the indication of his age is meant to emphasize his exceptional knowledge and precocious nature.

The child prodigy *par excellence* of Demotic literature, however, is Si-Osiris from *Setne II*. Although he is not described as a priest, probably because he is too young to enter the priesthood since the oldest age mentioned for him is twelve, his education is said to take place in the House of Life and he is said to have surpassed in his magical abilities all the magicians in Memphis. Another character presented as being young is Merire in P. Vandier. In this case his age is not specified, but he considers himself too young to die. Another priest designated as young (*pȝ šr wʿb*) is that in P. BM EA 69531, but the state of preservation of the story does not allow us to know if this fact was particularly relevant for the plot. Finally, the young priest from Daphnae (*pȝ ḫl n wʿb*) in *Eine neue demotische Erzählung* is described as such to set the story at the moment of his claim of his hereditary right to two priesthoods, presumably after the death of his father, and also perhaps to emphasize his ability in the composition of funerary texts for the previous Pharaoh.

On the other side we find the priestly characters who are designated as being old. The first one is Peteisis, who according to the reconstruction of the text is said to be 110 years old when he is told that his life will end by the ghost in the beginning of the *Story of Peteisis* (P. Petese Tebtunis A 2.9). The indication of old age is used in order to emphasize the experience and wisdom of the character, and in this case, Peteisis proves it through his knowledge of books or the interpretation of books for the temple, and his prowess as a magician. Another priest whose age is emphasized is the old priest whom Naneferkaptah encounters in the beginning of *Setne I* and who tells him about the book of Thoth. Although there has been a discussion around what his real age might have been, it is clear that he is presented as older than Naneferkaptah, and as such he has knowledge that Naneferkaptah ignores. Naneferkaptah also transforms himself into an old priest in order to reveal to Setne the location of the tombs of Ihweret and

Merib at the end of the story. Thus, in all these cases old age conveys the possession of knowledge that other characters ignore, and the revelation of which might be a fundamental element in the development of the narrative.

1.1.3. Social situation

The social environment of the priestly characters is that of the higher echelons of society, and most of them are presented as respected members of society. In this case, Setne and Naneferkaptah are at the very top of the social pyramid, since their main identification is as sons of Pharaoh. Below this we find the priests who live and develop their expertise in the royal court, in most cases acting as royal advisors. Here we find Horus son of Paneshe in *Setne II*, who seems to live in the palace or close to it when he is summoned to solve Pharaoh's problem. Other characters that are presented as trusted people of the king are the prophet of Mehyt Padipep, who is said to reside in a place called "House of the Servants," which appears to be part of the royal palace, or Psamtek in *Amasis and the Skipper*, who is asked by king Amasis to tell him a story. In the unpublished *Life of Imhotep*, Imhotep may have a similar role. In the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros*, the scribe of the House of Life who brings the dead scribe of the divine book temporarily back to life belongs to a group of scribes of the House of Life that may be attached to the palace. Apart from these individual priests, groups of priests and scribes are mentioned in the entourage of Pharaoh in various stories. Although not as a priest, Harsiesis in the frame story of the *Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy* becomes part of the royal entourage when he is named chief physician. This would be a case of social advancement, since both he and Ankhsheshonqy are described as the sons of priests (just designated as *wʿb*), but no particular connection to the king is given for them.

Other priests are presented in the context of particular temples. Peteisis, from the *Story of Peteisis*, although lacking any specific priestly titles, talks about the temple of Re in Heliopolis as "our temple," and knows the contents of its library, displaying the characteristics of a high-ranking priest. The prophet of Horus Djedshesep, in P. Saqqara I, is portrayed as the center of a group of priests (*wꜤb.w*) who may be his colleagues or disciples. The priest of Re Djedhor in the story told by Padipep is a rich man whose sons are also designated as priests of Re, and whose daughters are married to other priests of Re, who are important people in Heliopolis. This hereditary character of the priesthood is also seen in *Eine neue demotische Erzählung*, in which the young priest of Daphnae inherits the rights to two priesthoods and claims them before Pharaoh.

A priestly character whose social position is ambiguous is the young priest of Horus of Pe in Buto. He is presented as a prophet from that city in the Delta, but due to the state of preservation of the beginning of the narrative, and the absence of its end, the nature of his claim on the sinecure (*sꜤnḫ*) of the first prophet of Amun is not clear. Although his status as a prophet would place him in the higher echelons of society, and he clearly interacts with other characters such as the sons of Pharaoh Pedubastis as an equal or even superior, his presentation as a herdsman removes him from the princely context of the other characters, adding exceptionality to his already unusual character. Another character whose exact social status is not clear is Merire from P. Vandier. Before king Si-Sobek's sickness had taken place, he was completely unknown to the king, but his excellence as a scribe was sufficiently known by those around the king, who had hidden his identity from the king on purpose. Prior to the action of the narrative, we do not know what his original position was, although from this titles, especially that of *ḥr*(*.j*)*-tp*, he definitely belongs to the high priestly class.

Another interesting element about the social characteristics of these characters is that many of them are described as being married and having children. Peteisis, in the frame narrative of the *Story of Peteisis*, is the owner of a house and is married, but no children are mentioned. In the frame story of the *Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*, Ankhsheshonqy is said to have a son, whom he has not had time to instruct at the time of his imprisonment, and who becomes the reason for his writing of the instruction. Nothing is mentioned of his wife or further family. Harsiesis, in the same narrative, is described, depending on the version, as having brothers or children who are named priests without fee when he becomes chief physician. In the case of Setne and Naneferkaptah, the main element that defines them, as I have noted, is the fact that they belong to the royal family. Setne's children are mentioned in *Setne I* in the context of the Tabubu episode, and in *Setne II* his wife Meheweskhe appears as a distinct character, and his son is Si-Osiris. After the disappearance of Si-Osiris at the end of the narrative, Meheweskhe is said to become pregnant again, thus assuring the future Setne's line. Naneferkaptah is also the son of Pharaoh, and is the head of a family composed of his wife Ihweret and their son Merib. Djedshesep in P. Saqqara I is the head of a family, and Djedhor in the story of Padipep, as I have already noted, has a large family consisting of ten sons and ten daughters, for whom he builds houses in his own courtyard. In the *Life of Imhotep*, Imhotep is presented with his family, which is also known from other sources, with the particularity that his father is said to be the god Ptah, according to the divinization of the historical figure of Imhotep in the Late Period. His mother is called Khereduankh, and he has a little sister named Renpetneferet.

1.1.4. Name

Although most of the characters are identified by their name, and sometimes even by their filiation, some characters in the Demotic narratives appear nameless[1259]. An examination of this feature requires a caveat, since the state of preservation of many of the texts may have caused the loss of the fragment in which the name of some of these characters was indicated. Nevertheless, it is relevant to list those characters who remain nameless as far as we know. The *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun* has the most significant nameless character of all the narratives, the young priest of Horus of Pe in Buto, whose anonymity seems to be intentional, perhaps due to its identification with Horus himself. In this same narrative, the first prophet of Amun, whose sinecure is the object of dispute, is another character who remains nameless as far as we can tell. In the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros*, the scribe of the House of Life who brings back to life the scribe of the divine book remains nameless, while the name of the scribe of the divine book is mentioned once in the preserved story. In this case, the scribe of the House of Life is only a device for the revelation of the situation that will trigger the plot of the story, so his anonymity puts emphasis on his action of bringing the scribe of the divine book back to life, instead of on himself as a character. In the short stories of the *Story of Peteisis*, many of the priestly characters are just identified by their priestly titles, such as the prophet of Nebethetepet, and the prophet of Atum whose children are interchanged; the prophet of Horus of Pe in Buto who is the father of the doomed child, and the prophet of Neith father of Nebetisis; the other prophet of Horus of Pe in Buto who rapes Hatmehit; or the prophet of Mendes whose children are mentioned. In all these stories, the important element of these characters is their identification as members of the priestly class. Despite their poor state of preservation, and despite the fact that we only have a

[1259] On the concept of anonymity, cf. BRUNNER-TRAUT 1975 *s.v.* Anonymität (der Götter). Although the entry refers specifically to the anonymity of the gods, the general statements concerning the power of the name and the effects of anonymity can also be applied to fictional characters in literature.

few of the seventy stories that are said to have composed the whole composition, it is relevant to note how prominent the presence of priestly characters is in these stories, priestly characters who are all identified as *ḥm.w-nṯr* "prophets," and thus privileged members of society. In the Setne story preserved in P. Carlsberg 207, of all the priests mentioned, only the prophet of Isis, Peteisis, responsible for killing the prophet of Osiris-Sokar who reports the events to Setne and his family, receives a name. In *Eine neue demotische Erzählung*, the young priest from Daphnae also remains nameless.

1.1.5. Epithets and titles

As I have noted in the previous section, many of the nameless characters in the narratives are only designated through their titles or by means of epithets, like the indication of their age. However, an aspect that deserves attention, and has not been properly analyzed, is the absence of priestly titles for some of the most important characters of Demotic literature, which are nevertheless considered as belonging to the priesthood. In his analysis of Egyptian magic, Ritner indicated that "In literature form the Old Kingdom through the Greco-Roman periods, the priestly qualifications of the magician protagonist are almost invariably specified, being indicated as either "chief lector priest" or "scribe of the House of Life"[1260]. This, however, is not true for many Demotic narratives, and particularly for some of the most relevant characters that we would identify as priests and magicians. These are Peteisis from the *Story of Peteisis*, who despite the fact that he seems to belong to the temple of Re in Heliopolis, is never designated with a title; Harsiesis in the frame story of *Ankhsheshonqy*, who is designated as physician (*swnw*) or chief physician (*wr-swnw*), but never as a priest, although his brothers/children gain access to the priesthood when he is made chief physician; Setne and Naneferkaptah, who are just

[1260] RITNER 1993: 221-222, and footnote 1031 for examples.

designated as sons of the king; and Hareus son of Pahat and Hareus of the Children in text 1 from the Tebtunis Temple Library, despite living in a temple environment and doing purifications in the sacred lake of the temple of Heliopolis. In the case of Setne, it has been noted that his name could be interpreted as the title of the *sm*-priest in the story, but not all the scholars agree that it was still understood as such by then[1261]. It is worth noting that in P. Saqqara I there is a Ptahhotep Setem or just Setem, that could refer to the priestly title. Based on his historical counterpart, many scholars accept that he was high priest of Ptah in Memphis[1262], but this is never mentioned in the text. Both Peteisis and Naneferkaptah are designated with the set phrase *sḫ nfr rmṯ rḫ m-sš* "good scribe and a very wise man," which has been understood as a designation for magicians, although it is also applied to characters who, despite being identified as priests, do not perform any magical feats[1263]. It is possible that Setne, in the lost beginning of *Setne I*, could have received this designation as well, since he seems to share many of Naneferkaptah's characteristics. If the Setne mentioned in *Peteisis*' short stories is the same character as that of *Setne I* and *II*, he seems to be designated as a "good scribe and a very wise man" there. The absence of priestly titles in the case of accomplished magicians was already attested in P. Westcar, in which Djedi was only designated as *nḏs*, in contrast with the other magicians of the same narrative, who are designated as *ḫr*(*.j*)-*ḥb-ḥr.j-tp* "chief lector priest", which raises the question of how these characters should be regarded as opposed to those with

[1261] Cf. chapter 2, footnote 271 for this discussion.

[1262] For example RITNER 1993: 222 footnote 1031. It is relevant to note that Griffith titled his edition of both *Setne I* and *Setne II* as *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis* (GRIFFITH 1900). J. Tait follows the same interpretation and points out that "Other more fragmentary Demotic material (a little of it earlier in date) concerns other named magicians; they all seem to agree with the Setna texts in portraying the magician *as an established priestly figure*" and "In the Setna texts, the royal capital is situated at Memphis, and it is there that Setna Khaemwese lives, *has his priesthood*, and indulges his taste for investigating the monuments of the Memphite necropolis" (TAIT 1995: 180, the emphasis is mine).

[1263] The characters designated as such, apart from Peteisis and Naneferkaptah, are the prophet of Horus of Pe in Buto in the narrative of the doomed child from *Peteisis'* short stories; the husband of Hatmehit, Psherienmut from *Peteisis*' short stories, who is called "a very wise man"; Horus son of Paneshe from *Setne II*, consider to be the best of all the good scribes and wise men; Merire, who is considered as a very good scribe; and Psamtek, the priest of Neith from *Amasis and the Skipper*, described as "a very wise man."

explicit priestly titles. Since the *Life of Imhotep* is still unpublished, I do not know if Imhotep receives any priestly titles in it.

Despite these exceptional absences of priestly titles, most of the characters analyzed in this chapter are indeed designated with a reference to their priestly office. Here another issue is how the title *wꜤb* "priest" should be interpreted, which will be explored in chapter 7. Here I will just list which designations are applied to each character, and how they fit with the context. Some characters are given the designation of *wꜤb* in some cases, but in others receive a more specific priestly title. This is the case of the young priest of Horus of Pe in Buto in the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun*, who is generally called *ḫm-ḫl n wꜤb* "young priest", but refers to himself as *ḥm-nṯr* "prophet." In the case of Hareus from the *Story of Peteisis*, he is introduced in P. Petese Tebtunis A 15, B 3/4 as lesonis (*mr-šn*) of the temple of Re, but in P. Saqqara 4 just as a *wꜤb*. His position as the one who makes the decisions in the temple, with his opinion being prevalent over that of the rest of the priests, nevertheless, indicates that he is the head of the administration of the temple. Other priests are just designated as *wꜤb* without any further specification: Ankhsheshonqy is a priest of Re, like his father; the old priest in *Setne I* who tells Naneferkaptah about the book of Thoth is a *wꜤb* without any association to a particular god; Psamtek in *Amasis and the Skipper* is designated as a *wꜤb* of Neith, and is part of the council of officials (*srj.w*) of the king; Djedhor in the story told by Padipep is a *wꜤb* of Re, described however as a great man (*rmṯ Ꜥȝ*) and as being very rich (*Ꜥšȝ n sꜤnḫ*, literally "abundant in sinecures"); in P. BM EA 69531 there is a young priest (*wꜤb*) and Bakrenef, who does not have a priestly title himself, is accompanied by fellow priests (*irj.w n wꜤb*); in *Eine neue demotische Erzählung*, the young priest from Daphnae holds two priestly offices and is designated as *wꜤb*, while the character who seems to examine the texts written by the young priest for pharaoh is

designated as *ḥr-tb*, and there are also scribes of the House of Life mentioned in the text. Thus, the use of the term *wʿb* in these texts seems to be a generic for priest, such as the Greek ἱερεύς, without an indication of a particular rank, instead of having the traditional meaning of low-ranking priest.

Other characters receive more specific designations. The most common one is that of *ḥm-nṯr* "prophet," which is in all the cases analyzed here always followed by the indication of the god in particular to whose cult the priest belongs. As I have noted, the young priest of Horus of Pe in Buto from the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun* designates himself as a *ḥm-nṯr* of Horus, and the sinecure belongs to the first prophet of Amun (*ḥm-nṯr tp.j n imn*). The short stories of *Peteisis* contain many prophets of different gods, who are generally unnamed and I have listed above in section 1.1.4. Djedseshep in P. Saqqara I is a *ḥm-nṯr* of Horus; there seems to be another *ḥm-nṯr* of Horus mentioned that may not refer to Djedseshep, and other characters appear with the designation of fourth prophet (of Amun) in Thebes (*ḥm-nṯr 4-nw*), and *ḥm-nṯr* of Thoth. Finally, Padipep is a *ḥm-nṯr* of Mehyt.

A more specific designation is that of *ḥr*(*.j*)*-tp*. As I have noted above, the magicians in P. Westcar are, with the exception of Djedi, designated as *ḫr*(*.j*)*-ḥb-ḥr.j-tp* "chief lector priest." The oldest of the narratives analyzed in this chapter, P. Vandier, uses the designation *ḥr*(*.j*)*-tp* for Merire, and we also find this title in Demotic as *ḥr-tb* for Horus son of Paneshe in *Setne II*, Hi-Hor in Jug Berlin 12845, the character who examines the texts of the young priest from Daphnae in *Eine neue demotische Erzählung*, and in the *Life of Imhotep* for a character who interprets a dream of king Djoser, and for Osirsobek. The identification of characters with this title with the performance of magic is correct in the case of the characters in P. Westcar, Merire, and Horus son of Paneshe, and probably for Hi-Hor, who is able to understand the language of birds. In the

case of *Eine neue demotische Erzählung*, the character performs the interpretation of texts, and the *Life of Imhotep*, the lector priest interprets a dream, an area associated with the priesthood. I do not know if there is evidence in the *Life of Imhotep* that indicates the performance of magic by Osirsobek. It is also interesting to note that, although Peteisis is not given any priestly title himself, the figurines that he makes do have priestly titles, and among them there are two *ḫr-ꜥḥꜥ* (unetimological writing for *ḫr.j-ḥb*). He also creates a *sšl*, who might be an "exorcist."

Many characters are designated as scribes. In the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros* we have the scribe of the divine book and the scribe of the House of Life. This latter one performs a necromantic ritual on the former, and Ritner has indicated that in the Late Period both *ḥr-tb* and *sḫ mḏj-nṯr* have been considered as equivalent titles, although with reservations[1264]. Merire is also introduced as a scribe (*sḫꜣ.w*) in addition to *ḥr(.j)-tp*. In P. Saqqara I there is also a chief scribe of Moeris, who may be the person appointed prophet of Horus instead of Djedseshep. It is relevant to mention once more the set phrase *sḫ nfr* "good scribe," which is applied to Peteisis from the *Story of Peteisis*, the prophet of Horus of Pe in Buto in the story of the doomed child of *Peteisis*' short stories, Naneferkaptah (and perhaps Setne in the lost beginning of *Setne I*), and Horus son of Paneshe. Peteisis also creates a scribe of the divine book to help him with the preparation of his burial. Prowess in writing was obviously one of the requirements for access to the priesthood, and especially in Roman times, being able to write in Egyptian would have been limited to those

[1264] RITNER 1993: 222 footnote 1031. He cites as references OTTO 1975: col. 941, the article *s.v.* "Cheriheb" in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, where Otto indicates that lector priest is normally translated in Greek as πτεροφόρας, which in the Ptolemaic decrees is given in Demotic as *sḫ mḏj-nṯr*, and thus the equivalence between *ḥr-tb* and *sḫ mḏj-nṯr*. Ritner contrasts a reference of ALLIOT 1954: 518, one of the texts from Edfu concerning the festival of Behedet in the month of Epiphi, where the recitation of different religious formulae are said to be done by the *sḫ mḏꜣ.t-nṯr* and a *ḫr(.j)-ḥb*, which seems to indicate that both titles are different, despite performing similar actions.

educated in the temples, and belonging to the priestly class, so scribe and priest would have been considered almost as equivalent terms[1265].

Doorkeepers (*irj-ꜥ3*) are mentioned in P. Saqqara I, as doorkeepers of Horus lord of Letopolis, but the fragmentary state of the text does not provide more information about their role in the text. They also appear as four of the figurines created by Peteisis to help in the preparation of his burial. According to Hoffmann and Quack, as I indicated in chapter 2, this designation is the Egyptian equivalent of the Greek παστοφόρος.

1.1.6. Actions: ritual, magical

Throughout the chapter I have indicated the participation of the characters in actions qualified as ritual and magical. Although the distinction of religion and magic did not exist in ancient Egypt[1266], for practical purposes in the comparison of the priests in the Demotic texts with those in Graeco-Roman literature[1267], I have considered the performance of offerings and libations in the temples, and the recitation of hymns, as ritual actions; and the use of spells with supernatural results as magical actions. The division, however, is artificial, and probably would not have existed in the mind of the ancient readers of the texts.

With respect to ritual actions, in the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun*, the young priest of Horus performs a hymn to the parts of the bark of Amun. In the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros*, the scribe of the divine book is said to be performing a libations in the temple of Memphis for the deceased Inaros. In the frame narrative of the *Story of Peteisis*, Peteisis acts as his own

[1265] I mentioned in chapter 2 P. Tebtunis II 291 Fr. b 2.41-43, which shows that the candidate to the priesthood had to prove his knowledge of hieratic, cf. GRENFELL, HUNT, and GOODSPEED 1907: 57-58; and SAUNERON 1962. A historical example of a priest dedicated both to the administration of the temple and to the writing of Demotic literature is Satabus from Soknopaiou Nesos, who was the author of the *Prophecy of the Lamb* in the beginning of the 1st century CE (cf. SCHENTULEIT 2007).
[1266] Cf. i.e. the discussions in RITNER 1995b, and QUACK 2002b.
[1267] For the concept of magic and *magos* in the Graeco-Roman world, cf. chapter 7, section 1.1.

embalming priest, together with the help of a series of wax figurines. In *Peteisis*' short stories, the prophet of Horus of Pe in Buto in the story of the doomed child goes to the temple of Horus of Pe and performs an incubation. Setne performs several ritual actions in the narratives of his cycle. In *Setne II* he performs a purification before the festival at the court of the temple right before his visit to the Netherworld. He is also presented as never failing to make burnt offerings and libations for Horus son of Paneshe at the end of the story. In P. Carlsberg 207 he makes a libation and burnt offering at his arrival in Abydos. Naneferkaptah also worships in the temple and performs sacrifices at his arrival to Coptos, before embarking to find the book of Thoth. Horus son of Paneshe, in *Setne II*, performs burnt offerings and libations in Hermopolis before invoking Thoth, and after the invocation he performs an incubation in order to get the response from the god. In P. Vandier, as I indicated in the section on physical appearance, Merire purifies himself by shaving and donning linen clothes in order to perform the ritual to extend king Si-Sobek's life, which involves offerings. To conclude, in *Eine neue demotische Erzählung*, the young priest of Daphnae's writing of funerary texts appears as a ritual action associated with the mummification period of king Psamtek, since he performs a series of purification, including abstinences.

In the narratives, the performance of magical actions is normally an important device that moves the plot forward. In the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros*, the scribe of the divine book, after performing libations for the deceased Inaros, pronounces a magical formula that allows him to see that which is hidden and hear the voices of the gods. After his death in the hands of Anubis for his transgression, a scribe of the House of Life performs a necromantic ritual in order to bring the scribe of the divine book back to life for a moment in order to learn the cause of his death. In the *Story of Peteisis*, Peteisis is presented as a skilled and successful magician. In the beginning

of the story he is powerful enough to cast a spell and force the ghost to tell him how much longer he has left to live. He also creates a series of wax figures in which he insuflates life, first of a cat and a falcon to create a fake omen and threaten Hareus, the lesonis of the temple of Re in Heliopolis, of two baboons that are told to compile the short stories that follow in the text, and a series of figurines with different priestly titles to help him in the preparation of his own burial. In the preserved short stories, only that with a character named Setne includes the recitation of a magical formula. The Setne cycle is notorious for the appearance in it of magical feats. In *Setne I*, Setne performs a magical spell with the use of books and amulets to free himself and take the book of Thoth. In *Setne II*, he performs spells for the protection of his wife and his son Si-Osiris in different occasions. Naneferkaptah, however, is presented as a much more accomplished magician than Setne; he performs complex magic without the mention of the use of books. His magical abilities are described in detail, for example in his preparation for the trip, when he creates wax figures and animates them in order to embark in the search for the book of Thoth, and also during his quest for the book, defeating the guardians placed by Thoth to protect it. He is also able to perform magic as a ghost, during the game, transforming later into an old priest in order to indicate to Setne the location of the tombs of Ihweret and Merib, and perhaps sending Setne the Tabubu dream. It is important to note that the whole story might be controlled through magic by Naneferkaptah, with the final goal of being reunited with his family, and thus he might have performed a spell in the lost beginning of the narrative to enchant Setne and make him act foolishly. In *Setne II*, Si-Osiris is the protagonist of prodigious feats such as being able to go and come back from the Netherworld taking Setne with him and bringing him back, and reading from a closed book. His counterpart Horus son of Paneshe, described in the story as the best of all good scribes and very wise men is the character that makes a bigger display of magical prowess,

according to his reputation. Although he is shown as using books and amulets, and consulting Thoth, the fact that he has the favor of the god of wisdom and is allowed to copy one of the god's books places him on a superior level. During the contest against the Nubian sorcerer, he counteracts all of the latter's spells without any problems and without recourse to the use of books. In P. Vandier, Merire is presented as a skilled magician, being the only one who knows how to extend king Si-Sobek's life, but also through the creation of the earth-man, who seems to be a more complex figure than those created by Peteisis or Naneferkaptah. In the *Life of Imhotep*, Imhotep, who was considered one of the great Egyptian sages, has a magical contest against an Assyrian sorceress, and very similar to Horus son of Paneshe, he is able to counteract all of her attacks.

1.1.7. Moral characterization

A topic that I have explored in detail in chapter 2 is the moral characterization of the priestly characters in the narratives. Besides those priests that are objectively good or bad, some of the narratives present a series of characters whose moral stance is ambiguous, displaying a very interesting degree of complexity and depth.

The character that is most surprising in this sense is Peteisis in the *Story of Peteisis*. The main problem of this narrative is that we lack the beginning of the frame story, and perhaps an epilogue after the short stories that would provide the fate of Peteisis. In the way the story is preserved, Peteisis does not seem to have the most exemplary behavior, since he uses magic against the ghost in order to access hidden knowledge, something that is punished in other narratives such as the beginning of the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros*, or in *Setne I*; and he uses magic to create a fake omen and, in a destructive way, against the lesonis Hareus in order to

obtain 500 pieces of silver from the temple. In both cases he reaches his goal. Despite these actions, he is presented as a wise man, a loving husband, and seems to have the favor of the god Re, who speaks to his wife. According to my analysis, Peteisis might have had at the end of the story a fate that is neither entirely good, nor completely bad, due to the combination of good and bad actions, and this might have been a relevant part of the message of the stories, which portray stories of good and bad women. This might have been made explicit in an epilogue. The frame story of the *Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy* also provides an example of two morally ambiguous characters, Ankhsheshonqy himself, and the chief physician Harsiesis. Ankhsheshonqy does not take part in the conspiracy against Pharaoh, but he also does not report it, and thus becomes an accomplice of it, which is the cause of his life sentence in prison. He appears as a person torn between his loyalty to the king and his friendship to Harsiesis, which confers on him a very human character, but also places him as an interesting choice as author of instructions. Harsiesis is presented in a similar way. After the description of his fast ascent to chief physician, he appears getting involved in a conspiracy, but is reluctant to take part in it without his friend Ankhsheshonqy. His level of participation in the conspiracy is not clear, but in his case, his punishment is the death sentence. Setne in *Setne I* is also a very interesting character to explore from a moral point of view. He does not act according to what would be expected from a wise man, from his taking the book of Thoth from the tomb of Naneferkaptah despite Ihweret's warnings, and his reading from it in public, breaking its secrecy, to the escalation in the Tabubu episode in which he kills his own children for lust, which symbolizes his own annihilation. As I noted in chapter 2, it is important to keep in mind that all these actions might be caused by a spell from Naneferkaptah, who seems to be behind the whole plot, since Setne's attitude in P. Carlsberg 207 and *Setne II* is the complete opposite[1268]. Naneferkaptah, however, despite his

[1268] We do not know, however, how much internal coherence would the stories that compose this cycle have had.

designation as a very wise man, is presented as a person dominated by his thirst for knowledge, and willing to obtain it using tricks and transgressing against Thoth himself. He does not pay attention to his wife's warnings, and ends up paying for it with his life and that of his family.

Despite the fact that according to purification texts, the priests had to be physically but also morally pure, at least at the time of performing rituals, some priests of the narratives are portrayed as being evil. Thus, we have in *Peteisis*' short stories prophets who seem to be committing adultery, a prophet of Horus of Pe in Buto who rapes a married woman, Hatmehit, and imprisons her husband, or in P. Carlsberg 207 a conflict between a group of priests that involves the assassination of different members of a priestly family. In P. Vandier, the court magicians are portrayed as manipulative and jealous.

The way characters react to good and bad situations is sometimes described through the presentation of their emotions[1269]. Depression is portrayed in a very moving way in the case of Peteisis, who is described as being a broken man with a sad heart when he learns about his upcoming death, or in that of Setne in *Setne II*, who is shown acting as almost a dead man when he cannot solve the challenge of the Nubian sorcerer, laying in bed without moving, wrapped up in his clothes as in a funerary shroud. Merire cries and shows despair when he is asked by king Si-Sobek to extend his lifetime, since that will involve his own death. Hareus son of Pahat, from text 1 of the narratives from the Tebtunis Temple Library, also covers himself from head to feet and refuses to talk after the sons of Hareus of the Children had talked to him in the temple. Falling in love is another emotion that is described very graphically in the narratives, as in the case of Setne with Tabubu in *Setne I*, or of Hareus son of Pahat with the daughter of the prophet of Atum. The expression normally used to express the feeling of falling in love, as stated, for example, in *Setne I* 5.1 is: *t3 wnw.t n nw r-ir stne r-r=s bn-pw=f gm m3ʿ n p3 t3 iw=f n-im=f* "The

[1269] For an analysis of the role of emotions in Demotic literature, cf. TAIT 2009.

moment in which Setne saw her, he did not know where on earth he was." This expression shows the intensity of the feeling, and is generally followed by a need to fulfill the desire of being with that other person on the part of the character affected by the emotion. In the case of Setne, we see that he is eager to do anything that Tabubu asks him in order to have sex with her, while in the case of Hareus son of Pahat, he has the same reaction described above as indicating depression– covering himself from head to feet with his clothes, refusing to interact with his father, and wishing his own death– until his wish to be with his beloved is fulfilled (P. Carlsberg 159 + PSI inv. D 10 verso, 1.8-11). Another emotion present in the narratives is Merire's resentfulness in P. Vandier against the court magicians and wanting his revenge after the assassination of his son and the marriage of king Si-Sobek to his wife.

1.2. Other important aspects in the narratives

1.2.1. Wisdom and knowledge

One of the elements that appear constantly connected to those characters who are represented as wise men is the centrality of knowledge, and its symbol in the form of books. In the *Story of Peteisis*, Peteisis makes a proposal to bring books or explain their content to the temple of Re in Heliopolis, in order to obtain in exchange 500 pieces of silver for his burial. He indicates that this will increase the reputation of the temple (P. Petese Tebtunis A 3.8). From this statement we can infer that the reputation of the temples was, at least partially, based on the contents of their library, or the importance of the texts they contained. Depending on how we interpret Peteisis' proposal, either he was adding more books to the temple library, which would increase its holdings, or he would explain the contents of preexisting texts, probably ancient religious works.

The ownership[1270] of this type of commentaries by a temple library would also have been considered important, since it would have allowed further interaction with less understood texts. The Tebtunis Temple Library, in fact, contained some of these commentaries, one example of which is P. Carlsberg 1 and 1a (mid. 2nd century CE), which is a commentary on the Book of Nut, a text first attested in the Osireion at Abydos, inscribed during the reign of Seti I[1271]. In *Setne II*, Horus son of Paneshe goes to the temple of Thoth in Hermopolis[1272], in order to question the god on how to stop and defeat Pharaoh's enemies. In his response, the god directs Horus to the temple library, and tells him to copy a book preserved there, which had been written by his own divine hand (*Setne II* 5.6-15). The temple library appears as the custodian of very powerful documents, and therefore it was considered to be a very important place within the temple complex, a place to which access was restricted[1273]. The beginning of *Setne I*, when the old priest laughs at Naneferkaptah and tells him that he is wasting his time looking at inscriptions that have no importance, shows that the Egyptians of this time were aware of the existence of a hierarchy in the importance of written texts, depending on their contents, but also on their origin and attributed authorship. This idea is also present in the philosophical and technical Hermetica, which attribute their origin to important sages, including the god Thoth/Hermes himself. Also in

[1270] On the complex issue of the ownership of literary works in Graeco-Roman Egypt, cf. VAN MINNEN 1998.
[1271] For a brief summary of the text, cf. HORNUNG 1999: 113-116. Cf. also NEUGEBAUER and PARKER 1969: 36-95. The most recent analysis is by VON LIEVEN 2007.
[1272] A similar situation takes place in the *Famile Stela*, an inscription carved in Sehel Island, in the area of modern Aswan. The text dates to the Ptolemaic period, but it is set in the reign of Djoser, in the 3rd Dynasty. In this text, Djoser consults with the chief lector priest Imhotep concerning a famine that is affecting Egypt, and Imhotep goes to the temple of Thoth in Hermopolis in order to consult the books of the House of Life there for a solution. For a translation of the text, cf. RITNER 2003a. For the hieroglyphic text, cf. BARGUET 1953. Both Barguet and LICHTHEIM (1980: 96) introduce a genitive between the title and the name and read "the chief lector priest of Imhotep." Ritner notes that this emendation is unnecessary (RITNER 2003a: 387 footnote 1).
[1273] On the restricted character of the access to the temple libraries, cf. RYHOLT 2013b: 37: "there are indications that these libraries zealously protected their writings which were frequently described as 'secret' throughout the three millennia which our sources cover. The primary reason for restricting access to the literature may well have been to protect it from abuse and to retain its potency. Knowledge was power, and it is obvious how magic or knowledge about the future gained through divination might be misused. There may also have been an element of protection of special expertise when literature, such as the medical type, was not made readily available to outsiders."

Setne I, when Thoth complains before Re about Naneferkaptah's stealing his book, he refers to the place in which it was kept as his *pr-ḥḏ*, his "treasury" (*Setne I* 4.6-7), which further emphasizes the importance of the book.

Therefore, the gods own books, and the temples, being the houses of the gods, had libraries as well. The presence of books in the royal court is also exemplified in P. Vandier, where the court magicians use books that record the deeds of previous kings and magicians, and consult a similar case that happened to king Djekare in the Old Kingdom for the treatment of Si-Sobek's illness. Demotic narratives also provide evidence for the existence of private libraries belonging to scholarly individuals[1274]. In *Setne II*, when Si-Osiris wants to show Setne that he can read from a closed book, he tells him to go to the basement or ground floor of his house and get books from a chest placed there. In the performance of magical spells, sometimes recourse to particular books seems to be necessary. Ownership of books was not just enough, but knowledge of their contents was a sign of wisdom, and some of the most powerful magicians, such as Merire, Naneferkaptah, or Horus son of Paneshe, are depicted as being able to cast spells from memory. In the case of Si-Osiris' exceptional learning abilities and precociousness, he is described as having studied in the House of Life and having surpassed by the age of twelve all the good scribes and wise men in Memphis in the recitation of spells. Books were also composed by priestly characters as literary testaments, as we see in the case of Peteisis in the *Story of Peteisis*, and in fact, he became a character known by his wisdom both in Egyptian and Greek literature. Ownership, knowledge, and composition of books seem therefore to be an important symbol of the membership to the priestly class.

[1274] Documentary sources also provide evidence for the private ownership of books. An example comes from the two letters edited in ZAUZICH 2000, P. Carlsberg 21 and 22, in which priests exchange of books. A prophet of Thoth is mentioned in P. Carlsberg 21, to whom a medical book (*ḏmꜥ swnw*) and a "jar-book" (*mḏ.t pꜣ hn*), which is interpreted as a pharmacological book by Zauzich, are returned. In P. Carlsberg 22 a scribe of the divine book is mentioned.

An element that was directly attached to books and knowledge was that of initiation and secrecy[1275]. *Setne I* and *Setne II* provide two examples of powerful magicians who gain access to books written by the god of wisdom, Thoth. In the former case, Naneferkaptah forces his access to the book transgressing and illicitly breaking the secrecy that surrounds the knowledge contained in it; while in the latter case, Horus son of Paneshe performs a ritual and asks the god for access to the knowledge he needs, which is granted to him. The breech of this secrecy was generally punished with death, as we can see in *Setne I* and the beginning of the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros*. Knowledge of writing was already a barrier for the access and understanding of Egyptian religious and magical texts, but within the priestly class there were also different degrees of training and initiation that marked different levels of access to particular types of knowledge. Handbooks such as the *Book of Thoth*, in which the acquisition of knowledge is the main topic, are a testimony of the kind of evaluations that marked the path towards this specialized knowledge. In this treatise we see a dialog between a master (probably the god Thoth himself) and a disciple, in which the former tests the latter on different areas concerning scribal knowledge.

1.2.2. Priests being paid for their services

The reason for the analysis of this particular aspect is that the payment of priests has been used by scholars such as Frankfurter and Dieleman in order to support their view that Egyptian priests became itinerant magicians paid for their services as a result of the decline and closure of the Egyptian temples. Although I will analyze and refute this argument in chapter 7, I will here compile the instances in which priestly characters are rewarded through payment for their

[1275] Throughout the previous three chapters I have discussed different aspects of what we know concerning the initiation into the priesthood. For a general discussion of the Egyptian verb that we translate as "to initiate," *bs*, cf. KRUCHTEN 1989: 147–204. For the restrictions in the access to knowledge, cf. BAINES 1990.

services, in order to refer back to them later. The cases attested in the corpus analyzed in chapter 2 are the following: in the *Story of Peteisis*, Peteisis asks for 500 pieces of silver in exchange for providing books or interpretations of books to the temple (P. Petese Tebtunis A 3.9); in *Setne I*, the old priest asks Naneferkaptah for 100 silver pieces and his two brothers to be made priests without fee in exchange for revealing the location of the book of Thoth (*Setne I* 3.11-20); similarly, in the *Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*, when Harsiesis is made chief physician, he obtains for his brothers the priesthood without fee (*Ankhsheshonqy* 1.x+14); in P. CtYBR 422, Peteisis is rewarded for interpreting a manuscript written by Imhotep for king Nechepsos. Thus, it appears that obtaining a payment for their expertise was considered the normal procedure. Priests were also paid for the normal exercise of their functions, as we see in *Eine neue demotische Erzählung*, in which the young priest from Daphnae claims his right to the payment from the two priestly offices he holds. In order to justify his right to the payment, the young priest argues that he provided a service to the previous deceased king by writing his funerary texts. It is thus clear that in all these cases the priests are paid for the use of their special expertise and knowledge.

2. Egyptian priests in Graeco-Egyptian and Graeco-Roman literature

Chapters 3 and 4 were devoted to the analysis of the image of the Egyptian priests in the so-called Graeco-Egyptian literature, sources written in Greek but originating in an Egyptian context, and in Graeco-Roman literature, which constitute external views of the Egyptian priesthood during the Roman period. The sources presented in these two chapters have a chronological range that goes from the 3rd century BCE to the 4th century CE. In the 3rd century BCE,

with the beginning of the Ptolemaic period, we find the writings of Manetho and the proposed date of composition for book 1 of the *Alexander Romance*[1276]. Most of the works analyzed, however, date to the first three centuries of Roman domination of Egypt. In the 1st century CE we find the Egyptian priest Chaeremon, Plutarch, and the composition of the four books of Pseudo-Demokritos. Most of the works studied here date to the 2nd century CE, such as Lucian, Apuleius, Thessalos[1277], and Harnouphis[1278]. The date of composition of the philosophical Hermetica has been located between the end of the 1st and the 3rd century CE[1279], and the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri cover the whole period studied here, with the Theban Magical Library dating to the 3rd and 4th centuries CE. At the end of the 3rd century CE we find Iamblichus' *De mysteriis*, the works of the alchemist Zosimos of Panopolis, and Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*[1280]. Keeping in mind the chronology of each of these sources is important when using them to create historical arguments. Disregard of chronology is one of the main problems that affect the work of Frankfurter, which I will consider in part 2 of this study.

Another element that should be kept in mind when analyzing all these sources is that they can be classified into two groups. On the one hand, we have those texts that present fictional priestly characters, and thus go along the lines of the texts analyzed in chapter 2. These are the *Alexander Romance*, with the figure of king Nectanebo, Lucian's *Philopseudes*, with Pankrates, Thessalos' proem to the treatise on astrobotany, who describes the priests of Thebes, Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, with Zatchlas and the Egyptian priests of book 11, and Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*, with Kalasiris. On the other hand, I have analyzed a series of texts that either originate from the

[1276] Cf. STONEMAN 1991: 10.
[1277] According to Moyer, although other authors place him in the 1st century CE. Cf. section on Thessalos in chapter 4 for the discussion.
[1278] Cassius Dio wrote about him around year 220 CE, but he lived in the second half of the 2nd century CE.
[1279] For the discussion of the dating of the *Aithiopika*, cf. chapter 4, section 1.1.
[1280] The date of composition of the *Aithiopika* is contested, going from an earlier dating in the second quarter of the 3rd century to a later one in the second half of the 4th century.

context of the Egyptian priesthood in the Graeco-Roman period, and thus they offer clues about its characteristics, such as the works of Manetho and Chaeremon or the information about Harnouphis, who were real Egyptian priests in the context of the Ptolemaic kingdom and the Roman empire, the Hermetica, which according to the conclusions presented here is a corpus of texts that was written and used in the context of the Egyptian temples of the first centuries of Roman domination in Egypt[1281], and the works of Plutarch and Iamblichus, which describe the characteristics of the Egyptian priesthood and its intellectual world crediting Egyptian priests and works such as those of Manetho and Chaeremon, and the Hermetica, as their sources. These two groups of texts complement each other in nuancing the image of the Egyptian priesthood in the Hellenized world of Graeco-Roman Egypt, a complex picture that is less evident through the Demotic narratives[1282].

As I did in the previous section, I will classify here the main characteristics of the presentation of the Egyptian priests in the Graeco-Egyptian and Graeco-Roman sources analyzed in chapters 3 and 4. For it, I will use the same seven categories for the characterization of the Egyptian priesthood, plus the two sections concerning the treatment of wisdom and knowledge, and the payment of priests.

[1281] For this argument, cf. esp. chapter 3, section 3.3-3.4.

[1282] Although I have already pointed out in chapter 2 that we can find in the Demotic narratives elements that attest to their historical context, such as the very possible Homeric influence in the Inaros cycle, the *imitatio Alexandri* in the cycle of Sesostris mentioned in the analysis of Manetho in chapter 3, or certain similarities between some themes in the Demotic narratives and the Greek novels, as the story of the doomed child in the short stories of the *Story of Peteisis*, and the story of Charikles in the *Aithiopika*. More interdisciplinary work between these different corpora will most certainly provide more examples in the future.

2.1. Characteristics of the Egyptian priesthood in Graeco-Egyptian and Graeco-Roman literature

2.1.1. Physical characteristics

Unlike in the case of the Demotic narratives, in the Graeco-Egyptian and Graeco-Roman sources we find more emphasis in the physical description of the priests. Starting with the fictional narratives, in the *Alexander Romance* Nectanebo is described during the practice of the lekanomancy ritual in the beginning of the text as wearing priestly robes, and emphasis is placed in the shaving of his hair and beard when he prepares to leave Egypt, indicating that "he transformed his appearance" (*Alexander Romance* I.3). The indication that Nectanebo had long hair and beard, even though he is described as performing as an Egyptian prophet before his flight from Egypt, is interesting if compared to other references to bearded priests, such as Kalasiris in the *Aithiopika*, who is described in his first appearance with the long hair and beard of a Greek philosopher, together with Greek-looking clothes. This is also the description of the Pythagorean Arignotos in Lucian's *Philopseudes*, in contrast with the description of Pankrates, which involves the characteristic white linen garments, and clean-shaven head, to which Lucian adds a flat nose, protruding lips, and thin legs, which seem to be a characteristic of Lucian's Egyptian characters, together with a strong accent when speaking in Greek[1283]. When Kalasiris returns to Memphis, however, the revelation of his identity involves showing his "priest's mane of hair" (*Aithiopika* VII.7.2). It is interesting to note at this point Plutarch's description of the superfluity of the external appearance of both philosophers and priests, in which he highlights the beard and the threadbare cloak as symbols of the appearance of the philosopher, and dressing in linen and shaving for the Isiac devotee (*De Iside* 3). Later Plutarch also explains the reason for

[1283] For further discussion, cf. point 2.2.1.

shaving and wearing linen clothes (*De Iside* 4). In the *Metamorphoses*, Zachtlas is described wearing long linen robes, sandals made of palm leaves, and with his head completely shaven. In book 11, when Lucius is initiated in the temple, his head is also shaven. The Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri describe the appearance of a priest according to the same characteristic elements, as in *PDM* xiv. 93-114: "You see the god, he being in the likeness of a priest wearing clothes of byssus on his back and wearing sandals on his feet"[1284]. It is interesting to note that, although the instructions of this spell are written in Demotic, the spell itself is in Greek, a fact that is remarked upon in the instructions themselves. Another example appears in *PDM* xiv. 232-238: "You should come to me in your form of a priest, / in your figure of a man of the temple"[1285].

Other characteristics that appear in the physical description of these priests are the elements used in their rituals. Thus, Nectanebo is described in the *Alexander Romance* with different elements such as the bowl for the lecanomancy or the figures that he uses in it, with his astrological tablet, which is described in detail, including the different pieces representing the heavenly bodies, and with the astronomical tables mentioned in book I.14, if they are to be interpreted as different from the first tablet. The priests in the procession of book 11 of the *Metamorphoses* also carry different accouterments, such as the sistrum and the rose crown of the priest that is meant to break Lucius' curse.

In some cases, the physical description of the priests remarks on their demeanor. The description of Pankrates in the *Philopseudes*, together with indications of his physical appearance, also says that he was always deep in thought, which is also how Kalasiris' attitude is represented the first time he is introduced in the narrative, walking to and fro on the shore of the

[1284] Translation of the Demotic by Johnson in BETZ 1992: 201.
[1285] Translation of the Demotic by Johnson in BETZ 1992: 209.

river immersed in his own thoughts. This attitude agrees with the description of the Egyptian priests by Chaeremon as philosophers devoted to their studies (*De Abstinentia* 4.6-8, esp. 8).

The main two physical images that we see in these narratives is that of the traditional characteristics of the Egyptian priesthood, particularly in the form of linen clothes, sandals, and shaving of the head and sometimes of the body, together with the image of the philosopher according to Greek standards. We have seen that Greek philosophy and Egyptian theology intertwined, especially during the Roman period, and Egyptian priests are described as philosophers, while wise men from the Hellenistic world went to study with Egyptian priests, as reflected in texts such as Lucian's *Philopseudes*, with the figures of Arignotos and Eukrates. The key for understanding this combination is perhaps the aforementioned quote by Plutarch, in which, despite the external appearance, he emphasizes the importance of knowledge. However, in Egyptian ritual, the prescriptions of physical purity were extremely important and prominent, as I have noted repeatedly in the previous chapters.

2.1.2. Age

From the Egyptian priests studied in chapters 3 and 4, some of them have their age specified. In book 2 of the *Metamorphoses*, Zachtlas is described as a *iuvenis*, a young priest, in contrast perhaps with the old man that consults him. Despite his youth, he is an Egyptian priest of first rank, which reminds one of some priests in Demotic literature, such as the young priest of Horus of Pe in Buto of the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun*. Another young character is Demokritos in the *Physica kai Mystika*, who despite not being an Egyptian priest himself, appears represented as the disciple of Ostanes, who is characterized as an Egyptian priest. Thus, he himself is in the process of being initiated. This is also the case of Lucius in book 11 of the *Metamorphoses*.

The narratives also present several old priests. The priests of Thebes in Thessalos' proem are designated as elders, and the priest that accepts to help Thessalos is said to be trustworthy διὰ τὸ <οὐ> σοβαρὸν τῶν ἠθῶν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας μέτρον πιστευθῆναι δυναμένου "who could be trusted because of the impressiveness of his character and the measure of his age" (Thessalos I prooem. 14). This is also the case of Kalasiris, who is described as an old and venerable sage, and who actually dies of old age after securing his succession in the priesthood. The priest that initiates Lucius in the temple is described as a *senex comissimus* "very kindly old man" (*Metamorphoses* XI.22) too.

As in the case of the Demotic narratives, old age is especially attached to the idea of knowledge and experience, and all these characters act in a way as masters of younger characters in each story. This makes the unusual youth of Zatchlas all the more relevant, since he is represented as a wise, accomplished priest, in contrast with the old man for whom he performs the necromantic ritual. Those characters for whom a particular age indication is not specified may be understood as middle aged, although in the case of Pankrates, the information about his 23 years studying in the underground sanctuaries of Isis might be an indication of his closeness to old age, despite his physical abilities being able to perform wonders such as riding on crocodiles.

2.1.3. Social situation

The historical Egyptian priests examined in chapters 3 and 4, Manetho, Chaeremon, and Harnouphis, all belonged to the higher echelons of society, and were in direct connection with their respective rulers (Ptolemy II, Caligula/Nero, Marcus Aurelius). We have references from later authors that highlight the reputation of both Manetho and Chaeremon. The designation of

Harnouphis by the *Suda* as philosopher might also reflect a similar consideration with respect to his wisdom. The fictional priests of the narratives have different social circumstances, but in all cases belonged to the higher social strata. Nectanebo was first king, and after his arrival to Macedonia lives in the palace with the royal family, becoming the father of Alexander. Pankrates is a priest with good reputation, having instructed two Greeks, Arignotos and Eukrates, and has spent 23 years being trained in the temple. Although his particular social position is not specified, it should be understood that as a priest with reputation of wisdom he probably belonged to the high class. The priests in Thessalos' proem are designated as "scholarly high priests," and according to my interpretation, they live in a temple complex that, according to the description in the text, was not ruined or abandoned. In the *Metamorphoses*, Zatchlas is described as an Egyptian prophet of first rank, while the priests in the procession and rites of book 11 are also presented as prominent members of society, who might be Egyptian in origin. In the *Aithiopika*, Kalasiris is the high priest of Isis in Memphis, but even while he is outside of Egypt, during his time in Delphi, he is considered as a wise man and interacts with other philosophers, who revere him for his knowledge and treat him as one of them. Reverence for Egyptian priests is also apparent in the way Plutarch and Iamblichus treat Egyptian wisdom and the priests as possessors and keepers of it. The origin of the Hermetica in the context of the Egyptian temples also places it in a privileged area of society, and Fowden's indication that access to the philosophical Hermetica would require at least rhetorical education indicates that only those who had reached the higher degrees of Greek *paideia* would have been able to access it[1286].

An important social relationship that appears in several of the texts analyzed in these chapter is that of master and disciple, either explicit or implicit. This relationship is one of the main features of the philosophical Hermetica, and we see it in Pseudo-Demokritos, where a

[1286] On this topic, cf. chapter 3, section 3.3.

group composed of a master, Ostanes, and his disciples, is described in the context of the temple and or instruction, and also in Zosimos with his disciple Theosebia. Chaeremon had been the tutor in real life of the emperor Nero, and was in Alexandria the head of a school of grammarians. In Iamblichus, Abamon presents himself as the master of Anebo, to whom Porphyry's letter is addressed. The beginning of *De mysteriis* lists the Greek philosophers who were known for having gone to Egypt to learn from the Egyptian priests, and this seems to place Porphyry in the status of disciple with respect to Abamon, who instructs Porphyry through his treatise. Plutarch, having learnt from the priests of Egypt as well, could be placed in this same tradition. Among the fictional priests, Nectanebo is presented as one of the tutors of Alexander, and he is about to instruct him in the knowledge of the heavens when he is killed by the young man. This is evident from a sentence after Nectanebo's death, which indicates that the position of tutor of Alexander would then be occupied only by Aristotle: "Alexander, meanwhile, now had only one teacher, Aristotle" (*Alexander Romance* I.16)[1287]. As I have noted above, Pankrates in the *Philopseudes* is described as the teacher of two Greeks, Arignotos and Eukrates. Arignotos is actually described as being able to use Egyptian books and spells in the Egyptian language, and thus his training with Pankrates was probably more thorough than that of Eukrates. Thessalos, through the vision, learns directly from the god Asklepios, just as instruction in the Hermetica derives directly from divine or semidivine figures like Hermes Trismegistos or Asclepios himself. In his case, the priest seems to act only as an intermediary in this master-disciple relationship. The experience of initiation of Lucius in book 11 of the *Metamorphoses* has been interpreted as a first person description of the initiation into the Isiac mysteries that Apuleius himself could have experienced[1288]. In it, Lucius is initiated by the Egyptian priests in order to become a *pastophoros*.

[1287] Translation from manuscript L by STONEMAN 1991: 47.
[1288] GRIFFITHS 1975: 4.

Although it is not clear how this initiation ceremony relates to initiation rites in Egypt, Lucius adopts the position of disciple with respect to the priests in charge of the process. In the *Aithiopika*, Kalasiris becomes a sort of master that reveals the mysteries of Egypt to the other philosophers in Delphi, and is a master, even paternal figure, for the two protagonists. Thus, we see that this type of relationship seems to appear across the board in practically all the narratives analyzed.

Concerning the family status of the priests, we do not have any information except for Kalasiris, who had been married and has two sons. In the case of Nectanebo, the text only mentions his lust after Olympias and his paternity of Alexander, but nothing with respect to his status previously in Egypt. In the descriptions of the life of the Egyptian priests from authors like Chaeremon, abstinence from sexual activity is listed, but we know from descriptions of the requirements for purity from the temples that this was limited to the preparation for ritual, since the priests normally had families, and the offices were hereditary.

2.1.4. Name

The priestly characters analyzed in these chapters are generally named whenever they are prominent characters in the texts. In the case of Thessalos, the priest remain nameless, since the focus of the story is not on him, but on the god Askeplios himself, of whom the priest is just an intermediary. In the *Metamorphoses*' book 11, the Egyptian priests are not individualized, since they are relevant in the narrative just in their status as priests, and not as independent active characters.

In the Hermetica, and especially in the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri, the mention of names of famous priests has been interpreted as a technique for prestige[1289]. This pseudoepigraphic tradition, as I have noted before, was a common feature of religious, funerary, and magical texts already in Pharaonic Egypt.

2.1.5. Epithets and titles

The priests analyzed in these two chapters are always given a priestly title in their description. The basic title was just that of priest, ἱερεύς, which is the only one given to Paapis in the *Wonders Beyond Thule,* or to the priest in the procession of book 11 of the *Metamorphoses* (*sacerdos*). This term is equivalent to *wab* in Demotic, which is the term used in *PDM* xiv.232-238 to designate Paysakh, the priest of Cusae. More specific titles are that of prophet, προφήτης, which is the one used for Nectanebo in the *Alexander Romance*, Zatchlas in the *Metamorphoses* (*Aegyptius propheta primarius* "Egyptian prophet of first rank"), Kalasiris in the *Aithiopika* (who is specifically a prophet of Isis), and Abamon, the Egyptian priest through whom Iamblichus delivers his treatise *De mysteriis*, who is also designated as διδάσκαλος "teacher." In *PGM* IV.2441-2621, Pachrates, prophet of Heliopolis, impresses emperor Hadrian with his magic. Another common title is ἱερογραμματεύς "sacred scribe," which is the title of Pankrates in the *Philopseudes* (ἀνὴρ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμματέων "one of the scribes of the temple," *Philopseudes* 34), Manetho (γραμματεὺς τῶν κατ᾽Αἴγυπτον ἱερῶν ἀδύτων "scribe of the sacred shrines of Egypt," in the testimony from Synkellos), Chaeremon, Harnouphis in the inscription from Aquileia, Pnouthis in *PGM* I.42-195, and Typhes in *PGM* XIII.734.1077. The term ἀρχιερεύς "high priest" was applied to Manetho, who is described as such by Synkellos and the *Suda*, and

[1289] By Dieleman in particular, cf. chapter 3, section 3.2.1.

to the priests that Thessalos encounters in Thebes (ἀρχι ιερεῖς φιλόλογοι "scholarly high priests").

Apart from these priestly designations, the term φιλόσοφος was also used in the case of Chaeremon, who was designated specifically as a Stoic, and Harnouphis. Although Kalasiris is not designated as such, he is clearly presented in the guise of a philosopher as well (he designates himself as σοφός in *Aithiopika* 5.12.1). In *PDM* xiv.1-92 and 528-553 there is a reference to a physician (*swnw*) in the Oxyrhynchite nome as the author of the spell. The term μάγος is used for Nectanebo, and for Harnouphis by Cassius Dio (*Historiae Romanae* 71.8.4). Apart from these terms, Nectanebo is also designated as μαθηματικός and ἀστρολόγος highlighting his knowledge of the workings of the heavens.

2.1.6. Actions: ritual, magical

As I noted in chapter 3, the philosophical Hermetica contain several references to the performance of religious rituals, which include the presentation of offerings, and the chanting of hymns in the context of the temple. The rituals of the Isiac devotees are described in detail, including the procession in honor of the goddess, in book 11 of the *Metamorphoses*. We also see fictional priests practicing rituals in the narratives, as in the case of Kalasiris, who at his arrival to Memphis, and after having regained his office as high prophet of Isis, is said to go to the temple to make a libation and a prayer for the goddess (book VII.8). The life in the temples is described by Chaeremon in almost monastic terms, and both Chaeremon and Plutarch, the latter perhaps using the former as reference, describe ascetic prescriptions for the priesthood. These are also attested in the narratives, as in the purifications that Thessalos has to undertake for three days before the ritual to see Asklepios can take place, or in the case of Lucius, who has to have a

vegetarian diet for ten days prescribed by "immemorial law" before being initiated to become a *pastophoros*. The prescription of avoidance of meat by some priesthoods is attested in Chaeremon and Plutarch, and especial reference is made by both authors to the avoidance of wine, which also appears in the list of abominations of the *Book of Thoth* (29). Kalasiris, in the *Aithiopika*, also refers to the practice of self-control by the priests in temperament, diet, and sex. These prescriptions of purity are attested in the temple inscriptions, but are not as prominently described in the Demotic narratives, in which we only find a few examples, such as Merire's preparation for the ritual to extend the life of pharaoh Si-Sobek in P. Vandier, or the ascetic behavior of the young priest of Daphnae in *Eine neue demotische Erzählung*. In *Nectanebo's Dream* we have a reference to an incubation performed by the king Nectanebo in order to learn the disposition of the gods toward him. Another ritual that appears in this narrative is the delivery of a prophecy, in this case by the hieroglyph-carver Peteisis, after which he seems to die. The connection between the delivery of a prophecy and death appears also in the *Oracle of the Lamb* and the *Oracle of the Potter*. In book 11 of the *Metamorphoses*, the explanation that the priest gives to Lucius of the reasons for his transformation is presented as a prophecy, and after it the priest is said to take "several gasping weary breaths and was silent," which seems to be an indication of how taxing the revelation was for the medium, despite the fact that in this case it does not result in his death.

Concerning magical rituals, the narratives contain several references to rituals also attested through the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri. In the *Alexander Romance*, Nectanebo is presented performing a lecanomancy in the beginning of the narrative, sending dreams, and creating fake omens. He uses in these magical rituals wax figurines and different herbs. The use of herbs can be connected with Thessalos' treatise composed by Nechepsos, and to which he

incorporates astrological references given by Asklepios himself. The collection of herbs at the right time according to the movement of the heavenly bodies appears also in the *Alexander Romance,* when Nectanebo makes the preparations to send the dream to Olympias. The evil priest Paapis in the *Wonders Beyond Thule* is described as carrying a bag of herbs as well. Zatchlas in the *Metamorphoses* also uses herbs in order to practice a necromantic ritual, which is described as involving the placing of some herb on the mouth and chest of the corpse and invocating the power of the sun. These rituals, as I described in chapter 2, also appear in several Demotic narratives, such as *Setne I* or the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros*, performed by proper priests, and are among the rituals included in the magical papyri. In the *Metamorphoses,* Zatchlas appears as a properly initiated Egyptian priest, and he is characterized as a powerful figure who commands respect from the old man. The only case in which a negative character is attached to necromantic rituals is in the *Aithiopika*, and Heliodoros explicitly indicates that it was the person performing the ritual, the old woman, who did not belong to the initiated priesthood, and not the ritual itself, which was wrong in that performance. Another lecanomancy is narrated in the proem of Thessalos, which leads to the vision of the god Asklepios. In the *Philopseudes*, Pankrates is described as being able to animate a pestle in order to have it do domestic errands, which reminds one of the rituals for the animation of wax figurines, or of the earth-man of P. Vandier in the Demotic narratives.

Finally, Nectanebo is also described casting horoscopes and making astrological readings. In the *Aithiopika*, Kalasiris is characterized as being knowledgeable in astronomy/astrology and medicine, which were disciplines connected to the scholarly milieu of the Egyptian temples.

In general, the characterization of ritual and magic that appears in these narratives does not differ much from what we saw in the Demotic narratives. The use of wax figurines, the

sending of fake omens, the practice of incubation, necromantic rituals, are all attested in the Demotic narratives, and especially in the Graeco-Roman magical papyri. Especially in the descriptions of the life of the priests and of Egyptian religion, we find especial emphasis in the presentation of the priests as a community of scholars and philosophers with a higher divine purpose, an image that also appears in the characterization of Kalasiris.

2.1.7. Moral characterization

As in the case of the Demotic narratives, the Graeco-Egyptian and Graeco-Roman texts also have a combination of characters that are basically good, and others that are described as bad. Concerning the former, we find specific examples in the way the priests that appear in book 11 of the *Metamorphoses* are described. The priest who gives the roses to Lucius is said to have a *vultu geniali* "a benign expression" (*Metamorphoses* XI.14) and the priest that conducts the ritual of initiation later in the temple is described as a *senex comissimus* "very kindly old man" (*Metamorphoses* XI.22). When Thessalos implores to the priest who has decided to help him, the latter is said to console the former, depicting him as a compassionate person.

Other characters, however, are presented as evil antagonists of the protagonists of the narrative, such as the priest Paapis in the *Wonders Beyond Thule*, who is an obstacle for the protagonists, and the *boukoloi* of *Leucippe and Clitophon*. In the *Aithiopika* there is a contrast between Thyamis, who is presented as a noble character despite being part of the group of *boukoloi*, and Petosiris, who has usurped the office of high prophet from Thyamis. Petosiris' usurpation is described as treacherous in *Aithiopika* 1.33.2.

These characters, however, are not developed in detail in the narratives. When priestly characters become central in the narratives, a more complex characterization takes place, as in

the case of Nectanebo and Kalasiris, who are both multifaceted characters. While both are presented as men of impressive knowledge, they are far from being the perfect priests of the descriptions of priestly life that we find, for example, in Chaeremon. In both cases they are tempted by lust after a woman, but with different outcomes. After he has left Egypt and has arrived to Macedon, Nectanebo uses his knowledge of magic in order to fulfill his desire and make love to queen Olympias, fathering Alexander. In the case of Kalasiris, however, he flees Egypt in order to avoid his sexual desire, and establishes himself in Delphi where he is able to live according to the self-restraint to which he himself refers in *Aithiopika* 5.12.1. There, however, he gets involved in the love story of Theagenes and Charikleia. While the accusation of being a trickster works in the case of Nectanebo, who actually pays with his death for his lies, I have shown in chapter 4 that this same accusation has been proposed for Kalasiris. In the case of Kalasiris this is not justified. Kalasiris' actions appear to be directed to the protection of the lovers, and the presentation of his flaws humanizes him and makes him an approachable and believable character. Nectanebo, nevertheless, is not presented either as an evil character, but as a character that, despite his profound wisdom, displays weaknesses

2.2. Other important aspects in the narratives

2.2.1. Wisdom and knowledge

A common feature of most of the fictional priestly figures described in the texts analyzed in chapters 3 and 4 is the emphasis on their wisdom. Nectanebo, Pankrates, the priest in Thessalos' proem, Zatchlas and especially the old priest that initiates Lucius, Kalasiris, and even Paapis, who is successful in the use of magic to impede the protagonist's goals, are all presented as

knowledgeable characters, with especial priestly training, which is sometimes specified, as in the case of the 23 years of study of Pankrates, or the indication that Kalasiris had grown up in the priestly environment in *Aithiopika* 2.25.3. The non-fictional texts also share this characteristic. Manetho and Chaeremon had the reputation of being very wise priests, Plutarch and Iamblichus revered Egyptian wisdom and devoted their treatises *De Iside and Osiride* and *De mysteriis* to it, Harnouphis is able to invoke Hermes in order to perform a miracle to save the emperor's army, which was commemorated through a special mint of coins, and the Hermetic corpus placed the origin of the wisdom conveyed in the treatises in the figure of the divine or semidivine Hermes Trismegistos. Priests such as Kalasiris, or the priests in Thebes that Thessalos meets, are described as scholarly, and Iamblichus indicates that the priests are sages eager to discuss theological matters, in which they are experts. This is exactly what Kalasiris does during his stay in Delphi. This knowledge does not include only ritual or magical aspects, but also the practice of disciplines such as astronomy/astrology, or medicine. Nectanebo and Kalasiris are presented as experts in them, and in the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri, some of the spells are attributed to physicians.

As in the case of the Demotic narratives, a particular emphasis is placed on books as the repositories of knowledge, and also in the priests as their keepers, and as the people who are able to read them. The books of Hermes are mentioned by both Plutarch and Iamblichus, and some priests are described as owning books, such as Paapis. Arignotos, the Pythagorean philosopher, after his initiation with Pankrates, uses Egyptian books and pronounces spells in the Egyptian language, although it is not clear if he just recites it without knowing the language, or if he had learnt Egyptian during his stay with Pankrates (*Philopseudes* 29). The Egyptian books do not necessarily need to be completely in Egyptian, as the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri show, and

the presence of glosses and of *voces magicae* presumably in Egyptian language would allow Arignotos' performance without the need of knowing how to read Egyptian. Books are also referred to in book 11 of the *Metamorphoses*, where an intriguing reference is made to "certain books in which the writing was in undecipherable letters" (*libros litteris ignorabilibus praenotatos*, *Metamorphoses* XI.22), obviously from the point of view of Lucius, and not from that of the priests. The books are said to contain "the preparations necessary for the rite of initiation" (*teletae necessario praeparanda*, *Metamorphoses* XI.22). These books are presented as being in the secret parts of the temple in *Metamorphoses* XI.22 (*opertis adyti*), and in the proem of Thessalos, Asklepios requests that the book of Nechepsos and his revelations remain in secret. This secrecy is also a feature found in the Hermetica. Curiosity is, in fact, punished in the *Philopseudes,* where Eukrates' instruction is interrupted after he uses a spell without Pankrates' permission.

An element that is exclusive to these texts and is absent from the Demotic narratives is the presence of different languages, particularly Egyptian and Greek, and they way they affect the interactions among the characters[1290]. Pankrates is described as speaking Greek imperfectly, or perhaps with a strong accent (οὐ καθαρῶς ἑλληνίζοντα*, Philopseudes* 34). The opposite case is that of Kalasiris, who is presented as not just speaking perfect Greek, but also having a deep knowledge of Greek literature. Priests like Manetho and Chaeremon are historical examples of profoundly Hellenized priests, the latter even being the tutor of the emperor and the head of a grammatical school in Alexandria. Especially in the Roman period, Egyptian priests of the highest ranks probably received some Greek education, as did other members of the elite in other Eastern provinces, such as Lucian or Iamblichus, who were from Syria and whose first language

[1290] In *Setne II* we have a reference to the language of the wolves, but it is not a relevant part of the story (*md.t wnše*, *Setne II* 6.13)

would have been Syriac. Plotinus, who has been considered the most important philosopher of late antiquity, was Egyptian, and so was Zosimos of Panopolis, who wrote his alchemical works in Greek. The authors of the Hermetica appear to have been Egyptian priests with a Hellenic education, and as Fowden noted[1291], those using the philosophical Hermetica would require at least rhetorical education. Apart from Greek, the multicultural society that is reflected in the Hermetica probably points to the knowledge by the priests of other languages of the region, and in the *Aithiopika* Kalasiris is able to decipher Charikleia's band, which may have been written in Meroïtic.

2.2.2. Priests being paid for their services

The only references that we find of priests being paid for their services in the corpus analyzed in chapters 3 and 4 are that of Zatchlas in book 2 of the *Metamorphoses*, in which the old man says that he paid him generously for the performance of the necromantic ritual, and that of Pakhrates, the prophet of Heliopolis, in *PGM* IV.2441-2621, who is rewarded with double fees by emperor Hadrian. This indication seems to refer to the fact that he was paid a double salary, which means that he was already being paid a salary regularly for his work as prophet of Heliopolis.

3. Contrast with Dieleman's conclusions in chapter 6 of *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*

Most studies about the Egyptian priesthood in the Graeco-Roman period have relied exclusively or almost exclusively on Greek sources, with Otto's classic study being the paradigmatic example. In recent years, however, the easier access to Demotic narrative sources through editions, anthologies, and a few general studies has caused the incorporation of some of this

[1291] FOWDEN 1986: 160.

textual material to works written by classicists and also by Egyptologists. The most recent and cited study concerning the intellectual context of Egyptian priests in the Graeco-Roman period including Demotic literature is that of Dieleman in his monograph *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*. In chapter 6, Dieleman explores the context of the magical recipes that are the central object of his analysis, this is, who would have been the writers and users of the texts. Section 6.3 of the chapter deals with the representation of Egyptian priests in administrative and biographical sources, and also with the literary images of Egyptian priests in Egyptian and Graeco-Roman, which is the object of my present study. Although I will discuss his views in detail throughout the chapters of Part 2, I believe that it is useful to analyze here his conclusions concerning first the representations of priests in Demotic literature, and second in Graeco-Roman literature, comparing them with my own conclusions in the present chapter. Finally, I will contrast his comparison of the image of the Egyptian priest in Demotic and Graeco-Roman sources to the results from the analysis of the sources presented here. I will use this analysis in my critique of Frankfurter's "priest to magician" and "stereotype appropriation" models in chapters 7 and 8.

3.1. Demotic literature

The first element to keep in mind when comparing Dieleman's analysis of the literary type of the Egyptian priest to the data obtained in this chapter, is that he is using only three texts as sources, which he considers representative enough of the whole corpus because of their length, completeness, and level of detail: the Middle Kingdom narrative of P. Westcar, and the Demotic tales of *Setne I* and *Setne II*. Although I mentioned P. Westcar in different sections of chapter 2, mainly as a comparative source between Graeco-Roman period texts and earlier Pharaonic narratives, one needs to be aware that it is separated from the Demotic tales of *Setne I* and *Setne*

II by around two millennia, in which Egyptian society, religion, and intellectual practice experienced great changes, even if a few examples of cultural continuity can also be found. Concerning *Setne I* and *Setne II*, as I noted in chapter 2, they have been treated as the paradigmatic Demotic narratives, as they have been known to the wider Egyptological community since the edition by Griffith in 1900. However, characters such as Setne and Naneferkaptah differ significantly from other priestly characters from different narratives, as I have shown in chapter 2, and thus, treating them as the representative of the image of Egyptian priests in Demotic literature can lead to wrong generalizations. Nevertheless, it is fair to note that when Dieleman's monograph was published, in 2005[1292], many of the texts analyzed in the present study had not yet been published or were known in a very fragmentary and tentative state, and thorough anthologies of Demotic literature such as that of Hoffmann and Quack were still lacking[1293]. Furthermore, the analysis of the priestly characters in these sources is not the main goal of Dieleman's work, which focuses on the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri. Therefore, the present critique does not aim to undermine the value of Dieleman's study, but to nuance and correct it now that a wider corpus of textual sources is available, offering an updated vision of the image of the Egyptian priests in Demotic literature.

On page 223 of his monograph, Dieleman lists the characteristics of the Egyptian ritual expert according to the analysis of P. Westcar, *Setne I,* and *Setne II*. I will follow his list of nine characteristics to contrast them with the results of the analysis of the present chapter:

1. The figures are related to the Egyptian priesthood: while this is generally true for all the narratives analyzed, and the temple context is definitely the common environment in which all these characters interact, this affirmation needs to be nuanced, especially considering that

[1292] The book is a reworked version of his doctoral dissertation, defended in 2003 (DIELEMAN 2005: ix).
[1293] HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007.

not all the characters that display abilities that would connect them with the priesthood are presented as belonging to it, while other characters in the same narratives are clearly labeled as one or another type of priest.

2. The royal court is the arena of display and conflict: this is the case in both *Setne I* and *Setne II*, which makes sense since both Setne and Naneferkaptah are princes, and also in other narratives such as the frame narrative of the *Instruction of Ankhsheshonqy*, P. Vandier, *Eine neue demotische Erzählung*, the *Story of Hi-Hor* and probably the *Life of Imhotep*. Other narratives such as both the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun* and the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros*, or *Amasis and the Skipper*, also feature the figure of the king, but the action is not set in the royal court itself (perhaps in the case of *Amasis and the Skipper* the action takes place in Saïs, the capital of the 26th Dynasty, but this is not clearly specified in the text). Other stories such as the frame *Story of Peteisis* and its short stories, the narrative in P. Saqqara 1 and the narrative of Padipep, or the story of Hareus son of Pahat do not include the figure of the king and have no connection with the royal environment. Thus, this is not a valid characteristic for all the narratives.

3. Magic is not condemned on moral grounds: Dieleman presents this point in order to contrast it later with his interpretation of how magic is treated in Graeco-Roman sources. As I have indicated above, in ancient Egypt magic and religion were not considered as two different categories, and therefore magic was not morally judged in itself. However, one aspect that has been the object of my analysis in this chapter is the moral characteristics of those who make use of magic, with the scribe of the divine book in the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros*, Peteisis, Naneferkaptah, and Setne as the main examples of morally ambiguous characters who use magic to commit transgressions, and in most cases are punished for it

(although this is not clear in the case of Peteisis in the *Story of Peteisis*). This is also the interpretation of Dieleman concerning the use of magic in *Setne I* and *Setne II*. As I have shown in chapter 4, however, the treatment of magic with respect to Egyptian priests in Graeco-Roman literature seems to follow a similar pattern, condemning the use of magic by people who have not been properly initiated, and not of magic in itself.

4. Egyptian ritual experts are decent members of society: Dieleman sets this characteristic in order to contrast it to Frankfurter's model of the itinerant magician in the outer limits of society, which he sees in the Graeco-Roman literature. Since the Egyptian priests were legitimate members of society, the fact that the characters examined here belong to the priesthood and perform their expertise in the context of the temples locates them within the boundaries of society, even if inside of the priestly class itself we find different degrees and social hierarchies. They were definitely not outcasts, but they could become so through their actions, as in the case of Ankhsheshonqy.

5. The priest's knowledge is based on the consultation of books: the importance of books and knowledge in the narratives is one of the characteristics I have also highlighted in my analysis. It is worth noting, however, how the best magicians, such as Naneferkaptah, Si-Osiris/Horus son of Paneshe, and Merire, are depicted in crucial moments as being able to perform magic without the recourse to the consultation of books. Their prowess is, however, the result of the careful study and recitation of manuscripts, as the description of the education of Si-Osiris shows.

6. Effective magical texts are written by the god Thoth: this is definitely the case in both *Setne I* and *Setne II*, and in P. Westcar Djedi is asked about the number of chambers of the

temple of Thoth (P. Westcar 7.6-8)[1294]. However, other books are mentioned also in these narratives, such as the "Book for Exorcising Spirits" in *Setne II*, that are presumably effective and the authorship of which is not identified. No mention to books written by Thoth is made in other narratives, and thus extending this interpretation to all the Demotic narratives would again be wrong.

7. Books written in Thoth's own hand are carefully kept from mortals: who was and who was not granted access to secret knowledge was definitely an important topic both in Demotic and especially in Graeco-Egyptian and in Graeco-Roman literature concerning Egyptian priests. The violation of this secrecy, not just in the case of works written by Thoth, but in general concerning the illicit access to (divine) knowledge, as in the beginning of the *Fight for the Armor of Inaros*, is clearly something that was considered as deserving to be punished with death.

8. Powerful ritual experts are from the past: in both *Setne I* and *Setne II*, the magicians that surpass Setne in knowledge and magical prowess, Naneferkaptah and Horus son of Paneshe, belong to previous periods. Even in the case of P. Westcar, a narrative of the Middle Kingdom, the action is set in the Old Kingdom[1295]. From these examples, Dieleman infers that the location of powerful magicians in the past might have been "a reflection of a pessimistic view on contemporary society"[1296]. Applied to Roman Egypt, this interpretation seems to derive from Dieleman's understanding of the effects of Roman domination in the Egyptian priestly environment, which I will analyze in **chapter 6.** While there seems to be a trend in these three narratives that places powerful magicians in previous periods, this does

[1294] On this topic, cf. HORNUNG 1973.
[1295] As in *Setne II*, in P. Westcar magicians of the past are presented together with magicians of the present of the narrative, set in the reign of Khufu.
[1296] DIELEMAN 2005: 238.

not necessarily respond to an intentional view of decline in the performance of magic. The chronological setting in the Old Kingdom of P. Westcar was probably chosen in order to include in the narrative famous figures such as Hordedef, and the same is valid for the setting of the Setne cycle in the New Kingdom. In P. Vandier the court magicians are presented as having access to the records of the previous kings, going all the way back to Djoser in the Old Kingdom, records that seem to have been the sources of Manetho in his *Aigyptiaka*, as I discussed in chapter 3. Thus, Egyptian awareness of their own past was something that was really prominent especially in the priestly context. If we examine the other narratives studied in chapter 2, the apparent constant that Dieleman sees in *Setne I* and *Setne II* becomes less clear. The *Story of Peteisis*, which features a wise and successful magician such as Peteisis, happens in an indeterminate time. The *Fight for the Armor of Inaros*, and especially the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun*, which features the exceptional character of the young priest of Horus of Pe in Buto, take place during the Third Intermediate Period for reasons that do not seem to be attached to the intention of presenting priests of the past as more powerful, but probably due to the particular political circumstances of the Egypt of the time.

9. The described magical techniques are also prescribed and explained in extant contemporary magic handbooks: both the ritual and magical procedures seem to correspond to common Egyptian practices in all the Demotic narratives.

To conclude, of the nine characteristics that Dieleman proposed in order to define the literary image of Egyptian priests in Demotic narratives, only numbers 1, 3, 4, 5, and 9 would apply to all the narratives, and they need to be nuanced. Numbers 2, 6 and 7 are true for *Setne I* and *II*, but they are not representative of all the narratives, and thus they are not useful for the

construction of a definition. Number 8 seems to derive from a wrong analysis of the chronological setting of the narratives.

3.2. Graeco-Roman literature

Dieleman bases his analysis of Graeco-Roman literature on two brief episodes extracted from Apulieus' *Metamorphoses* (the Zatchlas story) and Lucian's *Philopseudes* (Pankrates and Arignotos). He indicates that his choice is because "they are short though explicit," and mentions that other examples could be Paapis from the *Wonders Beyond Thule,* Nectanebo from the *Alexander Romance*, or Kalasiris from the *Aithiopika*[1297], but he does not discuss them except for a brief reference to Kalasiris in a footnote[1298]. Before examining those two episodes, he indicates that the images of Egyptian priests in Graeco-Roman literature correspond to a series of stereotypes result from an external observation of Egyptian phenomena from the perspective of the dominant Hellenism, "without giving voice to the subordinate Egyptian object itself"[1299]. He notes that this stereotype is either the result of fascination (priest as philosopher) or rejection (priest as fraud) with respect to Egyptian culture[1300]. He proceeds then to introduce both passages, and notes that the common elements between both texts are "reflections as well of a social reality of wandering ritual experts of all sorts throughout the Roman empire"[1301]. Both priests, he notes, are identified with priestly titles and appearance, which in both cases consists in shaven head, white linen clothes, and sandals in the case of Zatchlas, and perform "extraordinary magical feats because of their acquaintance with the divine"[1302]. The main element that Dieleman highlights in

[1297] DIELEMAN 2005: 240 footnote 136.
[1298] DIELEMAN 2005: 248 footnote 151.
[1299] DIELEMAN 2005: 239.
[1300] DIELEMAN 2005: 239.
[1301] DIELEMAN 2005: 242.
[1302] DIELEMAN 2005: 242.

the case of Zatchlas is that "The priest sells off his knowledge to those in need of assistance from the divine"[1303]. In the case of Pankrates, Dieleman highlights the fact that the story is integrated in a satirical work, in which Lucian attacks the superstitious beliefs of his time. He notes that Lucian mocks the participants in the dialogue "exaggerating and ridiculing stereotypes on Egyptian magicians"[1304] using the following motives: "Memphis as home of the magician; the Egyptian temple as a place of learning and initiation; Isis as mistress of magic; the Egyptian priest as holder of secret knowledge." In particular, he describes the exaggeration of the description of Pankrates as follows: "The ironic and singular part of the representation is the exaggerated length (23 years) and place of initiation (in an underground structure) and Pancrates' application of his arcane knowledge towards riding on crocodiles and turning a door bar, broom or pestle into a house servant." To this, he adds that "Pancrates' imperfect command of Greek" places him outside the social group of the author, and thus, closes the circle of parallels between Zatchlas and Pankrates indicating that "Pancrates is an alien in the Greek language as Zatchlas is an alien in a Greek region"[1305], emphasizing their otherness and their location in the limits of Greek society. He continues the discussion with the examination of Arignotos, noting that he represents a stereotype characterized by having a Hellenistic identity, being an adept of Neopythagorean or Platonic philosophy, having been initiated by a sage, especially an Oriental one, and having secret knowledge based on books. The introduction of this type in the narrative would be an attempt to attack both the Egyptian priests and their Hellenistic followers[1306]. Dieleman concludes his analysis with a comparison with Philostratos' account of the life of Apollonios of Tyana, who had been accused of sorcery, as an example of the Graeco-Roman

[1303] DIELEMAN 2005: 243.
[1304] DIELEMAN 2005: 243.
[1305] DIELEMAN 2005: 244.
[1306] DIELEMAN 2005: 246.

image of magic and magicians, and the discussion around the idea of true wisdom. Dieleman concludes from this comparison that illegitimate wisdom was that oriented to the black arts, and the selling of knowledge.

The main problem with Dieleman's analysis is that it derives general conclusions concerning the general idea of the Egyptian priest in Graeco-Roman literature from only two passages in two texts. The common characteristics that he derives from both narratives, and that he labels as a stereotype, are that the priests are presented with a recognizable physical appearance (shaven head, while linen clothes, sandals) and perform extraordinary magical feats. These characteristics, however, also appear in the Demotic narratives, the physical characteristics indicated here actually being the requirements for purity for the performance of rituals in the Egyptian context, and the performance of magical feats being a characteristic of some priestly figures in Egyptian literature going back to the Pharaonic period. In the case of Zatchlas in particular, Dieleman highlights the idea that he is selling his expertise, which actually only happens in all the texts examined in chapters 3 and 4 in this case and in *PGM* IV.2441-2621, in which Pakhrates is actually rewarded with a double salary, and not just paid in exchange of a service. As I have noted in point 1.2.2, the examples of priests rewarded for their expertise in the Demotic narratives is actually higher in number, and this motif can be found as well in texts such as P. Westcar. However, it is not presented as a transaction in any other sources except in the case of Zatchlas.

Concerning Pankrates in the *Philopseudes*, Dieleman focuses in the exaggeration and ridiculization of the stereotype of priest. The four points that he notes as stereotypical motives, however, are not general to all the narratives. Memphis has a prominent presence in the Graeco-

Roman narratives, but also in the Demotic ones, because it was the old capital of the country, but in the proem of Thessalos, it is in Thebes where the wise priests are located. The indication that the Egyptian temple was a place of learning and initiation was actually a reality, and although Isis is indeed presented in this period as the mistress of magic, other gods such as Thoth/Hermes are also prominent in the text, and interestingly enough, it is to Hermes that Harnouphis addresses his prayer. The special devotion to Isis is attested already in the archive of Hor in the 2rd century BCE with the Demotic aretalogy-like text of ostracon 10[1307]. The motif of the Egyptian priest as holder of secret knowledge was based on reality, since the Egyptian priests were the intellectuals of Egypt, especially in the Graeco-Roman period when they were the only ones with access to the writings of the temple libraries. Thus, these four motives cannot be qualified simply as stereotypes. Furthermore, Dieleman's analysis of the description of Pankrates as an exaggeration is also incorrect in several points. He indicates that the length of Pankrates studies is exaggerated, but he does not note that with this number Lucian seems to actually mimic the traditions that existed concerning Pythagoras' own period of study in Egypt. The underground location of his place of initiation, far from being unusual, actually fits with the description of the Chamber of Darkness in the *Book of Thoth,* which was probably a subterranean chamber, since it presents many connections with the underworld[1308]. The existence of subterranean crypts with ritual function is attested in the Egyptian temples from the Pharaonic and the Graeco-Roman period[1309]. The reference to Pankrates' Greek has been interpreted by several authors[1310] not as indicating that it was imperfect, but as his pronunciation with a strong accent, as I have noted

[1307] First edition of the text in RAY 1976: 46-48. For a more recent treatment, cf. KOCKELMANN 2008: 11–17.
[1308] On the connections of the Chamber of Darkness with the underworld, cf. JASNOW and ZAUZICH 2005: 36–38. This structure described in the *Book of Thoth* is reminiscent of the Osireion of Abydos, that could actually be identified with the House of Life of Abydos that is described in P. Salt 825, since its structure is not dissimilar from that represented in the famous drawing included in the text (cf. DERCHAIN 1965: plate 23* fig. XIII.b).
[1309] An example of subterranean chambers with ritual use in the Pharaonic period is analyzed in COONEY 2000. For a study of the crypts of the temple of Dendera, cf. WAITKUS 1997. For a translation of texts, cf. also CAUVILLE 2004a.
[1310] Cf. i.e. OGDEN 2004: 110; FESTUGIÈRE 2014: 62.

above[1311]. In any case, Dieleman's jump from this point to the conclusion that this locates both Pankrates and Zatchlas outside of Greek society is perhaps an overinterpretation. Zatchlas is presented as a revered character in the context of the story, and Pankrates, despite the clear satirical tone of the *Philopseudes*, is mostly used as a vehicle to ridicule Arignotos and Eukrates, more than as the object of ridicule himself.

Dieleman's choice of sources seems to be intended to give support to the assumptions that he presents in the beginning of this section. As I noted above, he defines the image of the Egyptian priest in the Graeco-Roman sources as devoid of personal voice, and subordinated to the Hellenistic perspective, with the priests represented in the texts as being "reflections as well of a social reality of wandering ritual experts of all sorts throughout the Roman Empire"[1312]. This interpretation derives from Frankfurter's model of the itinerant priest in the Roman period, which I will analyze in detail in chapter 7. Since one of the arguments for this model is that the priests, because of the closure of the temples in which they developed their expertise, need to find alternative means of survival by selling their expertise, Dieleman chooses to analyze Zatchlas as representative of the general image of the Egyptian priesthood in order to support this model. Furthermore, Frankfurter attaches this model of the itinerant priest to that of the stereotype appropriation, which will be the subject of chapter 8. In this model, Frankfurter proposes that the priests adopted stereotypical images of exotic magicians in order to better market their expertise to the Graeco-Roman clientele. Here, the choice of Pankrates is also meant to support Frankfurter's model, presenting the description of the priest as an example of that exaggerated exotic stereotypical image. Although I will refute both models in chapters 7 and 8, I will present here a few points that show that these arguments are not valid. First, both Zatchlas and Pankrates

[1311] Mockery of accents was common in the Roman empire, and not even an emperor like Hadrian was spared, cf. *Historia Augusta: Hadrian* 3.1 (edition and translation in MAGIE 1921: 9).
[1312] DIELEMAN 2005: 242.

are secondary characters in their main narratives, and because of this they do not have a strong voice in them. If, on the contrary, we look at characters such as Nectanebo in book 1 of the *Alexander Romance*, or at Kalasiris in the *Aithiopika*, we see that they are prominent figures in the narratives. In the case of Nectanebo an Egyptian origin has been proposed for at least part of book 1 of the *Alexander Romance*[1313], but in the case of Kalasiris, his depiction as priest seems to derive from Heliodoros' use of descriptions of Egyptian priests as scholars and wise men as those found in Chaeremon. This is also the case of Iamblichus' impersonation of the Egyptian priest Abamon in the *De mysteriis*. Second, most of the narratives present Egyptian priests in the context of Egypt, and in those cases in which the priests are presented outside, they are not described prominently as "wandering ritual experts"[1314]. We ignore the circumstances of Zatchlas, and Kalasiris is not a wandering priest, his presence in Delphi is justified by its reputation of being "sacred to Apollo but a holy place for the other gods too, a retreat where philosophers could work far from the madding crowd" (*Aithiopika* 2.26.1), and he ends up returning to Egypt and establishing his succession in the office of high priest. Harnouphis was part of the entourage of Marcus Aurelius in the same way as Chaeremon spent time in Rome as instructor of Nero. In fact, if we study the biographies of other authors such as Apuleius, Lucian or Iamblichus, all from Syria, or Plutarch, from Boeotia, we can see that it was quite common at this time for educated people to travel around provinces of the empire for scholarly purposes. Since the Egyptian priests were the intellectual class of Egypt, and had the reputation of being wise men, it is not surprising that their presence would be welcome especially in the capital. Their definition just as ritual experts, disregarding all their other areas of expertise, creates a picture that does not

[1313] Cf. HOFFMANN and QUACK 2007: 165-166.

[1314] An objection here would be that, in the case of Nectanebo, he travels to the capital of Macedonia and soon becomes a known figure there for his magical prowess (*Alexander Romance* 1.4). His circumstances before meeting Olympias, however, are not described in detail, and he may resemble more a figure like that of Kalasiris, who gained a good reputation in his adoptive city, than the stereotypical wandering magician.

seem to correspond with reality, and that does not correspond with the evidence provided by the texts studied in the previous three chapters. Dieleman himself admits that "The extant archaeological and textual sources provide little reliable information on itinerant ritualists within the Roman Empire"[1315].

3.3. Comparison between Demotic and Graeco-Roman literature

At the end of his analysis of the image of the Egyptian priest in Egyptian and Graeco-Roman literature, Dieleman proposes six points in which he considers that both corpora differ, and three that are elements in common. I will discuss each one of the points following Dieleman's order[1316]:

1. "In Egyptian texts, the discussion whether the priest is a fraud or genuine religious master is absent": While it is true that the Demotic narratives do not question the authenticity of the identity of the priests, neither do the narratives analyzed in chapters 3 and 4. In all the narratives the knowledge of the priests is presented as genuine, even if they are described as evil characters.

2. "The idea of performing magical feats for financial gain is likewise absent": This is not true. In fact, there are more instances of priests being rewarded for their expertise in the Demotic narratives analyzed in chapter 2 (cf. point 1.2.2 in this chapter) than in the Graeco-Roman texts reviewed in chapter 4 (with the exception of Zatchlas).

3. "In Egyptian literary texts, ritual experts are respected members of society, whereas in Greek and Latin texts Egyptian priests are alienated from society and function as exotic gurus or miracle workers": In the Graeco-Roman narratives studied here the priests are all

[1315] DIELEMAN 2005: 242 footnote 141.
[1316] DIELEMAN 2005: 249.

presented as respected and even revered members of society, including those that are outside of Egypt, such as Kalasiris during his stay in Delphi (cf. point 2.1.3).

4. "The royal court as the arena of display and contest is absent in the Greco-Roman texts": As I noted already in point 3.1, this statement is not valid for all the Demotic narratives. The presence or absence of the royal court depends on the type of narrative.

5. "In Egyptian literary texts, ritual experts are mostly projected back into the remote past, whereas they are set in a time period more or less contemporary with the reader's time in Greek or Latin texts": As I noted in point 3.1, the setting of some Demotic narratives in the past, as in the case of the Setne cycle in the New Kingdom, or the Inaros cycle in the Third Intermediate Period, obeys the demands of each particular story rather than a pessimistic view of the present, as Dieleman proposed on p. 238 of his analysis. In fact, it is also not true that all the Greek and Latin texts take place in a contemporary period. The *Aithiopika*, for example, takes place in the Persian Period.

6. "In Egyptian fictional narratives, magicians are actors who focalise and speak, whereas in Greek or Latin texts Egyptian priests are mainly passive objects subordinated to a Hellenistic view-point": As I have noted above, this conclusion is derived from the analysis of two characters that have a secondary role in the narratives in which they participate. The analysis of other characters such as Nectanebo or Kalasiris offers a completely different perspective. They are central characters that have a very active role in the development of the plots of the narratives. In the case of Kalasiris, the way he shares information with other characters marks the pace of the story.

As common features between the Egyptian and Graeco-Roman texts Dieleman proposes that the priests are identified by their title and dress, that priestly knowledge is based on the consultation of books, and that knowledge is kept secret from those who do not belong to the priesthood. The first point, as I have shown, is only partially true, since the Demotic narrative do not give priestly titles to important characters such as Peteisis and Naneferkaptah, and perhaps Setne, and physical description is a feature that is absent in most of them. The second and third point, nevertheless, are correct, books and secrecy are common features in both corpora.

Dieleman concludes this section of his chapter with a review of the sources that the authors who wrote the Graeco-Roman texts would have had for the depiction of Egypt, and concludes with a summary of the ideas presented in the chapter as support for Frankfurter's model of stereotype appropriation[1317]. I will come back to this discussion in chapter 8.

4. Conclusion: is there a literary type?

As I have shown in the previous section, an analysis of a wider and more varied collection of Demotic narratives and Graeco-Roman texts does not support Dieleman's definition of the image of the Egyptian priests in neither of those textual corpora. His selection, derived from his preconceived image of the Egyptian priests in the Graeco-Roman period based on Frankfurter's models of the itinerant magician and stereotype appropriation, creates a circular argument and does not allow one to see if an actual literary type of the Egyptian priest is identifiable for each corpus. In this final section I will return to my own conclusions presented in sections 1 and 2 of this chapter, and I will try to elucidate which elements of the different images of priests studied

[1317] DIELEMAN 2005: 253-254.

in chapters 2 to 4 can be considered as a constant that defines a literary type. Using the previous list of seven points plus the treatment of wisdom and knowledge (8) and payment of priests (9), in the case of the Demotic narratives we see the following:

1. Physical characteristics: they are generally not described, but when they are, they correspond to traditional priestly elements such as shaving, linen clothes, or the possession of rings indicating the membership to a priesthood. An exception is the young priest of Horus of Pe in Buto, whose unusual character might be an intentional device to highlight his possible divinity.

2. Age: not specified for the majority of characters, who are assumed to be middle aged. Only a few cases are described as young or old, and in all of them this feature plays an important role in the plot.

3. Social situation: they all belong to the higher classes of society.

4. Name: combination of nameless characters, generally referred to by their priestly office, with named characters who in some cases do not have a priestly title despite the fact that they seem to belong to the priesthood due to their education and actions.

5. Epithets and titles: cf. point 4.

6. Actions (ritual, magical): ritual and magical actions are described prominently in the narratives, sometimes in great detail, which indicates direct knowledge of them by the composers of the stories. These, as Dieleman has noted, correspond to real spells and rituals attested through non-literary sources.

7. Moral characterization: there are both good and evil priestly characters attested in the narratives, together with some more complex ones that display an ambiguous morality.

8. Wisdom and knowledge: many priestly characters are represented as wise men, and their knowledge is connected to the possession of books.

9. Payment: several priests are rewarded for their services, which are connected to their special knowledge or abilities as members of the priesthood.

In the case of the Graeco-Egyptian and Graeco-Roman texts, the results are the following:

1. Physical characteristics: together with the traditional description of the Egyptian priest with shaven head and white linen clothes, we find depictions of priests with long hair, in the guise of Greek philosophers, such as Kalasiris. The priests are presented in some cases with ritual accoutrements, such as Nectanebo's astrological instruments.

2. Age: old age is attached to the idea of wisdom and experience, as in the Demotic narratives, but some characters are described as young, either to contrast them with others or highlight their expertise despite their age (Zatchlas) or in order to present them as young disciples with respect to a teacher (*Physika kai Mystika)*. Those characters for whom a particular age is not given are assumed to be middle-aged.

3. Social situation: all the priestly characters are presented as belonging to the higher echelons of society, and are respected by the characters with whom they interact.

4. Name: the characters are named if they are relevant for the main story.

5. Epithets and titles: the characters always receive their pertinent priestly title. Most of them are identified either as prophets or as sacred scribes.

6. Actions (ritual, magical): although magical actions are quite prominent in many of the narratives, in some cases, such as in the case of Kalasiris, magic does not seem to play an

important role in the story. The rituals and magical practices presented can be identified with practices attested through the magical papyri.

7. Moral characterization: as was the case with the Demotic narratives, apart from plain good or evil characters, the texts also present complex, polyhedric figures, such as Nectanebo or Kalasiris.

8. Wisdom and knowledge: they are very prominent in the characterization of the priests, and connected in many cases with books. These narratives put more emphasis in the process of initiation that the Demotic ones.

9. Payment: Only Zatchlas is presented as being paid for the performance of the necromantic ritual after making an agreement with the old man.

Despite the evident differences in motivation, intended audience, and context, between both corpora, there are more similarities between the images of the Egyptian priests that they portray than acknowledged by Dieleman. In both cases, the priestly characters belong to the higher echelons of society, and are generally respected, unless they commit a particularly bad action. Thus, they are not alienated figures in any of the narratives. They are generally named and have priestly titles, and perform religious and magical actions that can be connected with those described in the magical papyri. These activities take place in many cases in the context of the temples precincts. They are also generally identified as wise men with special knowledge derived from their membership in the priesthood, and are connected to books as repositories of that knowledge, which is presented as secret. The transgression of this secrecy is punished, in many cases with death. The reward of the priests in situations that require their special expertise appears in some Demotic narratives, and seems to correspond to reality, but is not a prominent

feature of Graeco-Roman literature. An element that is particular of the Graeco-Roman texts is the presentation of the priests according to the image of Greek philosophers. However, this description is present in the writings of priests such as Chaeremon, and perhaps corresponded to the incorporation of Greek philosophy to the corpus of knowledge studied by the Egyptian priesthood in the Graeco-Roman period.

[Intended to be blank]

PART 2

CHAPTER 6: ROMAN OPPRESSION AND DECAY OF THE TEMPLES?

The study of the image of the Egyptian priests in the Demotic, Graeco-Egyptian, and Graeco-Roman literary sources of the Ptolemaic and Roman imperial periods presented in part 1 has shown that some of the recent scholarly analyses of the context of the Egyptian priesthood during this period are based on a set of assumptions that do not seem to correspond with what we see in the texts. The main model that has been applied in the past almost three decades to the study of the image of the Egyptian priests in this period is that of stereotype appropriation created by Frankfurter in a series of publications, the chief one of which is his book *Religion in Roman Egypt* (1998). This model considers that the Egyptian priests adopted a stereotype of exotic magicians in order to market their expertise to a Graeco-Roman clientele, a stereotype that had been created in that foreign environment, and thus corresponded to Graeco-Roman expectations of what an Egyptian priest had to be. In turn, the stereotype appropriation model is built on the assumption that the Egyptian priests, during the first centuries of Roman domination in Egypt, had to find alternative ways of survival and financing by selling their ritual expertise due to the decay and closure of the temples in which they used to work. This assumption derives from yet another model that considers that the Roman conquest and administration of Egypt resulted in an intentional and deliberate attack against the traditional Egyptian temples and their priesthood, in order to undermine their power and prestige and thus prevent revolts and opposition. These three models for the interpretation of the context of the Egyptian temples and priesthood in Roman Egypt are thus embedded into each other and result in a coherent narrative that works within itself, and as a consequence has been applied as interpretative framework in

many studies up until now. However, a close examination of the three models, and their evaluation against the actual sources from Roman Egypt shows that they do not correspond with the reality that these sources reveal.

In this chapter and the next two I will consider each one of these three models independently, reviewing how they have been created and used. I will contrast them with my conclusions on the image of the Egyptian priests as summarized in chapter 5, but also with recent studies on the administration of the Egyptian temples in the Graeco-Roman period, which use documentary, epigraphic, and archaeological sources, in order to complement my conclusions, which derive from literary and paraliterary textual sources. The refutation of each one of these assumptions will show how interdependent they are on each other, and how once the first one is proven historically unsound, the others are subsequently invalidated. The liberation from this preconceived framework will allow us to see the primary sources concerning the Egyptian priesthood in Graeco-Roman Egypt in a different light, and propose a new interpretation for their context.

1. Traditional views on the impact of Rome in the Egyptian temple milieu

The study of the political, economic, and social context of Roman Egypt has traditionally been undertaken either from the perspective of the end of the ancient Egyptian civilization, or as the prologue to the advent of Christianity. In both cases, the study of the impact of the Roman rule in the traditional Egyptian temple system has been the object of special attention. In the case of the former perspective, the temples have been considered as markers of the disappearance of the ancient Egyptian culture symbolized in its writing systems, especially the hieroglyphic script,

religion, and cultural manifestations such as art and literature. From the latter perspective, the temples have been interpreted as evidence for the last survival of traditional cults before the sweeping take-over of Christianity. These analyses have often been hindered by the preconception that, since Egyptian civilization eventually disappeared after the Roman period, it must have displayed signs of decadence during it, or by deterministic approaches that consider the success of Christianity as an inevitable result of an "age of anxiety"[1318] and spiritual void.

The earlier views on the relationship between the Roman rule and the traditional Egyptian temples have been collected, summarized, and discussed by Glare, Klotz, and Medini[1319]. In these summaries we distinguish different stages in the formation of the interpretation of the relationship between Rome and the Egyptian temples. Glare notes that the first studies in the beginning of the 20th century by Otto, who focused in particular in the temples and priesthoods during the Ptolemaic period, together with Wilcken and Rostovtzeff, were based on the thesis of the opposition between the State and the Temple system (following the modern model of State vs. Church). Egypt was understood as an unusual province owned personally by the emperor, in which the Romans made no changes to what existed in the Ptolemaic period[1320]. This view was not challenged until the 1970s, particularly by Lewis, when the scholarly opinion switched to the opposite consideration that the Roman conquest had created a great rupture with the Ptolemaic period[1321], motivated by the Romans' negative view of Egyptian institutions[1322]. Many of these changes were directed against the native temples in order to limit their power. Thus, Lewis presented the results of the reforms of Augustus as follows: "Egypt's millennial

[1318] Term coined by Dodds in DODDS 1965.
[1319] Cf. GLARE 1993, KLOTZ 2012b: 1-7, MEDINI 2015.
[1320] Cf. GLARE 1993: chapter 1, §1 (The copy of Glare's unpublished dissertation that I have been able to consult does not have page numbers).
[1321] Cf. GLARE 1993: chapter 1, §1.
[1322] This process is summarized in MONSON 2012: 10-11.

history had been marked by a seesaw of royal and priestly power. After annexing Egypt to the Roman Empire, Augustus instituted a system of control that effectively reduced the great wealth and curbed the political influence that the clergy had been able to arrogate unto themselves during the weak rule of the last Ptolemies. Their numbers and their temples' landholdings were severely curtailed, their personnel records and financial accounts subjected to regular audits by representatives of the Privy Purse, and they were forbidden, on pain of rigorous punishment, to engage in any activity other than those related to divine service. (...) The ability of the clergy to rally popular discontent against the government was thus dissipated"[1323]. However, as we can see, the idea of the opposition State vs. Temple was still intact. A view that also persisted in Lewis' analysis was the consideration, already expressed by Bell, that the religions of the time had become "formal and lifeless"[1324]. Lewis wrote, along the same lines, that "the major religions tended in those days toward ever-increasing formalism, in which people continued to find pageantry and entertainment but less and less claim to their emotional commitment"[1325]. This was, according to him, the cause of "a steady decline in the number of priests in the temples"[1326], and led to the triumph of Christianity. This is the same view of the context of the Egyptian temples expressed by Fowden three years later, referring to the intellectual world of the Egyptian temples: "It was in the Roman period a thought-world whose prestige and stability could not wholly mask its inner decay or its obsession with the refining of its own processes"[1327]. This view reacted against the earlier conception that traditional religions or "paganism" had disappeared after a contest with Christianity, in which the latter had succeeded, defeating the former[1328].

[1323] LEWIS 1983: 91-92.
[1324] Cited in KLOTZ 2012b: 2.
[1325] LEWIS 1983: 98.
[1326] LEWIS 1983: 98.
[1327] FOWDEN 1986: 63. For an analysis and critique of Fowden's views, cf. chapter 3.
[1328] BAGNALL 1993: 261. Here, however, he considers that "That struggle has its reality, and continued for many years."

Bagnall proposed a more complex analysis of the causes of the decline of the Egyptian temples, indicating the economic crisis of the Roman empire in the 3rd century CE as the main factor. However, he also noted that: "It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the temples of Egypt, along with their traditional scripts, personnel, influence, festivals, and wealth declined markedly in the third century; but equally, many aspects of their life were already in decline in the first century"[1329]. In a footnote to this observation he references Bingen suggesting that the decline had already started in the Ptolemaic period, "which set the stage for the Augustan takeover"[1330]. This interpretation, thus, considers that the Egyptian temples experienced a long decline that started already with the Augustan reforms (or even earlier according to Bagnall), and culminated with the crisis of the 3rd century CE, when "the results of the long decline become manifest"[1331].

2. New interpretations

A new analysis of the effects of the Augustan reforms in Egypt was undertaken by Penelope Glare in her PhD dissertation in 1993. In it she rejects the traditional view that Rome's reforms had been directed specifically against the Egyptian temples in order to reduce their wealth and weaken their power. Glare proposes instead to see the temples as "integral parts of Egyptian society"[1332], and the reforms that affected them as part of the general changes of the Egyptian administration undertaken by Augustus after his conquest. In her analysis, she reviews the Greek papyrological sources that had been used by the previous authors to propose the State vs. Temple thesis, and shows that the texts do not necessarily provide enough evidence for it. She structures

[1329] BAGNALL 1993: 267.
[1330] BAGNALL 1993: 267 footnote 47.
[1331] BAGNALL 1993: 267. For the bibliography on this view, cf. KLOTZ 2012b: 1-2.
[1332] GLARE 1993: chapter 1, §6.

her analysis of the effects of Rome's reforms on the Egyptian temples in three chapters (2 to 4), studying the areas of the temple administration that were affected by the Roman reforms, the economy of the temples, and the organization of the temple personnel. Since the thesis is not published and also not generally available, I will now summarize her arguments.

In chapter 2, Glare explores in what ways Rome interfered in the organization and administration of the Egyptian temples. She presents three important arguments in this chapter. The first one is that Rome did not create a series of reforms directed to the temple system motivated by greed and fear of possible revolts. The second one is that these reforms were actually part of the general changes in the administration of Egyptian society, and not specific measures directed against the temples. And the third one, that even if these reforms were not directed against the temples, they did affect the temples and their priests, and depending on the circumstances these effects were positive or negative. The specific areas of the organization of the temples that were affected by the Roman reforms were the appointment of new state officials for the administration of the temples, such as the *archiereus* of Alexandria and all Egypt and the head of the *Idios Logos*; the demand for the registration of temple property and personnel; and the control in the accession to the priesthood. Instead of seeing these reforms as a way of attacking the prestige of the temples, of limiting their wealth, and of reducing the numbers of priests, Glare interprets them as a way of protecting the cults and making sure that they were administered properly, responding perhaps to "an excess of bureaucratic zeal from the Romans"[1333]. One of the main traditional arguments in this respect has been that the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* was used as a code of regulations that singled out the priests and diminish their prestige and wealth, but Glare understands it as "more descriptive than prescriptive" and as a handbook to help officials with cult regulations that had existed for a long time, and which were

[1333] GLARE 1993: chapter 2, §3.

not created by the Romans. Concerning the fines for the infringement of these regulations, she takes them as an excess of zeal on the part of the Romans in their interpretation of the requirements of being a priest, and considers that they do not seem to have been enforced in every case, since there is evidence, for example, of the performance of other activities besides the cult by some priests, which is forbidden in §71.

In chapter 3, Glare reviews the economy of the temples. Here she argues against the view that the Romans decided to target the temples in order to diminish their prosperity, and thus their power, increasing their taxes and reducing their income. Concerning taxation, she sees no evidence of the creation of specific new taxes for the temples in order to reduce their wealth, and notes that the priests were more privileged than the rest of the Egyptians during the Roman period, which would not have been the case if they were being attacked. She highlights the importance of distinguishing between taxes applied to the priests as individuals as opposed to those applied to the temples as institutions, and observes that the poll tax and liturgies, which were the main Roman innovations, were directed at some priests as Roman subjects and not at the temples. The main reform that she reviews is the confiscation of sacred land carried out by Petronius, the prefect of Egypt, in year 20 BCE. She notes that it was more a reclassification of land, and that there is no evidence to prove that a general confiscation of temple land was intended, since this argument is based on just two documents, P.Tebt. II 302 and BGU IV 1200, two petitions that she considers as an insecure basis to support such a general argument. She accepts that it is clear that sacred land was in fact reorganized and renamed, but maintains that a better understanding of the process would require a more detailed analysis of landholding and land categorization, which was still not properly understood. She also indicates that there is evidence that the temples still owned land, and also that the emperors made dedications of land

to the temples following earlier traditions. As for the priests, she notes that according to the traditional view, they were "given the choice of leasing their old land back from the state or of accepting a grant in money or kind called syntaxis"[1334]. Again, she notes that the only evidence for this assertion are those two petitions, and that other evidence indicates that landownership and the syntaxis were not exclusive, and that the acceptance of the syntaxis did not mean a reduction in prosperity for the priests. Another element that she thinks speaks against the idea of an attack against the temples and the priests is that during the Roman period there is evidence of payments from local communities to the temples, as well as payments to particular priests for officiating at rituals, which would have been forbidden had Rome wanted to diminish the prosperity of the temples. The continuation of building enterprises in the temple precincts, funded by private individuals in the name of the emperors, sometimes in an extensive scale, is also argued as proof against a deliberate attack against the temples.

In chapter 4, Glare discusses how the temple personnel was organized. Here she highlights the diversity of the different groups that were associated with the temples, and how they did not represent a cohesive community, with the higher temple positions being closer to the Roman ruling elites than to the lower temple personnel. This is an important consideration, since the Roman reforms affected each one of these groups differently, and thus it is not possible to talk about general actions directed at the priesthood as a whole. She reviews the cultic and non-cultic functions of the temple personnel, noting that the former were not full-time in most cases, and the holders of those positions also had other activities. She puts emphasis on the consideration of the priesthoods as a form of property, which could be sold, and observes that this was not a Roman innovation. She concludes that the Egyptian priests should be analyzed as part of Egyptian society and not as a distinct group independent from the rest of the population,

[1334] GLARE 1993: chapter 3, §4

since they were equally affected by the global changes that were taking place in the Roman period. Not all the members of the temple personnel were affected in the same way, and while some may have seen their wealth limited by new taxes, many of them, and especially those belonging to the higher ranks, still kept a privileged position within society. She extends this argument to the effects of the Roman reforms on the temples, which cannot be studied as a general phenomenon, but were different depending on the particular circumstances of each temple. In conclusion, she argues that there was no general plan on the part of the Romans to attack the temples, and therefore the different effects that the Roman reforms had in Egyptian society were not motivated by a particular disdain against the Egyptian temple system.

Although it was never published, Glare's analysis started a revisionist trend followed by several scholars in the past twenty-five years, who have questioned the validity of the old models for the understanding of the consequences of Rome's reforms in the Egyptian temple system. In 2005 Monson studied the impact of Roman land reforms on the Egyptian temples[1335], following up the conclusions of Glare's dissertation[1336]. Glare had pointed out in her chapter 3 that one of the problems in the interpretation of the Augustan land confiscation was that land categorization was still not properly understood. In his article, and later in his monograph *From the Ptolemies to the Romans*, Monson incorporates into his analysis the evidence from the newly edited Demotic texts, and concludes that the difference between the Ptolemaic and Roman approaches to the management of the temples lies in the fact that the Ptolemies needed the temples in order to administer the land, collect taxes, or even for the legitimization of their rule, while in the Roman

[1335] MONSON 2005. This study was extended in a monograph analyzing the transition between the Ptolemaic and Roman periods from an economic perspective, MONSON 2012.
[1336] As indicated in MONSON 2005: 79 footnote 4.

period they had a less important role[1337]. Thus, "The decree of the prefect Petronius (24-21 BCE), which allegedly confiscated temple estates, merely incorporated land leased out or managed by temples into the regular state administration. Privately owned land within temple estates was treated just like any other private land with the same legal rights and low fixed tax rate"[1338]. Monson considers that Rome's aim was to protect property owners, and since the priestly elites generally qualified as such, they maintained their privileged status and the ownership of the land. Although the intention was not to directly attack the temples, Monson indicates that they "may have suffered as a consequence and fallen more directly under the control of the state"[1339]. Thus, Monson offers in his analysis a more nuanced view of the economic consequences of the Roman reforms, but the main idea proposed by Glare that these reforms were not intended to undermine the Egyptian temples and cause their decline is still maintained. In 2014, a PhD dissertation by A. J. Connor studied the evidence concerning the role of the Egyptian temples as economic agents in the first two centuries of Roman domination, focusing especially on the temples of Tebtunis and Soknopaiou Nesos in the Faiyum[1340]. In this dissertation, Connor examines P. Tebtunis II 302, which is the main evidence used to support the idea of the Roman confiscation of temple

[1337] Cf. MONSON 2005: 91; MONSON 2012: 287.
[1338] MONSON 2012: 287.
[1339] MONSON 2005: 90-91.
[1340] Connor's main points are summarized at the end the conclusion of his dissertation, CONNOR 2014: 365–366: "To sum up, then, we can answer the question: what does all this mean? It means that we cannot assume ill will in Roman attitudes towards temples and towards their economic infrastructure. It means that the reach of the temples was greater and more pervasive, and that this reach was much extended through the parts of the temple estate other than land, that is, the "businesses." It means that the confiscations of temple land that have formed a key part of the narrative(s) of Roman power in Egypt are unlikely to have occurred, and that Roman attitudes, far from blind hostility, seem to have been similar to those in other provinces: the Romans desired to integrate local institutions into their own administrative apparatus, and indeed supported local temples, as we also see in Asia Minor. The temples, which Frankfurter sees as being shattered by Roman confiscations, "doomed to follow the empire's downward spiral," funded "specifically upon local patronage and donations,"1192 were instead a significant part of daily lives, even in the villages and smaller settlements of the Fayum, tied together as much by social and economic ties as by explicitly religious bonds. The Romans, confronted by the need to administer a vast array of temples, shrines, chapels, etc. throughout Egypt, chose to support and even collaborate with them, and the temples, whether the urban temples in nome capitals or the small village temples around the Fayum, without the burden of massive confiscations we have retrospectively lain on them with little clear evidence, remained a key presence in the social, cultural, political, religious, and, as we have seen, economic landscape of the Nile and the Fayum in the first two centuries of Roman rule."

land, and arrives to the conclusion that this confiscation never happened. Free from this interpretative burden, his analysis of the documentation shows that the Romans integrated the temples as part of their administrative apparatus, and supported them. The temples remained key elements in the social, economic, religious, and political panorama of the villages. As for the requirements placed on the enrollment of new priests, Connor writes that "these were probably done with the complicity of the priests, who also had an interest in preserving a (relatively) small group with hereditary privileges"[1341]. As for the evidence of difficulties for some temples visible in the documentation, he agrees that the temples "could run into financial difficulties in the Roman period (as they did in earlier periods as well)"[1342] but remarks that this documentation mostly "relates to local disputes, such as one from Tebtunis that may stem from unpaid taxes on property"[1343]. He concludes that "Roman administration of Egyptian temples was less strict that that by the Ptolemies, and fits into recognizable patters from elsewhere in the Roman Empire"[1344]. On the subject of the decline of the temples, he observes that such a process is not visible generally in the individual papyri, but that "they were nevertheless fading, little by little, throughout the period under consideration in this dissertation [*scil*. the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE]"[1345]. However, he leaves the analysis of the process as a future project.

This is also the point of view taken by subsequent studies. In 2010 Clarysse published a handbook chapter about the Egyptian temples and priesthoods of the Graeco-Roman period, in which he also rejects the opposition State vs. Temple[1346]. Concerning the end of the temples, he considers that they flourished until the first half of the 3rd century, and then they experienced a

[1341] CONNOR 2014: 360.
[1342] CONNOR 2014: v.
[1343] CONNOR 2014: v.
[1344] CONNOR 2014: iv.
[1345] CONNOR 2014: 364.
[1346] "It is, therefore, erroneous to oppose "church and state" in Egypt. The temples were part of the kingdom, and their world view necessarily puts the Pharaoh in the center as the intermediary between gods and humans" (CLARYSSE 2010: 284).

fast decline[1347]: "In fact, no decline is visible in the first two centuries of Roman rule. On the contrary, the priests flourished, they were exempted from some taxes and liturgies; they were well paid for their services; they had prime access to temple lands and turned these lands into private possessions; and the most prominent of them became part of the Greek-speaking elite"[1348]. Regulations such as the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos,* or the requirement to present registers of property and temple personnel to the administration, which had been seen as a way of subjugating the priesthood and limiting the wealth of the temples, are interpreted instead as a way to control corruption and nepotism, and thus as protective measures of the temple system[1349]. The economic dependence of the temples on the Roman state that had resulted from the Augustan reforms tied them to the state's economic situation. While no sign of decline was visible during the times of economic prosperity, they were affected by the crisis of the 3rd century, as was the case of other institutions throughout the Roman empire. However, other scholars, following this line of research, have extended their enquiry to other sources apart from the documentary papyri, in order to see when and how this decay can be attested. This is the case of Klotz in his study of the Egyptian temples of Thebes in the Roman period, published in 2012. In the introduction to his monograph, Klotz presents a summary of the history of research concerning the effect of Rome in the Egyptian temple system[1350], and focuses in particular in the views of decay that had been presented concerning the city of Thebes[1351]. He shows how the sources adduced in order to prove that the city was in ruins do not offer evidence for such a claim, and shows that "The architectural and epigraphic remains from Thebes during the Roman

[1347] CLARISSE 2010: 289.
[1348] CLARYSSE 2010: 290 for this and the following quotation.
[1349] Cf. CLARYSSE 2010: 289-290; KLOTZ 2012: 3; MEDINI 2015: 247-248: "Des études récentes ont toutefois nuancé le poids de ces réformes sur le fonctionnement économique du temple, en suggérant que l'intervention romaine dans le domiane religieux avait principalement pour but de bien administrer les temples et d'empêcher toute irrégularité dans l'exercise des fonctions des prêtres."
[1350] Cf. KLOTZ 2012b: 1-7.
[1351] I have reviewed part of his analysis in the section on Thessalos in chapter 4.

Period present a nearly continuous series of renovations, renewals, modifications, and new constructions from Augustus to Antoninus Pius at fourteen different temples, with additional attestations of priestly decoration continuing through the third century CE. The official temples continued to expand through the Roman Period, suggesting that most cults were still active, if not actually growing in popularity and scope"[1352]. Along the same lines, Medini published a study in 2015 analyzing different types of sources in order to determine what we can know about the decline of the temples and pagan cults in Egypt. With respect to the temple inscriptions, Medini notes that the importance that the decoration of the Egyptian temples still had in Roman times can be attested in the modification of inscriptions depending on political events concerning the roman rulers, even though, especially in the later periods, very few people were able to read the hieroglyphic texts[1353]. One element that should also be highlighted from Medini's analysis is his remark on the frequency with which the absence of testimonies, such as the lack of inscriptions or of papyri, is used in order to build arguments about the vitality or decay of the religious cult and the activity in the temples. He points out that this is an argument *a silentio*, and thus it has to be taken with caution. This argument is directed towards Bagnall's consideration that "le silence des sources est aussi important que leur presence; et cette absence ne peut pas être uniquement le fruit du pur hazard"[1354]. Stadler responds similarly to Bagnall's opinion in his analysis of the Demotic religious sources of the Graeco-Roman period, noting that "nicht alle Gründe für die Erhaltung von Quellen dem bewußten Handeln von Menschen unterworfen sind"[1355], and that factors such as environmental influence or changes in the populations have to

[1352] KLOTZ 2012b: 382. In his review of Klotz's work, Stadler has cautioned about taking temple building as a sign of unbroken prosperity of the temple complexes up until the 3rd century CE. He observes that in order to determine this prosperity, it would be necessary to evaluate the actual costs of the building projects, and also compare Thebes to other regions (cf. STADLER 2015: 396).
[1353] Medini cites several examples in MEDINI 2015: 245-246.
[1354] MEDINI 2015: 244.
[1355] STADLER 2012: 192.

be taken into consideration when evaluating the preservation or loss of sources. Thus, placing too much emphasis in the lack of sources for the determination of the absence of a particular historical process leads to wrong interpretations. This consideration is extremely relevant when examining the situation of the Egyptian cult and temples in the 3rd century CE. Stadler has remarked that the attestations of philological competence in the different Egyptian scripts vary from place to place, with inscriptions still being carved, but with diminished quality, in the temple of Esna until the reign of Decius (249-52 CE)[1356], or ostraca from Narmouthis combining different scripts up until the early third century[1357]. He indicates that although recitational texts in Egyptian seem to disappear after the 2nd century CE, the continuity in the Egyptian cult up to the 4th and 5th centuries might be attested through the Coptic hagiographies[1358]. The historicity of these sources and their reliability for this type of argument, however, is now rejected by many authors[1359]. Nevertheless, the location of the bilingual magical in the milieu of the temple *scriptoria* provides additional evidence for the activity of these institutions in the 3rd century CE. Another source for the persistence of Egyptian religious beliefs and funerary practices, together with literacy in Demotic, are mummy labels. Vleeming has recently collected the published and some unpublished Demotic and bilingual mummy labels from different collections. Among them the latest dated ones correspond to a bilingual label dating to year 15 probably of Gallienus (268 CE), and one label with a Greek text written in Demotic characters, dating presumably to year 19 of Diocletian (302 CE)[1360]. How much emphasis should be placed on this particular evidence, as

[1356] STADLER 2012: 188-189.
[1357] CLARYSSE 2010: 276 summarizes in a table the spread of temple decoration in the Graeco-Roman period.
[1358] Cf. STADLER 2012: 194.
[1359] Cf. SMITH 2002: 243-247, including a critique of Frankfurter's use of hagiographies in FRANKFURTER 1998. For a recent analysis of this issue, cf. LOVE 2016: 242-261.
[1360] Cf. VLEEMING 2011: 476-477 (n. 846), and 518-519 (n. 883).

Smith has noted, is hard to determine.[1361] Documentary evidence of Graeco-Egyptian cults can also be found in the 4th century CE. In his analysis of religious beliefs in Greek and Coptic documentary papyri dating to the 4th century, Malcolm Choat indicates that titles of members of Graeco-Egyptian cults, such as προφήτης, παστοφόρος, ἱερεύς, ἀστρολόγος, or ἱερογραμματεύς still appear in 4th century documentary papyri as a way of identifying persons in contracts[1362]. He indicates that the contexts in which they are mentioned are not religious, but that the use of the title indicates an association of some form with the cult, "even if only in the mind of the scribe or priest"[1363]. He indicates that it is not possible from this documents to tell if the temples to which they were attached were still in use, and in which degree of activity. Although already in the 4th century, the presence of these designations in administrative documents should not be dismissed when considering that some temples could still be active and with varied personnel. Another problem that we face in dealing with different kinds of material and textual evidence is undated objects and manuscripts, as Smith has highlighted in his review of the religious traditions of Akhmim in the Graeco-Roman period[1364].

In conclusion, over the past three decades, new textual and archaeological evidence has been discovered, edited, and published, providing a more complex and varied picture of Egyptian religion and the Egyptian temple system during the Roman period. The traditional model of State vs. Temple has been reviewed and rejected by many scholars, offering a more nuanced analysis

[1361] Concerning the mummy labels from the Panopolite region, as evidence for the indigenous religious beliefs and practices: "Thereafter, and on into the 2nd and 3rd Centuries, nearly all of our evidence for such matters comes from mummy labels. How full a picture these provide is difficult to say. They suggest that the old religion hung on more tenaciously on the west bank than on the east" (SMITH 2002: 243). In his recent monograph on Osiris, Smith writes that "In the second half of the second century AD, things start to change. The evidence for belief in the Osirian afterlife begins to decline. It does not disappear altogether" (SMITH 2017: 510).
[1362] CHOAT 2006: 70-71.
[1363] CHOAT 2006: 71-72.
[1364] SMITH 2002: 238-241.

of the administrative and economic reforms of Augustus and their effects on Egyptian society. Various studies of the temple enclosures, their buildings and inscriptions[1365], and of different materials and manuscripts and their social contexts, provide more clues that illuminate different areas of the milieu of the Egyptian temples in this period. However, the analysis and interpretation of all these sources require a balanced approach, without discarding evidence just as "an exception" as had been done before[1366], but also incorporating it with caution. Many sources, especially papyri and temple inscriptions, still remain unpublished, and may provide new data to complete and correct our vision of this period[1367].

3. Persistence of the traditional model

Despite the incorporation into the scholarly discussion of new sources and fresh interpretations of the historical context of Roman Egypt, as I have described in the previous section, the traditional model of Rome's deliberate attack against the Egyptian temple system and priesthoods is still quite influential and some scholars still use it as historical framework in their works on religion in Roman Egypt. Of all these, the works of David Frankfurter have probably had the most repercussion in fields such as Classics, Egyptology, and History of Religion up until the present, and since his analysis is centralized around the situation and image of the Egyptian priesthood in the Roman period, I will focus here on his presentation of the context of the Egyptian temples in Roman Egypt. After this, I will briefly review some of the authors who,

[1365] For a status of the publication of the main Egyptian temples from the Graeco-Roman period, cf. LEITZ 2009: 12-13.
[1366] With respect to the analysis of the temple inscriptions from the later periods, such as those dating to the reigns of Antoninus Pius or to the Severes, Medini has noted that: "R. Bagnall cite quelques-uns de ces édifices, mais ces bâtiments ne sont considérés que comme des cas isolés, des exceptions qui confirment la règle" (MEDINI 2015: 245).
[1367] Cf. RYHOLT 2005a for an estimation of the contents of the Tebtunis Temple Library.

mainly following Frankfurter's interpretation, have accepted this model and applied it to their studies. This will set the context for the analysis of the model of the transition of the Egyptian priests to itinerant magicians in the next chapter.

Frankfurter has presented his analysis of the religious milieu of Roman Egypt through a series of works[1368], in which he has progressively developed his interpretations creating a coherent narrative of the evolution of the Egyptian priesthood in the context of a declining temple system from an institutionalized religious group to a series of independent religious experts who roamed the Roman empire selling their expertise, having adopted a stereotypical image of exotic magicians in order to better market their product to their Graeco-Roman clientele. This reconstruction derives ultimately from the idea that the Egyptian temples experienced a process of decline during the Roman period that resulted in the proposed transformations in the situation of the Egyptian priests.

Already in 1997, Frankfurter described the situation of the temples in the Roman period as follows: "Over the course of the Roman period the religious infrastructure of Egypt was progressively eroded through pressures exerted by the Roman imperium. What once had been the handmaiden of the kingship, a system of glorious temples that the state patronized lavishly, became increasingly restricted financially. Made ever more dependent on the imperium's *stinginess* the temples were driven almost to ruin in the economic chaos of the mid-third century"[1369]. The emphasis on the Roman pressures, restrictions, and the use of the word "stinginess" anticipate his presentation of the context of Roman Egypt in his book *Religion in Roman Egypt* in 1998. Here, he clearly placed himself within the thesis of the opposition State vs. Temple: "Augustus's own reforms seem to have been motivated by fear of *native, priest-led*

[1368] The works in which I have based my analysis here are FRANKFURTER 1997, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2010, and 2012.
[1369] FRANKFURTER 1997: 125. The italics are mine.

revolts"[1370]; "The early Roman officials seem to have designed the Augustan reforms of the Egyptian religious hierarchy to tighten control over the immense potential for popular leadership held by regional priesthoods as well as further efforts"[1371]. It is interesting to observe that, despite these statements, he states that the decrees affected the practice of religion marginally, and that what actually affected the temple infrastructure was the economic crisis of the 3rd century CE[1372]. He also concedes that the ranks of priests did not diminish: "A broad look at the Egyptian cultic and priestly network during the first two and a half centuries shows little or no decline"[1373]. It is hard to reconcile both ideas, unless we assume that the Romans were extremely ineffective in the application of their reforms. In his chapter in *A Companion to Ancient Egypt* (2010), however, he gives a more nuanced interpretation, noting that "While the beginning of Roman administration saw a renewed cultivation of the Egyptian priesthood's favor and propaganda, the emperors quickly sought the complete control of every aspect of priestly service and temple administration"[1374]. The issue here is again the nuance of Rome's deliberate attempt to control the temples as an exceptional measure and not as the general practice of Rome's administration of Egyptian society. In his chapter in the *Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt* (2012) he sets his chronological diagram of the decline of the temples as follows: "two centuries of imperial munificence, then through financial decline (third to fourth century CE), and then imperial repression (fifth to sixth century CE)"[1375]. While this summary is more in accordance with what recent studies of Roman Egypt have shown, he still cites as reference for this chronological background Bagnall's analyses of 1988 and 1993, in which, as I showed in section 1 of this

[1370] FRANKFURTER 1998: 198. The italics are mine.
[1371] FRANKFURTER 1998: 206.
[1372] FRANKFURTER 1998: 27.
[1373] FRANKFURTER 1998: 199.
[1374] FRANKFURTER 2010: 530.
[1375] FRANKFURTER 2012: 319.

chapter, he maintains the view of Rome's intentional aggression against the temples and even the beginning of their decline already in the 1st century CE. Although this view is not evident in his description of the historical context of Roman Egypt in these last publications as it was in those of 1997 and 1998, his models of the itinerant magician and stereotype appropriation, and the sources used in order to support them, seem to indicate that this view was still part of his understanding of the context of Roman Egypt in these last studies.

This perspective was also adopted by Dieleman, who follows Frankfurter and Bagnall's interpretations of the context of Roman Egypt in his monograph *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*[1376]. In his analysis, Dieleman considers that "the native priestly class had factually become a closed-off and marked-out community without civil duties in society," based on the paragraphs on priests in the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos*[1377]. He follows as well the model of the opposition State vs. Temple, motivated by the fear of revolts: "That this Roman policy of *subordination and marginalisation* was a conscious act, is demonstrated by emperor Augustus' decision to place the office of high priest in the hands of a Roman official, resident in Alexandria, as a means to keep tight control over the activities and organization of the native priesthood"[1378]. Following this argument, he considers that despite the fact that the regulations concerning clothing and shaving were part of the purification rules of the priesthood since Pharaonic times, "in the mind of the Roman administrators, the possibility to mark out native priests as a distinctive group within society might have taken precedence"[1379] and "Instead of elements of prestige they were turned

[1376] Cf. i.e. DIELEMAN 2005: 49 footnote 5, or 209 footnote 59, in which he cites BAGNALL 1993: 261-273 and FRANKFURTER 1998: 27-30 as references for the historical background.
[1377] DIELEMAN 2005: 208.
[1378] DIELEMAN 2005: 208-209. The italics are mine.
[1379] DIELEMAN 2005: 209 footnote 60.

into tools to mark out and *subjugate* the Egyptian priestly class"[1380]. He also indicates that the high fines applied to those who did not follow these regulations must mean that the authorities took "took these regulations very seriously"[1381].

A similar approach is also taken by Moyer in his analysis of the context of Thessalos' proem, in which he follows Frankfurter's ideas as well. In this chapter he briefly summarizes Rome's reforms of Egyptian administration[1382], stating that "While there is plentiful evidence that members of the indigenous élite continued to hold their priesthoods, practice traditional religious observances, perpetuate indigenous literary traditions, and cultivate other dimensions of their identity, the policies and structure of the Roman administration restricted the social, economic, and political power of Egyptian priests to an unprecedented degree"[1383]. Focusing on the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos*, he offers a very similar view to that of Dieleman, and summarizes his view as follows: "The traditional exclusivity of Egyptian priests was, in short, appropriated, exaggerated, and subtly distorted by a Roman administration that sought to define, monitor, and control the priesthood"[1384].

4. Conclusions

While the circumstances of the progressive decline and disappearance of the Egyptian temple system, and of Egyptian religion, are still far from being properly understood, the studies presented in section 2 have shown that this was a very complex process with many factors intervening in it. While it appears quite clear that Rome's reforms of the Egyptian administration

[1380] DIELEMAN 2005: 211. The italics are mine.
[1381] DIELEMAN 2005: 209.
[1382] Cf. MOYER 2011: 270-273.
[1383] MOYER 2011: 269.
[1384] MOYER 2011: 272-273.

had some effects in the Egyptian temple system, and resulted in a close tie between the prosperity of the Roman state itself and that of the temples, these reforms seem in fact to have maintained the privileged status of the Egyptian priesthood. Those measures such as the requirement to report to the administration the properties and temple personnel, together with the regulations of the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* appear to have been designed to control and prevent corruption, and thus protect the temple system, and not to limit the wealth of the temples or subdue their priesthoods.

However, the most conspicuous element in Frankfurter, Dieleman, and Moyer's analyses is their interpretation that the Roman administration deliberately targeted the Egyptian temples and their priesthoods in order to subjugate and even marginalize them. In the three cases, this historical background is used in order to present an image of the Egyptian priesthood that, as a consequence of the Roman reforms, had to search for an alternative way of living and market their expertise to a foreign public. The analysis of the construction of this image will be the focus of the next chapter.

[Intended to be blank]

PART 2

CHAPTER 7: FRANKFURTER'S "PRIEST TO MAGICIAN" MODEL

In the previous chapter I have described Frankfurter's understanding of the impact of the Roman conquest in the Egyptian temples and their priesthoods. While his chronological description of the situation of the temples as presented in his 2012 handbook chapter does not differ substantially from what most scholars accept today –1st and 2nd centuries of prosperity, 3rd and 4th centuries progressive decline, with a beginning of the decline connected to the general economic crisis of the Roman empire in the 3rd century CE–, his perception that the motivation of the Roman reforms in the time of Augustus and during the first two centuries of Roman rule in Egypt was to curb the wealth of the temples and to subjugate the priesthoods adds a negative nuance to those first two centuries, and gives support to Bagnall's statement that the decline of the temples started already in the 1st century CE[1385]. This interpretation is especially applied to the consequences of the Roman reforms for the Egyptian priests, and becomes particularly manifest in the language employed for the description of this historical background in those scholars who have followed Frankfurter's model, such as Dieleman ("subordination," "marginalization," "subjugation")[1386]. It is interesting to note that a common feature of many scholars who follow Frankfurter's models is the intensification of Frankfurter's assertions, even in areas where the latter seems to have been more cautious. In this, but especially in the next chapter I will examine some of the applications of Frankfurter's models of "priest to magician" and "stereotype appropriation" by other scholars both within Egyptology and Classics, in order to point out the problems that the acceptance of these models creates for the arguments presented in those studies.

[1385] BAGNALL 1993: 267.
[1386] Cf. chapter 6, section 3, for specific references.

Frankfurter's historical framework of Rome's aggression against the Egyptian temple system is the starting point for his model of "priest to magician," and subsequently for that of "stereotype appropriation." In the present chapter I will explore the definition of the "priest to magician" model through Frankfurter's publications, noting the sources where he finds evidence for it, and identifying its component elements.

1. Frankfurter's "priest to magician" model

Frankfurter introduced the "priest to magician" model in his 1997 article on ritual expertise in Roman Egypt, and then developed it, incorporating the notion of "stereotype appropriation" derived from it in his book *Religion in Roman Egypt* (1998), and in subsequent articles and handbook chapters[1387]. Once Frankfurter presents the historical framework of the decline of the temple system, he poses the following problem: "The impact of this decline on Egyptian religion as a whole is a matter of both historical and anthropological debate: whether 'religion', properly conceived, declines with the erosion of the institutional infrastructure. But what happens to the priests in particular? The declining temples would imply a diminished cultic function for priests in many places, but not a diminishment among other functions"[1388]. He considers that Egyptian religion as an ideological system survived until at least the 5th century, but he believes that this religion was now decentralized: "Priests respond to the decline of the infrastructure by shifting their realm of primary authority form temple cult to a locally circumscribed role of ritual expert or to an itinerant mode connected to the culture and needs of Roman Hellenism"[1389]. Thus, he

[1387] The publications by Frankfurter analyzed in this and the following chapter are FRANKFURTER 1997, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2010, 2012.
[1388] FRANKFURTER 1997: 125.
[1389] FRANKFURTER 1998: 30.

considers that the Egyptian priests left their context of religious practice in the temple, and started practicing that expertise which had a temple origin for the local community in different loci, or exporting it in an itinerant way for a foreign clientele. They maintained their prestige through their connection to that temple scribal culture, represented in the ownership of sacred books: "Egyptian priests carried a particular charisma by virtue of their scribal abilities – their acquaintance with sacred books, their training in the use of myth and writing for practical efficacy"[1390].

For the elaboration of both his "priest to magician" and "stereotype appropriation" models he basically uses the sources that have been my object of analysis in the present study. The main evidence that he claims for the identification of this process are the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri, and especially the framing devices used in them[1391]. He considers that these framing techniques or "Egyptian priestly pedigrees", also present in texts such as the Hermetica, "are actually too widespread in late antique literature of Egyptian provenance and genre to be dismissed as utter fiction"[1392]. He thinks that they provide internal evidence for the dislocation of the cult, since "the PGM and PDM show no such integration of religious experience and religious *role*" as was present, for example, in Pharaonic revelation rituals: "In the PGM and PDM, however this link [*scil*. the link with the performance of priestly duty] is erased; and it seems likely that it has been erased expressly to create mystical experiences for outsiders, experiences that are based on, but have been cut free from, traditional Egyptian religion in its broad sense," and thus, they did not need to be performed in the temple, but "anywhere the ritual

[1390] FRANKFURTER 1998: 31.
[1391] Cf. his discussion in FRANKFURTER 1997: 118; 1998: 211; and especially in 2000: 175-183.
[1392] FRANKFURTER 1997: 118.

specialist sees fit to demarcate ground"[1393]. This would have been achieved through the use of the magical papyri, which are portable[1394]. Here we see two of the main characteristics of the "priest to magician" model: the dislocation of the cult and orientation towards a foreign clientele, which I will examine in detail in the next section. Frankfurter summarizes his view of the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri as follows: "Thus the Greek and Demotic grimoires lie *between* the world of the insider and that of the outsider, for they combine the outsider's desire for the exotic and esoteric with the insider's proficiency at assembling meaningful and powerful speech on traditional scaffolding"[1395]. He describes the multicultural character of the handbooks as specifically oriented towards this foreign clientele, as "perfectly exotic, "oriental" mix of attributes familiar and strange, traditional and novel, repulsive and alluring, controlled and uncontrolled." From here, Frankfurter elaborates his image of the Egyptian priests as intentionally adopting this exotic image and recasting Egyptian religion "according to Greco-Roman stereotypes of the 'Oriental wizard'", always with a financial interest[1396].

Other sources for the model are the representations of Egyptian priests both in Egyptian and Graeco-Roman texts. Concerning the Egyptian sources, he focuses especially on Djedi from P Westcar and Setne from *Setne I* and *II*[1397], whom he considers as representatives of the "thaumaturgical priest (...) a kind of folk-hero of the Egyptian scribal world"[1398]. As for the Graeco-Roman texts, he examines most of the characters analyzed here in chapters 3 and 4[1399],

[1393] FRANKFURTER 2000: 181 for the three quotes.
[1394] FRANKFURTER 2000: 182: "The Roman period saw a shift in the popular notion of the oracle from temple precinct to literate expert with book."
[1395] FRANKFURTER 2000: 183. The italics are Frankfurter's.
[1396] All the quotes from FRANKFURTER 2000: 183.
[1397] These are the same priestly characters analyzed by Dieleman in his study of the image of the Egyptian priests in DIELEMAN 2005, on which cf. chapter 5, section 3.
[1398] FRANKFURTER 1997: 199.
[1399] In FRANKFURTER 1997: 119 he mentions Diogenes' Paapis, Lucian's Pankrates, Apuleius' Zatchlas, Aelian's Iachim, Pseudo-Callisthenes' Nectanebo, Kalasiris, Thessalos, and Harnuphis. He analyzes them in more detail in FRANKFURTER 1998: 120.

considering that "regardless of the romantic or imperialist biases that these foreign authors bring to Egyptian culture they do accurately reflect the identity of 'magician' and priest in Egypt. By the fourth century Egyptian priestly culture seems to have been regarded as, essentially, 'magic' –sorcery– in Roman eyes"[1400]. He assumes that this image of the Egyptian priest as basically a magician and wonder-worker had become the image adopted and promoted by the real Egyptian priests by the 4th century, according to his "stereotype appropriation" model.

Finally, another source that he uses prominently in his analysis are Christian hagiographies[1401], which are not part of my study. The use of these sources for the historical analysis of pagan cults in the 4th and 5th centuries has been criticized by many scholars, primarily, in connection with Frankfurter's conclusions with respect to the area of Akhmim, by Mark Smith[1402]. Since then, M. Smith remarks that "Frankfurter himself, in an article published in 2006[1403], has retracted nearly all of his earlier claims about religion in Akhmim in response to my [*scil*. M. Smith's] critique"[1404]. The problems of the use of hagiographies have been recently explored by Love[1405].

In summary, Frankfurter's "priest to magician" model revolves around four main elements: the decentralization of the cult, the adaptation of temple ritual to private use, the mercantilization of ritual expertise, and the concept of itinerant ritual experts. In the next section I will analyze how Frankfurter articulates each one of them, discussing his sources and how they fit in the "priest to magician" model, in order to refute it part by part.

[1400] FRANKFURTER 1997: 120.
[1401] For example, FRANKFURTER 1997: 125-130.
[1402] SMITH 2002: 245-247.
[1403] Cf. FRANKFURTER 2006.
[1404] SMITH 2017: 444, referring to SMITH 2002: 245-247.
[1405] LOVE 2016: 239-261.

2. Analysis and refutation of Frankfurter's "priest to magician" model

2.1. Decentralization of the cult

The main argument for the transition of the Egyptian priests to both local and itinerant ritual experts, who took the image of magicians in order to sell their expertise to a foreign clientele derives ultimately from the conception that in the 3rd and 4th centuries CE centrifugal tendencies shifted the location of the religious experience from the institution of the temple to any place that the magician would temporarily "sanctify" for the performance of the ritual. This argument, as Frankfurter cites[1406], derives from J. Z. Smith's model often called the "religion of anywhere"[1407], which is presented in a series of studies[1408].

The model was first introduced in his chapter "The temple and the magician," in which he presents a rather problematic analysis of Thessalos' proem that I have already discussed in chapter 4. The main problem with the use of Thessalos' proem as evidence for the process of decentralization of the cult is its chronology, since according to Moyer's dating, it was written in the 2nd century CE, a moment in which the temples were not experiencing any kind of general process of decline. Furthermore, as I noted in chapter 4, the actual text does not allow the interpretation that the city of Thebes was composed of "a handful of religious specialists inhabiting a few ruined temples", as J. Z. Smith puts it, and the reference to Strabo that he points out as further support for this argument, which I also reviewed in chapter 4, is not valid as well. He refers to the city described in these two sources as "a realistic portrait of the city in Late Antiquity", despite the fact that none of these texts were written in Late Antiquity, but are much

[1406] FRANKFURTER 1998: 228 cites SMITH 1978: 182 and SMITH 1995: 23-27.
[1407] The designation "religion of anywhere" designates according to J. Z. Smith a religion that "is tied to no particular place" (SMITH 2003: 30) as opposed to what he calls "religion of here," which refers to domestic religious practices, and "religion of there," the official temple-based religion. This is described in SMITH 2003.
[1408] The present analysis considers SMITH 1978, 1995, and 2003.

earlier, especially Strabo's, which dates to the 1st century BCE. Following this assumption, he considers that the chamber in which the vision of Asclepios takes place is an ordinary house, despite acknowledging that the word οἰκός used to described could perfectly describe a temple, an option that he dismisses saying that the evidence for it is "far from conclusive"[1409]. The evidence for its identification as a house is far less convincing, but J. Z. Smith is here clearly influenced by his interpretation of the general situation of the temples in Thebes. Concerning the priests represented in the narrative, he follows the same line of thought and describes them as "timid old men" who had lost faith in magic[1410]. I have already noted how this interpretation has no foundation[1411]. From this interpretation of Thessalos' proem, J. Z. Smith concludes that "the locus of religious experience has been shifted from a permanent sacred center, the temple, to a place of temporary sacrality sanctified by a magician's power"[1412]. The figure that emerges from this context is a religious entrepreneur that according to J. Z. Smith appears already in the second century BCE,[1413] and that "Rather than a sacred place, the new center and chief means of access to divinity will be a divine man, a magician, who will function, by large, as an entrepreneur without

[1409] SMITH 1978: 181 footnote 43. This quote refers in particular to Festugière's interpretation of the word as a chamber in a temple after having changed his original opinion in which he had considered it as a room in a house.
[1410] SMITH 1978: 179.
[1411] Cf. chapter 4, section 1.1.1.
[1412] SMITH 1978: 182. This conclusion is complemented by the statement that "Thessalos and his 'room' have replaced the archaic complex of king, priest and temple" (SMITH 1978: 183), together with the consideration that "The oracle [*scil*. the vision of Asklepios] consists of a denigration of the legendary powers and wisdom of King Nechepso" (SMITH 1978: 183. In chapter 4 I already noted that this is an incorrect interpretation, since Asklepios actually acknowledges Nechepsos' wisdom, but notes that he had not completed the treatise with correct astrological references indicating when to pick up the plants. J. Z. Smith jumps to the conclusion that this is "an utter revaluation of the archaic Egyptian kingship ideology that the Pharaoh was divine and spoke, himself, with a "divine voice". Such a revaluation would only be possible in Late Antiquity" (SMITH 1978). Apart from the fact that J. Z. Smith is placing Thessalos' proem once more in a period that does not correspond to it, this statement is contradicted by the evidence from Demotic literature, were we see images of the king that do not correspond to that divine consideration, as in the story of *Amasis and the Skipper* or the story of P. Vandier, both described in chapter 2, in which the pharaohs are described as imperfect figures.
[1413] SMITH 1978: 186-187. J. Z. Smith considers that in the absence of a native pharaoh "the homeland is in the diaspora."

fixed office"[1414]. J. Z. Smith already brings here the magical papyri as evidence for his interpretation in this analysis[1415], but develops it in a subsequent study[1416].

In this study, he considers that "Of all the documents from late antiquity, I know of *none* more filled with the general and technical terminology and the praxis of sacrifice than those texts collected by modern scholars under the title Greek Magical Papyri. They are all the more important because they display, as well, a thoroughly domesticated understanding of sacrifice"[1417]. This "domesticated understanding of sacrifice" derives from J. Z. Smith's idea that the central element of the traditional was a blood sacrifice[1418], and the fact that he cannot find this in the magical handbooks leads him to the understanding that the rituals have been adapted to the domestic space, in which the primary "sacrifice" is incense, together with other vegetables, and libations. He also says that the "ritual implements" have been "miniaturized"[1419], since they consist in bricks, figurines, small wooden shrines, etc. J. Z. Smith concludes from here that "these practices have been divorced from a familial setting, becoming both highly mobile and professionalized"[1420], and are enacted by a "professional ritualist (the "magician") with an equally mobile deity"[1421]. He also notes that the main ritual activity is writing itself, and remarks that some of the spells are for the fabrication of amulets, observing that they are "themselves, miniaturized, portable"[1422]. Concerning writing, he says that: "The ritual of writing is more than a

[1414] SMITH 1978: 187. J. Z. Smith even includes a nuance of antagonism between both systems, which he calls "The Temple and the Magician": "the tension between them contributed much to its [*scil*. of Late Antiquity] extraordinary creativity and vitality" (SMITH 1978: 189).
[1415] SMITH 1978: 188.
[1416] SMITH 1995: 23-27.
[1417] SMITH 1995: 23. The italics are Smith's.
[1418] SMITH 1995: 22.
[1419] SMITH 1995: 24.
[1420] SMITH 1995: 25.
[1421] SMITH 1995: 26.
[1422] SMITH 1995: 26.

replacement of the archaic temple as a major site of scribal activities and library of ritual books (...) It is, rather, a displacement of ritual practice into writing"[1423].

Quack has reviewed J. Z. Smith's statements concerning the magical papyri. First, he notes that the combination of offerings of animal and vegetal provenance is not an innovation in Egyptian ritual. Blood sacrifice was never a central aspect of Egyptian ritual, and thus not a controversial issue[1424]. The use of incense (not "sacrifice) referenced by J. Z. Smith, furthermore, is one of the main parts of the daily ritual[1425]. Concerning the issue of miniaturization, which is the main aspect discussed by Quack in his article, he explains that it is not something new that originated in the Roman period[1426]. He maintains that the problem in J. Z. Smith's argument, which was also employed by Dieleman and Moyer in the study of a spell for a ring consecration, is the consideration of the object that is used in the ritual just as a miniaturized version of the original one. Instead, despite the size and in some cases the completeness of the object, it has to be understood as the fully functioning original object[1427]. Furthermore, Quack gives examples of similar formulae to those analyzed by Dieleman and Moyer from the Book of the Dead, and of small cult statues from the pharaonic period[1428]. Concerning the performance of private rituals beyond the temple enclosures, he also declares that this was not at all an innovation. He writes that apart from the house rituals noted by J. Z. Smith as predecessors, there were also other rituals that were prescribed to be performed in nature, as in chapter 125 of the *Book of the Dead*[1429]. With respect to the argument of the substitution of the ritual by the action of writing, Quack asserts the centrality that writing and manuscripts had in Egyptian ritual throughout the

[1423] SMITH 1995: 26.
[1424] QUACK 2009b: 354-355.
[1425] Cf. MORET 1902: 9-30, 70-79, 115-121 among others.
[1426] QUACK 2009b: 358.
[1427] QUACK 2009b: 359.
[1428] QUACK 2009b: 359-360.
[1429] QUACK 2009b: 361.

history of Egyptian religion[1430]. Thus, the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri are testimony of neither a domestication of sacrifice or a miniaturization of the ritual implements, and in fact do not constitute a break from the earlier ritual tradition. Quack emphasizes that the performance of rituals independently from the temple location had happened throughout Egyptian history, including rituals performed for private persons: "Tatsächlich ist allenthalben nachweisbar, dass ähnliche Phänomene einer materiellen Bescheidenheit und Unabhängigkeit vom definierten Kultort des Tempels in Ägypten zu allen Zeiten zu fassen sind, sobald man sich aus dem öffentlichen Rahmen entfernt und Rituale für Privatpersonen untersucht"[1431]. Quack concludes with a review of the situation of Egypt after the Roman conquest along the lines of what I presented in chapter 6, rejecting the idea of an aggression on the part of Rome of the temple system, and declares that the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri are our evidence for the 3rd century CE of rituals in Egypt, displaying continuity with respect to earlier periods. He finishes by saying that these texts, which address specific individual needs, have little relevance for the determination of the changes in the general religiosity of the period[1432].

Another argument against the decentralization of the cult and its itinerant character has been proposed by Mark Smith in a recent study. He has observed that Frankfurter's idea that private houses became "microcosms of temples" with the cult taking place in them in miniaturized form derives from a misunderstanding of the Egyptian concept of sacred space: "In the Egyptian view, a site was not sacred because a temple had been built there. Rather, a temple was built at a particular site because it was sacred, this property having been conferred on it by

[1430] QUACK 2009b: 362-363.
[1431] QUACK 2009b: 364.
[1432] QUACK 2009b: 366: "Zu fragen wäre allerdings, welche Auswirkungen es auf die generelle Religiosität gehabt haben mag, wenn die bisher vorhandenen staatlichen Kulte abnahmen oder gar gänzlich verschwanden. Eine solche Frage müsste freilich anders ansetzen, denn die von Individuen für sehr spezifische Bedürfnisse durchgeführten Rituale, wie sie in den gräkoägyptischen magischen Papyri zu fassen sind, haben wenig Relevanz hinsichtlich des religiösen Lebens der Gemeinschaften im Ganzen."

some event or occurrence that had taken place there in the past. Sanctity was inherent to sites, not the shrines or sanctuaries erected on them. Accordingly, it was not a movable or transferable property"[1433].

We can see how the thesis of the decentralization of ritual that Frankfurter employs in his "priest to magician" model is directly taken from the ideas presented by J. Z. Smith in these two articles, including his reliance on the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri as his main source of evidence. However, we can also see how J. Z. Smith's interpretations derive from an erroneous understanding of both Thessalos' proem and the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri. Therefore, J. Z. Smith's model is actually not supported by the primary sources. This conclusion should then also be extended to Frankfurter's analysis[1434]. As it has become evident from Quack's analysis, even though he does not mention Frankfurter, we can see a transmission of the same models of interpretation for Roman Egypt from J. Z. Smith to Dieleman and Moyer, through Frankfurter.

2.2. The adaptation of temple ritual to private use

In order to describe the transition from "priest" to "magician" of the members of the Egyptian priesthood, Frankfurter has explored the meaning of both concepts in Graeco-Roman Egypt. He has observed that "so many ritual functions in Egyptian society seem to have taken place under the aegis of temples or priestly authority that one might even question the utility of the term "priesthood"[1435]. However, within this variety, he identifies "the lector priests, with his temple-

[1433] SMITH 2017: 443.
[1434] It is interesting to note that Frankfurter himself seems to see contradictions in J. Z. Smith's model when he affirms that "In Egypt, however, we see their [*scil*. J. Z. Smith's "religions of anywhere"] profusion against the backdrop of thriving temples" (FRANKFURTER 2010: 544). Frankfurter has to concede here that the temples were fully functioning when the process described by J. Z. Smith was taking place.
[1435] FRANKFURTER 2000: 166. In FRANKFURTER 2002: 166 he also notes the unhelpful character of the category "priest."

library"[1436] as the figure that will be the protagonist of the transition from the institutionalized temple-system, to his model of itinerant and local ritual expert. Differently from other cultures, in Egypt there is almost no presence of the illiterate ritual expert[1437], the priests were the ritual experts of ancient Egypt, in which this expertise was directly related to the use of texts, and he indicates that it was "his (or her) professional association with the sacred books of the temple" which gave the lector priests their "charisma"[1438]. It is this charisma associated with books which would let the lector priests "continue on an individual basis long past the crumbling of the regional temples"[1439]. This is the moment in which, according to Frankfurter, "we can observe Egyptian priests in the Roman period gaining power and prestige through assimilating the broader Mediterranean (and narrowly Roman) image of *magos*[1440], which he has defined as "stereotype appropriation." The definition he gives of the Egyptian priest as *magos* according to this stereotype is the following: "an independent and itinerant expert in rituals beneficent and harmful armed with ancient books of incomprehensible symbols, able to summon any number of terrifying animal-headed gods and spirits, but also having a grasp of the cosmos and its structure far more advanced than anybody in Rome or Athens ever had"[1441]. The discussion of the adoption of this image will be the subject of the next chapter, but the important aspect for this section is that Frankfurter argues here that there is evidence for this transition from a lector priest as a figure connected to the Egyptian temple to a independent "magician" who sells his expertise locally and in the context of the Roman Empire. He declares that this transition took place

[1436] FRANKFURTER 1997: 119.
[1437] FRANKFURTER 1997: 121; 1998: 210-211; 2000: 166-167. In Deir el-Medina we find the *rḫ.t* "wise woman," for whom cf. KARL 2000.
[1438] FRANKFURTER 1998: 211.
[1439] FRANKFURTER 1998: 213.
[1440] Frankfurter questions the validity of the term *magos*, which was a term applied to "a variety of itinerant and local ritual experts" and that had the connotation of "sorcery" by the Roman period, but uses it as the representation of the foreign stereotype adopted by the priests (FRANKFURTER 1997: 131; cf. also 2000:166, 2002: 166).
[1441] FRANKFURTER 2000: 169.

through the public role that the lector priest had already in earlier periods "as mediators between that great tradition of the temple scriptorium and the little tradition of the village or simply its regular activities and crises"[1442]. It is assumed that the priests performed ritual duties in the temples on a rotating basis, which left them time in which they would attend the ritual needs of the local community. Ritner has written that: "As priests served in the temples in rotation, it was the off-duty priest who acted as community magician and guardian of temple secrets"[1443]. I should point out that the lector priests, however, were specialized priests within the temple, and so they were attached to the temple in the performance of other activities beyond its central ritual, primarily their work in the copying and composition of texts, which would take place in the context of the House of Life. Unfortunately, our knowledge of what the House of Life was exactly and how work was organized in it is not very detailed[1444]. Jasnow and Zauzich note that "It was evidently the place where scribes were trained, the texts composed, copied, and stored. However, it was certainly more than a mere scriptorium and seems to have been the location of ritual as well, as indeed is suggested by its very name"[1445]. We do not know how the participation of these priests in all these intellectual and ritual pursuits within the House of Life would have been organized, and in which circumstances this activity would have been combined with that assumed role as "community magician." Of course, this does not deny the existence of this latter activity, which is attested through the production of different types of objects such as amulets of various types, and would be related to the temples' activities in providing ritual texts for private use such as funerary papyri, but is meant to emphasize that our assertions concerning the specific circumstances of the activities of these specialized priests are based on assumed realities for

[1442] FRANKFURTER 1998: 212.
[1443] RITNER 1995b: 53.
[1444] The basic study on the House of Life is still GARDINER 1938. Cf. also JASNOW and ZAUZICH 2005: 33-36, and the bibliography cited there.
[1445] JASNOW and ZAUZICH 2005: 33-34.

which the actual material evidence is quite scanty. A more in-depth study of the House of Life, especially in the case of the Graeco-Roman period, together with the publication of texts such as the *Book of the Temple*[1446] and P. Florence PSI inv. D 102 should provide a more nuanced picture of these priests' activities[1447].

Returning to Frankfurter's model, he asserts that "all documentation for local ritual expertise in Egypt through the first two centuries of the Roman period shows some association between the alleged "magician" and the temple institution"[1448], and according to him this association was primarily through the "corpus of ritual manuals". He considers that it is in the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri, and particularly in those handbooks form the Theban Magical Library dating to the 3rd and 4th centuries CE, where evidence for this transition outside of the temple is reflected. However, as I have just shown, the dislocation and miniaturization of the cult that he wants to see in these sources are not actually a real phenomenon. Frankfurter finds his main argument for the transition of the priests from the context of the temples to an individual practice in "the individualistic character of the revelation-spells," which "seem to reflect circumstances when collectors were not, as in the case of "the temple literature, in the charge of institutions and hierarchies obliged to maintain traditional integrity." Thus the revelation-spells may reflect a shift of private priestly revelation ritual to a wider clientele, a shift that would

[1446] To be published by J. F. Quack.

[1447] P. Florence PSI inv. D 102 is being prepared for publication by Fabian Wespi, who has generously given me a summary of its contents. He indicates that it dates palaeographically to the 2nd century CE and that it is in very fragmentary condition. The text may be a copy of the "law of the temples" which is mentioned on the verso of the Demotic Chronicle and was part of the codification of Egyptian law made by Darius I. The text also includes several instructions considering the appointment of different priests and the priestly life at the Egyptian temple in general. The most comprehensible part of the text contains the "law of the scribe of the sacred book and the Sekhmet-priest" (*pȝ hp n pȝ sẖȝ n mḏy-nṯr pȝ wʿb* (*n*) *sḫmy.t*). The most interesting part is that it also contains normative instructions on the process of copying the papyri of the Per-medjat, but unfortunately it does not mention any activities in the House of Life. The text also includes what the process was to obtain a sealed text from the library of the temple in order to use it in some rituals in the dromos of the temple, for which they had to be copied. There is much emphasis in the supervision of the copy of the papyri and the control of where both the old and new copies are stored [personal communication of Fabian Wespi through email, 12/08/2015].

[1448] FRANKFURTER 1998: 211 for this and the following quotation.

occur through priests themselves as they took their training and books beyond the temples, perhaps to well-paying Roman youths in search of new religious experiences"[1449] He cites as evidence the adaptation of temple ritual "for use beyond the sacred precinct, as part of the repertoire of an itinerant hierophant"[1450]. In general concerning the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri, he points out that "Most of what we now call the "Greek Magical Papyri" are, in fact, Egyptian priests' translations and reformulations of temple rites and traditions for healing and for inviting visions of gods, but now for a paying public"[1451]. However, in a series of articles Quack has shown that many of the elements that are claimed by Frankfurter as innovative for magic in the Graeco-Roman period, such as these revelation spells, were already present in pharaonic magic[1452]. In these articles Quack studies how the same texts could be carved on the walls of the temples, columns, or statues, written on papyrus in long ritual handbooks, or used for private consumption, particularly in a funerary context. In each case, texts that initially, according to Quack's interpretation, would have been composed for the protection of the king, would have been secondarily adapted for the protection of the gods, and finally for private individuals, in a process of "democratization" similar to that attested in the case of funerary texts[1453]. From this analysis we see that there is no real distinction in the characteristics of the texts that may allow their different interpretation as religious or magical, since all of them belonged to the same environment. Furthermore, Quack shows that the adaptation of texts used originally in the temple context for a private consumption was not a new phenomenon in the Graeco-Roman period, but was happening already in earlier periods.

[1449] FRANKFURTER 1998: 231.
[1450] FRANKFURTER 1998: 231.
[1451] FRANKFURTER 2010: 533.
[1452] Cf. QUACK 2002b. Similarly, QUACK 1998 explores the concept of late Egyptian magic.
[1453] QUACK 2002b: 59. An example of the latter appears in P. Bremner-Rhind, which contains a formula that indicates that the ritual is to be used either upon the earth or in the necropolis, indicating both the official use of the ritual and its possible private use (QUACK 2002b: 58).

2.3. Mercantilization of religious expertise

Another of Frankfurter's arguments in support of the transition of the priests to an independent "magician"-like role is the shift to "a wider clientele" that he defines as "well-paying Roman youths in search of new religious experiences"[1454]. Two elements comprise this argument: the indication that this activity was done in exchange for a payment, and the identity of this clientele as foreign.

With respect to the issue of the priests being paid for their activities, Frankfurter cites the following chapter from Pseudo-Clement's *Recognitions* (1.5) as evidence of these "Priests who can be bought"[1455]: "This shall I do. I shall proceed to Egypt and there I shall cultivate the friendship of the hierophants or prophets, who preside at the shrines. Then I shall win over a magician by money, and entreat him, by what they call the necromantic art, to bring me a soul from the infernal regions, as if I were desirous of consulting it about some business. But this shall be my consultation whether the soul be immortal." In chapter 5 I specifically analyzed the instances of priests being paid for their services both in Demotic and in Graeco-Roman literature. As I noted there, in all the Graeco-Roman texts that I analyzed, only the character of Zatchlas from Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* is described as being paid for the necromantic ritual that he performs. The mention of a necromantic ritual might indicate that Pseudo-Clement could be borrowing this description from Apuleius. The other reference that is generally cited as evidence for the payment of priests is *PGM* IV.2441-2621, in which the prophet of Heliopolis Pakhrates impresses the emperor Hadrian so much with his magical prowess, that the latter rewarded him with double fees. This, however, does not seem the payment in exchange for a service but a doubling of his regular salary as prophet of Heliopolis, as I noted in chapter 5. Wendt, whose

[1454] FRANKFURTER 1998: 231. The argument of the paying clientele appears also in FRANKFURTER 2000: 170.
[1455] FRANKFURTER 1998: 218 for both quotations.

study of the freelance religious experts I will review in the next section, cites some references to Egyptians working for money, as in Philostratos' description of Apollonios of Tyana's driving out "Chaldeans and Egyptians who had flocked to the Hellespont after a series of earthquakes where he found them charging ten talents to perform placating rites" or Celsus' who "likens Jesus to *goētes* and those Egyptians who, for a few obols, display their sacred lore in the middle of the marketplace".[1456] While it could be understood that these were Egyptian priests, the texts actually do not specify it, and as Wendt has remarked "To recall Plutarch's warning, not everyone who seems to be an Egyptian priest actually was"[1457]. I will come back to this issue in the next section. Nevertheless, the Demotic narratives, and earlier in the literature of the pharaonic period, such as P. Westcar, offer more evidence for Egyptian priests being rewarded for their services, which indicates that this was not an innovation from the Roman period, but something that was part of the priests' activities since the pharaonic period. The lack on emphasis in Graeco-Roman literature on priests specifically being paid for their services, since we should remember that other characters such as Lucian's Pankrates, the old priest in Thessalos' proem, or Kalasiris in the *Aithiopika* are not paid for their performance of rituals, seems indeed to indicate that this was not a feature of their identity that was considered as particularly prominent.

Concerning the foreign clientele to whom Frankfurter believes that the priests would have been marketing their religions expertise, he observes that the goal of the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri—his main evidence for this switch from priest to magician—is to "create mystical experiences for outsiders, experiences that are based on, but have been cut free from,

[1456] WENDT 2016: 83.
[1457] WENDT 2016: 83.

traditional Egyptian religion in a broad sense"[1458]. Frankfurter has particularly emphasized the identity of this foreign audience as "Roman youths," using as his source for this particularly texts such as Thessalos' proem, or the stories of Arignotos and Eukrates studying with Pankrates in Lucian's *Philopseudes*. This argument has been developed more clearly by Dieleman, who in his analysis of the bilingual handbooks concludes that although both the Greek and Demotic spells were collected by the same Egyptian priests in the context of the temples during the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE, they display different characteristics because they were addressed to different clienteles, with the Demotic ones oriented for an Egyptian public, while the Greek ones, which Dieleman thinks display elements destined to present the Egyptian priests according to the Graeco-Roman stereotype, were destined for a Greek audience[1459]. However, as I noted in the analysis of the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri in chapter 3, these elements, such as the confirmations of efficacy and narrative frames of the spells, do no need to be necessarily understood as marketing devices, but as pointed out already by Fraser, they "were valued by the magician for their *utility*, as techniques for augmenting ritual power, and had nothing to do with impressing the clients"[1460].

2.4. Itinerant experts in the Roman Empire

Behind Frankfurter's argument of the mercantilization of the Egyptian priests' ritual expertise to a foreign clientele is the idea that there was a marketplace in which a growing number of these "freelance religious experts" had to compete to attract a clientele that was looking for "new religious experiences"[1461]. Frankfurter considers that, apart from the priests that offered their

[1458] FRANKFURTER 2000: 181.
[1459] For Dieleman's conclusions cf. DIELEMAN 2005: 291-293.
[1460] FRASER 2015:122.
[1461] FRANKFURTER 1998: 231.

expertise in Egypt to Roman tourists[1462], there were also Egyptian priests that adopted the image of itinerant magicians and traveled through the Roman Empire selling their services. For this he cites three examples, Heliodoros' Kalasiris "the Memphite priest who travels around the Mediterranean resolving social crises with his wide knowledge of spells"[1463], Harnouphis, who "achieved great renown in the second century through his travels," and Sarapion, who was condemned to death for predicting Caracalla's death. As I noted in section 3.2 of chapter 5, referring to Dieleman's analysis of the priestly characters in Graeco-Roman literature, neither Kalasiris nor Harnouphis correspond to Frankfurter's description of the itinerant ritual expert, since Kalasiris' travels are not motivated by the need to sell his expertise, and he is never depicted as doing so, and although Harnouphis' circumstances are almost unknown to us, he seems to have been summoned to be in the entourage of the emperor, in the same way as other Egyptian priests such as Chaeremon spent time in Rome in close contact with the imperial family, due to their reputation as wise men.

Frankfurter also indicates that "Materials on the spread of Egyptian cults in the Hellenistic and Roman periods also document the many Egyptian priests who were devoting their efforts and promoting their authority outside of Egypt—and not by any means exclusively to expatriate Egyptians: Roman and Greek devotees were particularly welcoming"[1464]. However, he also points out that "Michel Malaise argues that it was non-Egyptians who imported the earliest Egyptian cults to Italy"[1465]. As I already remarked in chapter 5, Dieleman, who follows Frankfurter's models, admits that "The extant archaeological and textual sources provide little

[1462] FRANKFURTER 1998: 217-218: "a landscape of gurus ready to teach and initiate Roman youths in all the esoteric mysteries and "philosophies" they might yearn for or imagine."
[1463] FRANKFURTER 1998: 225 for this and the following quote.
[1464] FRANKFURTER 1998: 226.
[1465] FRANKFURTER 1998: 226 footnote 102. The references are to MALAISE 1972: 257-259 and 321-330.

reliable information on itinerant ritualists within the Roman Empire"[1466], which opens the question of who were these itinerant ritual experts mentioned so often by many modern scholars, and if we can actually identify any Egyptian priests among them with solid evidence.

A very recent study by Heidi Wendt has analyzed the context of the itinerant religious experts in the Roman Empire. She describes her aim as follows: "In this study I examine the apparent expansion of the religion of freelance experts over the course of the first two centuries of the Roman Empire, roughly the last decades of the first century BCE through the first part of the second century CE"[1467]. She claims that there are indications that these freelance experts "grew increasingly influential, more diverse with respect to the skills or methods in which they claimed expertise, and more global in the ethnic coding of their wisdom and practices." As for the definition of "freelance expert," she describes them as "any self-authorized purveyor of religious teachings and other practices who drew upon such abilities in pursuit of various social benefits and often more transparent forms of profit"[1468]. She contrasts these kinds of experts with those who were connected to an institutional framework[1469], a description that corresponds to Frankfurter's Egyptian priests turned into independent ritual experts, and particularly with his image of the itinerant Egyptian priests. Considering the difficulties of the analysis of this type of figures, she states that "Freelance experts were slippery targets in antiquity for the same reasons that they evade neat classification in contemporary scholarship"[1470]. Wendt believes that the scholarly analysis of these freelance experts has been influenced by their lack of a demonstrable

[1466] DIELEMAN 2005: 242 footnote 141.
[1467] WENDT 2016: 9 for this and the following quotation.
[1468] WENDT 2016: 10.
[1469] "Unlike members of the Roman priestly colleges or other civic priesthoods whose religious authority accrued from institutional affiliation, social status, and political power, freelance experts earned their recognition and legitimacy through demonstrations of skill and learning" (WENDT 2016: 10).
[1470] WENDT 2016: 47.

social function, which has led to the interpretation that they acted in the margins of society. The literary sources describe these freelance experts as treacherous, and attribute shady motives to the people who consult them[1471]. This has led scholars, Wendt says, to see these experts with "an air of romanticism," as "villains or heroes who stood outside and in tension with some larger corporate body, whether society, a religious system, or, later, the Church"[1472]. Instead of focusing on psychological or spiritual dispositions, she says that scholars should look for more secure historical factors. This description fits quite well with Frankfurter's approach to the identity of the Egyptian priests according to his "priest to magician" model in which, following some literary sources, mainly the character of Zatchlas in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, he seems to derive the image of the itinerant Egyptian ritual expert selling his expertise. Despite these considerations, Wendt actually follows Frankfurter in her analysis of the Egyptian ritual experts, as I will show below.

Before turning to the general description of Egyptian ritual experts, I want to highlight some interesting remarks that Wendt makes with respect to Egyptians outside of Egypt, mainly in Italy. I have already indicated that Malaise has pointed out in his study of the diffusion of Egyptian cults in Italy that it seems to have been done by non-Egyptians. In this same sense, Wendt observes that the depictions of Egyptian rituals outside of Egypt "probably reveal more about how Italians imagined the religion of Egypt," since "Italian temples and monuments to the Egyptian gods were more *Egyptianizing* than Egyptian"[1473]. She remarks that the abundant occurrence of Egyptian iconography, including especially Egyptian priests and cult paraphernalia, "underscores the widespread appeal of Egyptian religion and religious experts among nonnative

[1471] WENDT 2016: 34.
[1472] WENDT 2016: 35.
[1473] WENDT 2016: 78.

audiences"[1474]. Concerning the often-mentioned ambivalent attitude of the Romans towards the Egyptian cults, Wendt makes a very interesting remark. She notes a very interesting statement, namely, that the *haruspices* in year 48 attempted to destroy "private" Egyptian religious spaces, and that the Senate voted repeatedly to decommission popular altars for the Egyptian gods and shrines built at private expense. However, in 43 BCE the members of the second triumvirate decided to build a temple in Rome in honor of Isis and Serapis, and Augustus made provisions for the Egyptian shrines, after having prohibited Egyptian rites within the *pomerium*[1475]. The way she understands these contradictions, quoting Takács, is that the removal of those private Egyptian religious spaces and private shrines was done because "it is precisely those forms of Egyptian religion not linked with temple institutions that were seen to be problematic on these occasions"[1476]. Thus, this would be a way of distinguishing between "official" Egyptian temples and privately built shrines. Along the same lines, she says that perhaps these incidents "stemmed from concerns not about Egyptian religion per se but about the sort of itinerant priests and Isis diviners (*Isiaci coniectores*) that we learn from various sources"[1477]. As part of this phenomenon of Egypt's popularity in Rome, she states that there were probably fake "Egyptian priests" making use of this popularity, and that Plutarch's statement about knowledge being what makes an Egyptian priest, and not just his appearance might actually point to this reality (*De Iside* 3)[1478]. This is an interesting statement that should be taken into consideration when analyzing the references to Egyptians offering their expertise in the places other than Egypt. A reading that could be derived from these references is that there was a concern with the existence of figures

[1474] WENDT 2016: 78.
[1475] WENDT 2016: 51.
[1476] WENDT 2016: 51 footnote 34.
[1477] WENDT 2016: 52. She cites as source Cicero, *Div*. 1.132.6.
[1478] WENDT 2016: 80: "It is for this reason, perhaps, that Plutarch feels the need to delineate "true" Isis devotees—those who, lacking all *superstitio* and pedantry bear Egyptian sacred writings within their souls as though within a casket—from others who merely dress in linen and shave their heads."

that may have not been the Egyptian priests attached to the official temples of the Egyptian cults, but offered expertise under Egyptian guise. I have already stated that Wendt cites the references of Philostratros and Celsos to Egyptians selling their expertise, indicating that it is not clear if these are to be considered Egyptian priests, and that this presence of possible fake experts is perhaps the reason why "Plutarch feels the need to delineate "true" Isis devotees—those who, lacking all *superstitio* and pendantry bear Egyptian sacred writings within their souls as though within a casket—from others who merely dress in linen and shave their heads"[1479]. In my analysis of book 11 of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* in chapter 4 I discussed the difference that the text shows between the actual Egyptian priests that participate in the procession and are in charge of the initiation rituals in the temple, who are associated with books written in "undecipherable letters" (*Metamorphoses* 11.22), and the rest of the initiates, like Lucius. It is tempting to see in those Egyptians "who, for a few obols, display their sacred lore in the middle of the marketplace"[1480] a reference to either these initiates, or to just fake experts in Egyptian guise. However, there is neither actual evidence to prove this, nor to consider them real Egyptian priests.

While the previous analysis nuances significantly our understanding of the references to Egyptian figures offering religious expertise outside of Egypt, Wendt's interpretation of the situation in Egypt is, unfortunately, based entirely on Frankfurter's views. It should be highlighted that although Wendt's analysis corresponds to the first two centuries of the Roman Empire, Frankfurter's model is applied to the situation of the 3rd and especially the 4th centuries. His use of sources from the first two centuries of Roman domination of Egypt, such as the

[1479] WENDT 2016: 80.
[1480] WENDT 2016: 83.

Demotic narratives, the Hermetica, or many of the Graeco-Roman literary works, and his claim that the Augustan reforms impacted in the situation of the Egyptian priests, leaves his chronological frame rather blurry, as I will point out in the conclusion to this chapter, and explains why other scholars have applied his models to the 1st and 2nd centuries CE, as in the case of Wendt. In her analysis she seems to understand, however, that the phenomenon of the freelance religious experts was taking place in Egypt in parallel to the existence of working temples, and that these experts did not have to be necessarily priests.

Wendt's analysis of the Egyptian freelance experts is problematic from the beginning. She first presents examples of real Egyptian freelance experts, among which only Chaeremon and Harnouphis were actually priests, and then refers to fictional characters, listing Zatchlas, the priests of Isis and Osiris in book 11 of the *Metamorphoses,* Kalasiris, and Pankrates, together with the above-mentioned references by Philostratos and Celsos[1481]. The first group shows that she is not actually considering only those individuals who are designated as Egyptian priests, but anyone from Egypt, since she lists the astrologers Sosigenes and Facundius, who reformed the Roman calendar[1482]. She takes as historical background, following Frankfurter, the idea of the Roman attack to the Egyptian temples: "Roman administrative interventions in Egypt's civic temples and priesthoods may have upset traditional configurations of religious authority, displacing a number of temple priests and scribes. In the wake of these reforms, many have argued, the Egyptian landscape filled with independent actors who might have some relationship with temples but were not necessarily regular members of their priesthoods"[1483]. Wendt also declares that there are "numerous references" to freelance Egyptian experts in the literary

[1481] WENDT 2016: 81-83.
[1482] WENDT 2016: 81-82.
[1483] WENDT 2016: 85. She does write that Livia Capponi, a specialist in Augustan Egypt, is a "notable exception," since she argues that "Egyptian priests were not divested of their privileges to the extent that is commonly thought," but unfortunately Wendt does not consider this framework (WENDT 2016: 85 footnote 47).

sources, an assertion with which she seems to refer to the previously cited characters. However, as I have maintained in the particular analysis of each one of them in chapter 4, and in the conclusions in chapter 5, the analysis of these priestly characters as "freelance experts" is too simplistic and biased by preconceived ideas. Wendt, however, following Frankfurter, points out that "the best witnesses to these transformations may be the many Roman-period religious texts and artifacts that seem to point to this sort of activity"[1484]. She proceeds to summarize J. Z. Smith's views of the decentralization and miniaturization of the cult[1485], and also observes that "religious services once restricted to temple contexts appear to have become more diffuse in late Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt"[1486], a view that I have refuted in section 2.2 of this chapter. Surprisingly, she indicates that whether the authors and consumers of these texts were actual priests is less important[1487]. In fact, she proposes the existence, as I have written above, of "entirely self-authorized specialists merely claiming priestly titles"[1488]. She also follows the idea that the clientele of these experts was a Hellenized one because "the majority of "Egyptian" ritual, astrological, and other divinatory texts of the Roman period were written in Greek" and argues that in order to compensate for this, these experts would have had recourse to "exoticism" in their presentation[1489]. Wendt's description displays all the elements characterizing Frankfurter's view of the Egyptian priests in the Roman period, from the historical framework to the "stereotype appropriation" model, which is not mentioned, but is implied in the idea of the adoption of "exoticism." She adds to it the consideration of the existence of "freelance experts" not related to the Egyptian priesthood, and here it is relevant to observe that she does not seem to

[1484] WENDT 2016: 85.
[1485] WENDT 2016: 85, citing SMITH 1995.
[1486] WENDT 2016: 85-86.
[1487] WENDT 2016: 85.
[1488] WENDT 2016: 137.
[1489] WENDT 2016: 140.

be acquainted with Dieleman's study of the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri, or about the implications that the presence of the Demotic spells has on the attribution of a Egyptian priestly origin for these handbooks.

In her conclusion she briefly remarks on the idea of a "religious marketplace," indicating that "A basic assumption of this model is that people pursued new religious options because they had grown dissatisfied with or lost confidence in traditional religion (...). Implicit in this assumption is the existence of stable and universal religious needs that could be satisfied with varying degrees of success by competing religious 'firms'"[1490]. She reacts to it saying that the main problem with this model is that it assumes that there were "certain religious needs" that people in the Roman Empire needed to fulfill, sometimes in a desperate way. Instead, she proposes that "such needs were *created by* freelance experts who deliberately contrasted their specialized knowledge and the benefits they purveyed with those of the more ordinary forms of religion"[1491]. The reason why this argument is interesting for my analysis, even if I do not believe that the concept of "freelance expert" applies in any way to the Egyptian priests, is because it nuances the idea expressed by Frankfurter that "Roman youths" were flocking to an Egypt described as a land of gurus "in search of new religious experiences"[1492]

3. Conclusion

In the present chapter I have examined the four main elements comprising Frankfurter's model of the transition of the Egyptian priests to ritual experts or "magicians" independent from the temples: the decentralization of the cult, the adaptation of temple ritual for private use, the

[1490] WENDT 2016: 220.
[1491] WENDT 2016: 222. The emphasis is Wendt's.
[1492] FRANKFURTER 1998: 231.

mercantilization of ritual expertise, and the transformation of some Egyptian priests into itinerant ritual experts.

With respect to the first argument, I have shown that it is based entirely on J. Z. Smith's conclusions, which are elaborated on an erroneous interpretation of the primary sources (Thessalos' proem and the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri). This disqualifies both J. Z. Smith's and Frankfurter's analyses. In the case of the second argument, especially through Quack's analysis, I have shown that all the elements that Frankfurter considers as innovative of the Roman period with respect to the magical handbooks actually existed already during the pharaonic period, and that the adaptation of temple rituals for the use of private individuals was not new, but a characteristic of the use of ritual texts in different contexts. As for the third argument, the payment of priests for their services was also not an innovation from the Roman period, and it is not even a prominent element of the characterization of Egyptian priests in Graeco-Roman literature. In addition, the identification of the "clientele" of the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri as Graeco-Roman through the consideration of elements such as the confirmations of efficacy and narrative frames of the spells as marketing devices depends only on the assumption of Frankfurter's model, and disregards the internal meaning of these elements within the context of the composition of the spells. Finally, I have demonstrated the questionable character of the evidence for real Egyptian priests as itinerant magicians selling their expertise in the Roman Empire, which seems to be sustained only in the description of Zatchlas in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*.

The rejection of each one of the elements of Frankfurter's "priest to magician" model, therefore, negates the validity of the model as a whole. To this it should be reiterated that the model departed from an understanding of the historical framework of Roman Egypt that, as I

demonstrated in chapter 6, cannot be sustained in light of the new historical and economic analysis. The use of this model, therefore, invalidates as well those studies based on it, such as Wendt's analysis of the Egyptian freelance experts. In the next chapter I will engage with Frankfurter's "stereotype appropriation" model.

PART 2

CHAPTER 8: FRANKFURTER'S "STEREOTYPE APPROPRIATION" MODEL

In his book *Religion in Roman Egypt*, Frankfurter introduces the concept of "stereotype appropriation" as follows: "the manifold ways indigenous cultures embrace and act out the stereotypes woven by a colonizing or otherwise dominant alien culture. While the latter creates its images of the exotic out of its own needs, aspirations, and insufficiencies (and only to some degree the realia of the indigenous culture), the indigenous cultures appropriate those same images as a means of gaining political and economic status in a broader culture now dominated by, in this case, Rome"[1493]. Specifically applied to the Egyptian priests, he indicates that "Egyptian priests during the Roman period, as a potential response to the financial constraints of the temples, were seizing upon a role clearly based on the heroes of Egyptian literature but then developed as a Mediterranean cultural type through Roman culture's exoticism: the Egyptian *magos* and his superior powers"[1494] and they were doing it to gain "power and prestige"[1495]. This definition presents the two main elements that gave origin to the "stereotype appropriation" model, the "financial constraints of the temples," and subsequently the necessity to find new ways of regaining the "power and prestige" taken by Rome. It also presents the two sources believed by Frankfurter to have provided the elements for the creation of the exotic image of *magos*, the images of priests in Egyptian literature and the way Rome interpreted them. Another source that Frankfurter considers fundamental for the study of the phenomenon of "stereotype appropriation" is the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri.

[1493] FRANKFURTER 1998: 225.
[1494] FRANKFURTER 1998: 228.
[1495] FRANKFURTER 1998: 225.

In the first section of this chapter I will examine how Frankfurter has constructed the "stereotype appropriation" model in three points. I will first analyze how, according to him, the historical situation in Egypt that resulted in the decay of the temples and in the transition of the Egyptian priests from their institutional offices to an independent exercise of their ritual expertise made it necessary for them to adopt the image of *magos* in order to appeal to the interest of their Graeco-Roman clientele. Here I will explore both the concept of exoticism and the figure of the *magos* in the context of the Roman Empire. In the second point I will examine Frankfurter's vision of the Egyptian and Graeco-Roman literary sources against my conclusions from the first part of this study. In the third point, I will analyze Frankfurter's consideration of the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri as documents of "stereotype appropriation". In the second section of the chapter I will look at some examples of the reception of the "stereotype appropriation" model, showing how its application has created assumptions that bias significantly the results of those studies. Finally, I will conclude this chapter with a general reflection on the results of the analysis developed over this and the previous two chapters.

1. Analysis and refutation of Frankfurter's "stereotype appropriation" model

1.1. Exoticism and the image of the *magos*

Although the complete enunciation of the "stereotype appropriation" model appeared for the first time in the book *Religion in Roman Egypt* in 1998, a year before Frankfurter published an article in which he already set the basis for it. In this article he explored the category "magician" applied to the ritual experts of Roman Egypt, setting it against the historical context of the decline of the Egyptian temples due to Roman reforms, and proposing the transition of their

personnel to the independent practice of their expertise through the idea of the dislocation of ritual. I have already refuted in detail these concepts in the previous chapters, but now I want to look at one last argument that Frankfurter presents in this article, which depicts his conception of the social situation of these "disenfranchised"[1496] Egyptian priests. Frankfurter presents an anthropological comparison between the Egyptian priests and the Mayan shamans of the mid-20th century in the Yucatan[1497]. He distinguishes between the rural villages and those towns connected to communication routes. He states that while in the rural villages the actions of the shaman were part of the religious life of the whole village, when these are applied to the town there is a "progressive polarization or alienation"[1498] of the shaman, in which his rituals are respected and considered necessary, but not understood. Applied to Roman Egypt, Frankfurter considers that the transition of the Egyptian priest as itinerant specialist from the rural villages to cities with a strong Hellenic component such as Oxyrhynchus would result in his being perceived as "a little bit weird" [1499] despite being "able to work great miracles." In Rome he would become "even more weird, an eastern wise man constructed almost entirely according to the 'Orientalist' perspective of Roman culture, that singular mixture of Egyptomania and disgust"[1500]. Thus, Frankfurter believes that the priest was losing his connection with the local culture, and that what before had been traditions that were part of the society in which the priests were integrated—"the priestly literary culture, the world of the temple *scriptorium*"[1501]—, now had become just "accouterments of foreign *magos*"[1502]. In order to counteract this situation, he asserts that "priests

[1496] I borrow this term from Marx-Wolf's analysis, which I review in section 2 of the present chapter, cf. MARX-WOLF 2016.
[1497] FRANKFURTER 1997: 131-135. Frankfurter incorporated this comparison also into his book, cf. FRANKFURTER 1998: 235-237.
[1498] FRANKFURTER 1997: 133.
[1499] FRANKFURTER 1997: 133–134 for this and the following quotation.
[1500] FRANKFURTER 1997: 134.
[1501] FRANKFURTER 1997: 134.
[1502] FRANKFURTER 1997: 134.

themselves often sought to make themselves more Hellenistic in certain ways"[1503], and quotes the fragment from the pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones* mentioning the winning of a magician by money.

In this argument we have all the elements that compose the "stereotype appropriation" model, with the social isolation and rarefication of the priests, who have become out of place in a changing world in which they are the last keepers of a tradition the institutional form of which had already died, and using this tradition in order to build a new identity in combination with elements from that new world: Hellenism. The mention of the *Recognitiones* adds the nuance of how this recasting of the traditional wisdom into the image of the *magos* could be exploited to obtain benefit from "a Roman youth in spiritual anxiety"[1504]. The use of the adjective "weird" applied to the priests in their new social status, and the designation of "accouterments" for what before had been central traditions of Egyptian culture, introduce the idea of "exoticism" and a concept that Frankfurter employs repeatedly in his later publication: "staged authenticity"[1505]. He also introduces the ambivalence that he sees in the Roman attitude towards Egypt, with a combination of fascination and disgust[1506].

In order to describe how Frankfurter understands the adoption of this image of *magos* we need first to look at how he presents the concept of *magos* in the first place. Already in 1997 he stated that the term *magos* was "clearly an outsider's term that is *applied* to a wide variety of itinerant and local ritual experts" [1507] and "By the Roman period and especially with Christianization it assumes the sense of 'sorcery'—meaning an inappropriate mode of

[1503] FRANKFURTER 1997: 134 footnote 50.
[1504] FRANKFURTER 1997: 134. Frankfurter sees the transformation of Egyptian culture into "a stage for the dramatization of others' truths" (FRANKFURTER 1998: 225), which eventually turned into reality as the priests incorporated the image of *magos* into their identity (FRANKFURTER 2000: 173).
[1505] Cf. FRANKFURTER 2000: 173; 2012: 329.
[1506] Also in FRANKFURTER 1998: 221; 2000: 164.
[1507] FRANKFURTER 1997: 131 for this and the following quotation.

controlling others and especially of gaining power," which according to him does not correspond to the functions of the Egyptian priests. The Greek term *magos* originated from the word μαγεία, from which we get "magic" in English, which originally was used to refer to the religion of the Magi, the Persian priests. Another word related to magical practices in Greek was γοητεία, which was connected more to a negative concept of magic, which could be translated in English as "sorcery." Ritner has observed that by the 3rd century BCE, however, Aristotle was utilizing both words in a similar way, in contrast to religion, but with the nuance that the first one made use for its practices of good *daimones*, while the second had recourse to evil *daimones*[1508]. Wendt indicates that in Latin the word *magus* "consistently connotes expertise in Persian religion or religious wisdom until the last quarter of the first century CE, when its semantic range expands to include non-Persian actors and practices"[1509]. She proposes that this extension in the meaning of the word *magus*, together with the "escalation in both frequency and severity of efforts intended to counteract specialist influence" during the first century CE are indicators that in this period there was an increase in the presence of freelance experts in the Roman empire[1510]. The application of the term to a wide variety of religious experts without attending to their particular expertise includes two cases that I have studied in chapters 3 and 4, the designation of Nectanebo as a μάγος in two different places, one in manuscript A and another in manuscript L of the *Alexander Romance*[1511], and the reference to Harnouphis as such by Cassius Dio, despite his own designation as ἱερογραμματεύς in the inscription of Aquileia[1512]. Due to the complicated manuscript tradition of the *Alexander Romance*, it is not possible to know for sure when this term was introduced, and the presence in both instances of alternative designations indicates that

[1508] RITNER 1995b: 45.
[1509] WENDT 2016: 43.
[1510] WENDT 2016: 44.
[1511] Cf. chapter 3, section 1.
[1512] Cf. chapter 4, section 5.

it was not the main designation for Nectanebo. In the case of Harnouphis, the designation is external, and it contrasts with the attitude of Marcus Aurelius himself towards the miracle, which he seems to have considered as the result of the intervention of the god Hermes and not just a magical act. Apart from these two examples, the term μάγος is not common as the designation of the Egyptian priestly figures that appear in Graeco-Roman literature, which as I showed in section 2.1.5 of chapter 5, are generally designated with priestly titles, mainly as προφήτης and ἱερογραμματεύς. If these priestly figures were generally not designated as *magos*, we should question if the image of magician was actually generally applied to the Egyptian priestly characters in Graeco-Roman literature. I will explore this idea in the next point.

Before turning to the sources in which Frankfurter sees evidence for the origin of the image of the *magos*, I should note that apart from this image, Frankfurter also acknowledges that there was a different self-presentation that depicted the priests as philosophers and "self-defined bearers of the cultural traditions"[1513], which is best represented in the description of the life of the Egyptian priests by Chaeremon. Frankfurter connects this image to the Greek tradition that gave priority to Egypt in most areas of civilization[1514]. However, he discusses this image very briefly, and right after introducing it he declares that "It is interesting, then, to find priests also actively embracing the exotic image of the Oriental "magician""[1515]. However, while the image of the magician and its adoption by real Egyptian priests is not clear from the actual sources, as I will show in the next two points, the description of Chaeremon shows actual proof of the self-depiction of at least a sector of the Egyptian priesthood as philosophers. If we accept my hypothesis that the philosophical Hermetica, like the technical ones, are a product of the

[1513] FRANKFURTER 1998: 225.
[1514] FRANKFURTER 1998: 224-225.
[1515] FRANKFURTER 1998: 225.

Egyptian priestly milieu[1516], they would be a testimony of the textual production of this philosophically minded priest. Furthermore, the term does not appear only in a Greek-language context, since in the *Book of Thoth* the disciple is designated in Demotic as *mr-rḫ*, which is a literal counterpart of the Greek word φιλόσοφος[1517]. In the Graeco-Roman literature, the character of Kalasiris is described in his first appearance according to the image of the Greek philosopher, not just in appearance, but also in attitude, and during his stay in Delphi interacted in a position of superiority with the other philosophers in the sanctuary. To this we should add the philosophical approach to Egyptian theology by Plutarch, who claims to have had access to the books of Hermes as part of his sources, as well as to real Egyptian priests, such as Manetho, and perhaps Chaeremon, where he probably found already a philosophizing approach to Egyptian religion. The same occurs in the case of Iamblichus, who also cites Chaeremon as one of his sources.

While in all these sources we see the identification of the Egyptian priests with philosophers, an interesting phenomenon happened in the 3rd century CE with philosophers that started depicting themselves as priests, of which the main example is Iamblichus, who adopted the identity of the Egyptian prophet Abamon to present his treatise on theurgy *De mysteriis*. It is interesting to note that this adoption of a priestly identity does not refer to the idea of Greek priest[1518], but was more connected to the idea of a religious expert with a particular emphasis on divine knowledge[1519]. The description given by Marx-Wolf of what the concept of ritual expert was for philosophers like Porphyry and Iamblichus is very close to the image of the Egyptian priest as described by Chaeremon: "Porphyry and Iamblichus use the term hiereus in its ideal

[1516] Cf. chapter 3, sections 3.3 and 3.4.
[1517] Cf. JASNOW and ZAUZICH 2005: 13-15.
[1518] For a discussion of the identity of the Greek priests, cf. HEINRICHS 2008.
[1519] MARX-WOLF 2016: 103.

sense to refer to someone with knowledge of the "hieratic arts" as a set of practices aimed at the salvation of the soul, that is, knowledge of salvific actions (...). For these philosophers, a ritual expert or priestly figure seems to be an individual working with these cosmic connections for some specific aim, whether it be self-serving, such as avoiding fate or achieving some personal end, or for the benefit of the entire cosmos" [1520]. These two levels of practice fit with the different applications that Egyptian ritual texts could have, as I discussed in the previous chapter[1521]. Marx-Wolf has also observed that this phenomenon only starts in the 3rd century CE, since none of the Middle Platonists adopts a hieratic identity: "our third-century priestly philosophers were likely responding to something new, something they experienced as rather urgent and pressing"[1522]. While the urgency of their adoption of the priestly identity might be debatable, it is interesting that Fowden writes that it was in the 3rd century when the Hermetica started having a wider distribution outside of Egypt[1523], which suggests the hypothesis that there was a greater access to these materials and with them to a more nuanced image of the Egyptian priestly communities in the Roman period. Frankfurter, however, refers to the identity of the creators of the Hermetica in the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE as "some shadowy conventicles of Greek-proficient priests"[1524], which conveys a connotation of illegality of these groups that is not evident from the sources[1525].

[1520] MARX-WOLF 2016: 103 defines the concept of ἱερεύς for Porphyry and Iamblichus as "someone with knowledge of the "hieratic arts" as a set of practices aimed at the salvation of the soul, that is, knowledge of salvific actions."
[1521] Cf. chapter 7, section 2.2, referring to QUACK 2002b and 2009b.
[1522] MARX-WOLF 2016: 123.
[1523] FOWDEN 1986: 198.
[1524] FRANKFURTER 1998: 240.
[1525] Frankfurter uses the adjective "shadowy" again to describe the Gnostics, Hermetists and theurgists in FRANKFURTER 2000: 175. Figures like Iamblichus, however, were anything but "shadowy" in their time.

1.2. Egyptian and Graeco-Roman literary sources in the creation of the stereotype

Returning to the image of *magos,* concerning the sources involved its creation, Frankfurter states the following: "Yet this self-promotion as international *magos* above and beyond other priestly roles (like festival leadership or care of images) was not simply an invention of or capitulation to the wider Roman world's literature, as this literature was still being composed in both Egyptian and Greek during the early Roman period"[1526]. In this point I will analyze how Frankfurter defines the image of the Egyptian priests in Egyptian and Graeco-Roman literature, and I will contrast it with the results of my own research as presented in part 1 of the present study.

Frankfurter considers that Egyptian literature had an important part in the configuration of the image of the *magos* used by the Egyptian priests. He references in particular the figure of the lector priest, citing Djedi from P. Westcar and Merire from P. Vandier as pre-Roman period examples, and notes that "The literary motif of the lector-priest in court was still popular in the Roman period"[1527]. Referring to Djedi and Setne, he notes that "The thaumaturgical priest is, in a way, a kind of folk-hero of the Egyptian scribal world"[1528]. In another publication he describes Djedi and Merire as "priestly "super-wizards""[1529]. However, as my analysis of the priestly figures in Demotic literature in chapter 2 has shown, their variety prevents us from finding a unique literary type among them. In particular with respect to the figure of Setne, that seems to be used by many experts, including Frankfurter, as a paradigm of the literary image of the priest in the Graeco-Roman period, he is far from being a hero or even a very wise man in some cases. The abundant presence of priestly characters in the Demotic literature is probably the result of it being a literature developed and received in the priestly environment, but in the display of

[1526] FRANKFURTER 1998: 226.
[1527] FRANKFURTER 1998: 227.
[1528] FRANKFURTER 1997: 119.
[1529] FRANKFURTER 2000: 167.

priestly characters that I have presented in chapter 2 more accomplished figures with even a semi-divine character, such as Horus son of Paneshe in *Setne II*, or Imhotep in the *Life of Imhotep*, share protagonism with others of ambiguous morals and motivations such as Naneferkaptah, Setne, or Peteisis from the *Story of Peteisis*. Nothing in this wide variety of texts and characters points to the preference for a particular type of priestly figure, and in fact, there are more priestly characters attested in my analysis that do not display magical abilities, than those that do[1530].

Turning to the Graeco-Roman literature, in the previous point I have stated that the designation of μάγος is actually quite uncommon in these narratives, while priestly titles such as προφήτης and ἱερογραμματεύς are by far the most attested ones. As in the Demotic narratives, many of the priests in the Graeco-Roman texts analyzed appear performing what we would define as magical actions[1531], such as Nectanebo in the *Alexander Romance*, Pankrates in the *Philopseudes*, the old priest in the proem of Thessalos, or Zatchlas in the *Metamorphoses*. Harnouphis, a real Egyptian priest, is attributed a miracle after invoking the god Hermes. This should not be surprising, since the performance of these activities are attested not only in the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri, but in pharaonic period so-called magical texts[1532]. What we can infer from this is that the Graeco-Roman literary texts represented the Egyptian priests as possessing the same characteristics that had been used to define these figures for millennia. The continuity that we see among these images does not support the idea that a particular stereotype was created in the Graeco-Roman literature reflecting "Greco-Roman needs, fantasies, and stereotyping"[1533]. Furthermore, two of the main characteristics that Frankfurter attributes to these

[1530] Cf. chapter 5, section 1.1.6.
[1531] Cf. chapter 5, section 2.1.6.
[1532] Cf. QUACK 2009.
[1533] FRANKFURTER 2000: 170.

figures, such as being paid for their services, and being itinerant experts selling their expertise, are not particularly prominent in the narratives analyzed in this study.

The analysis presented in these two points shows that the priestly characters in the Demotic narratives do not conform to a model that would have been singled out by the Egyptian priests as an ideal to reproduce in real life. Furthermore, the representation of the Egyptian priests in Graeco-Roman literature does not seem to differ significantly from what we see in the Demotic narratives. It is true that there is a higher prominence of priestly figures who perform magical actions, but these figures seem to be perceived more as incarnations of the idea of Egypt as the place of ultimate wisdom than as an exotic image of an itinerant magician selling his expertise. There is actually more evidence that supports the idea that during the Roman period the Egyptian priests adopted the image of the philosopher in the Graeco-Roman world, for which we have actual evidence coming from both the Egyptian side, with Chaeremon's description of the way of life of the priests, or in the real figure of Manetho, who was regarded as a reliable source and described as a wise man by later authors[1534], and from the Graeco-Roman side, in the descriptions of Plutarch and Iamblichus. Concerning the descriptions of Egyptians selling their expertise that we see in Philostratos and Celsos, which I referenced in the previous chapter, I already remarked that we cannot be certain that these were actual Egyptian priests. Furthermore, had the primary image of the Egyptian priests in the Graeco-Roman world been that of an exotic itinerant magician, it is rather unlikely that Iamblichus would have chosen to present himself as an Egyptian priest in his treatise on theurgy.

[1534] Cf. chapter 3 section 2.

1.3. The Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri as a document of "stereotype appropriation"

Beyond the literary texts studied in the previous point, Frankfurter considers that "the best evidence for priests' entry into this Hellenistic cultural role of *magos* within Egypt itself comes from the ritual libraries of the third and fourth centuries"[1535]. Frankfurter argues that the main difference between the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri and the magical texts from the pharaonic period was the types of spells and rituals featured in them[1536]. He considers that the pharaonic handbooks had a majority of medical spells or "rituals of a political-apotropaic nature: for example, the execration rites in the Salt or Jumilhac papyri"[1537]. However, "The vast majority of the spells in the PGM and PDM concern two spheres of ritual: erotic pursuits and the gaining of private revelations"[1538]. First off, it is necessary to point out that Dosoo's recent analysis of the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri has demonstrated that this discontinuity is not real, and that healing rituals were the predominant ones in all the periods. He also observes that there are significant variations between manuscripts and archives, which would respond to "areas of special expertise or interest of the individual or communities which produced them"[1539]. Divination and erotic spells, nevertheless, do occur frequently[1540]. However, in his analysis of the continuity and change between pharaonic and Graeco-Roman magic, Quack has shown that the divination spells can be traced back to pharaonic period rituals[1541], which has also been demonstrated by Ritner in his study of the *pḥ-nṯr*, which he traces back to the Ramesside period[1542]. As for the erotic spells, Quack writes that there is only one Ramesside ostrakon that

[1535] FRANKFURTER 1998: 228.
[1536] FRANKFURTER 2000: 176.
[1537] FRANKFURTER 2000: 177.
[1538] FRANKFURTER 2000: 177.
[1539] DOSOO 2016a: 716.
[1540] DOSOO 2016a: 713.
[1541] QUACK 1998: 85-86.
[1542] RITNER 1993: 214-220. Ritner defines the *pḥ-nṯr* as "a direct confrontation and communication with the deity, an oracular divine audience."

contains a love spell, and points to P. Ramesseum XI as a possible second example, but argues that it is not possible to be certain about it due to its bad state of preservation[1543]. Nevertheless, Quack remarks that "Dieser Befund dürfte kaum in dem Sinne zu verstehen sein, daß im vorrömischen Ägypten derartige Praktiken kaum geübt wurden"[1544]. He maintains that perhaps the fact that they were used mostly in private contexts has resulted in fewer of them being preserved. These data disprove Frankfurter's first assertion concerning the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri, and locate them in the tradition of previous pharaonic magic.

Concerning the erotic spells, Frankfurter recognizes that they "do not, then, pose a complete departure from Egyptian ritual practice broadly conceived"[1545], and writes that the Egyptian priests who composed them combined in them Graeco-Roman binding formulas with Egyptian ritual language. I have argued in the section on the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri in chapter 3 that the hypothesis that the magical handbooks combined original Greek spells with others coming from the earlier pharaonic tradition, adding also elements from the Near Eastern religious milieu made absolute sense in the context of the multicultural society that was Roman Egypt, and in fact, the Demotic astronomical papyri are the proof of the adoption of Near Eastern scientific traditions and they incorporation into the practice of the Egyptian priesthood. The problem with Frankfurter's argument is that he then says that "the prominence given to erotic spells in these grimoires suggests a deliberate endeavor to *fill a market* for erotic spells"[1546] He considers that a proof that this market existed was its possible "relationship to the Greek novel itself as a late antique phenomenon"[1547], suggesting that they may reflect "new expectations and stereotypes for Egyptian priests." He indicates that in the novels "the picture of Egyptian priests

[1543] QUACK 1998: 84.
[1544] QUACK 1998: 84.
[1545] FRANKFURTER 2000: 178.
[1546] FRANKFURTER 2000: 179. The italics are Frankfurter's.
[1547] FRANKFURTER 2000: 179 for this and the following quotation.

is invariably attached to the resolution of erotic crises"[1548] and describes their identity as "not so much a philosopher and theurge as master of love-magic"[1549]. However, since the novels' central theme is, as Frankfurter also notes, love and the problems that originate around it, the emphasis in this aspect should not be taken as a reflection of the reality of Roman Egypt, but as a characteristic of the genre.

As for the revelation spells, while Frankfurter acknowledges that they "show a ritual tradition firmly rooted in native Egyptian priestly practice, and even popular practices in some contexts"[1550], but he nevertheless considers that "there is a considerable gulf between these native Egyptian acquisitions of the *pḥ-nṯr* and the grandiose experiences sought by spiritual pilgrims in Roman Egypt"[1551]. He states that the difference between pharaonic revelation spells and those from the Roman periods "seems most vividly to be *the context in which they are performed*"[1552]. He considers that while in the pharaonic period the revelations were always linked to priestly duty, in the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri, on the contrary, he argues that the link has been erased "expressly to create mystical experiences for outsiders, experiences that are based on, but have been cut free from, traditional Egyptian religion in its broad sense"[1553]. To support this argument he says that the place for performing these revelation rituals "has been dis-located from the temple incubation chamber to anywhere the ritual specialist sees fit to demarcate ground"[1554]. He cites as reference J. Z. Smith's article "The Temple and the Magician"[1555], which bases its

[1548] FRANKFURTER 2000: 179.
[1549] FRANKFURTER 2000: 180.
[1550] FRANKFURTER 2000: 180.
[1551] FRANKFURTER 2000: 180.
[1552] FRANKFURTER 2000: 181. The italics are Frankfurter's.
[1553] FRANKFURTER 2000: 181.
[1554] FRANKFURTER 2000: 181.
[1555] SMITH 1978.

conclusions on a wrong analysis of Thessalos' proem, as I demonstrated in the previous chapter[1556]. No more evidence is provided to support Frankfurter's argument.

In summary, Frankfurter's claim that the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri are documents of "stereotype appropriation" does not seem to be corroborated by the actual texts. Based on a supposed discontinuity in the characteristics of the formularies, and on a change in the context that is substantiated only in J. Z. Smith's model of the decentralization of the cult, but not in the texts themselves, Frankfurter jumps to the conclusions that "The Roman period saw a shift in the popular notion of the oracle from temple precinct to literate expert with book"[1557], and that they are a reflection of a complex marketplace in which the priests had to adopt "Greco-Roman stereotypes of the 'Oriental wizard'" for "financial interest"[1558]. He does not, however, provide concrete references as to how all these elements are reflected in the texts.

2. Reception and use of the "stereotype appropriation" model in the scholarly literature

Since its enunciation by Frankfurter in 1998, the "stereotype appropriation" model has been quite successful among scholars from different disciplines, including Egyptology, Classics, and History of Religion among others. Until the present, it has been applied to the study of many aspects of religion in Roman Egypt and in the Roman Empire in general. Throughout my analysis I have shown already several examples of scholarly works that take Frankfurter's model as the theoretical framework against which they examine their data. In the present section I want to examine some of these works in more detail, in order to see the consequences that the

[1556] Cf. chapter 7, section 2.1.
[1557] FRANKFURTER 2000: 182.
[1558] FRANKFURTER 2000: 183.

application of the model has had in their arguments and conclusions. I have selected three main works, Dieleman's analysis of the context of the Theban Magical Library in his book *Priests, Tongues and Rites*[1559], Moyer's chapter on the proem of Thessalos in his book *Egypt and the Limits of Hellenism*[1560], and Marx-Wolf's analysis of the presentation of the 3rd century Platonic philosophers Origen, Porphyry, and Iamblichus as ritual experts in her book *Spiritual Taxonomies*[1561]. Other recent studies that accept the "stereotype appropriation" model without much discussion of its viability are David Potter's analysis of the Late Roman Empire in *The Roman Empire at Bay, AD 180-395*[1562], Love's analysis of the practitioners of the 4th century magical handbooks in his book *Code-switching with the Gods*[1563], Wendt's analysis of the Egyptian priests as freelance experts in her book *At the Temple Gates*[1564], and Bortolani's *Magical hymns from Roman Egypt*[1565].

[1559] DIELEMAN 2005.
[1560] MOYER 2011: 208-273.
[1561] MARX-WOLF 2016: 100-125.
[1562] POTTER 2004: 31-32: "Priests in Egypt, initially the representatives of specific local cults in the Nile valley, could thus become *magi*, detached from their local context (...). The "international performer," as these two [*scil*. Harnouphis and Pankrates] clearly were, could flourish by appropriating a Greco-Roman stereotype of the eastern wise man while functioning in a non-Egyptian context."
[1563] LOVE 2016. Although Love appears to present a critical attitude towards the "priest to magician" model on p. 227, he accepts it in 238 without much argument: "these practitioners are overwhelmingly presented as Egyptian priests—who have somehow become divorced from their temple institutions". He follows Dieleman's analysis, which he qualifies as "exemplary" (LOVE 2016: 234), throughout his study. He incorporates Dieleman's conclusions about the priestly characters in the Egyptian and Graeco-Roman literary sources, and just summarizes his results (LOVE 2016: 237-238). Concerning the "stereotype appropriation" model, he accepts it as part of his incorporation of Dieleman's analysis to his section on Greek and Latin literature: "Unlike the Egyptian-language literary tradition, where practitoners are "respected members of society", the Hellenic perspective presents "exotic gurus" and "miracle workers", cf. PTRs, 249, an image that sometimes underwent "stereotype appropriation"" (LOVE 2016: 238).
[1564] WENDT 2016. Cf. chapter 7, section 2.4.
[1565] BORTOLANI 2016: 19: "AS Frankfurter suggested, the composition of the *PGM* may be considered as part of the complex process of 'adaptation' (...) that was triggered by socioeconomic reasons and carried out by the Egyptian priestly 'upper class' which, in order to preserve its prestige and religious heritage, had to promote traditional beliefs and rituals by re-adapting them *according to the expectations* of the Hellenized ruling class. Thus, the transition from Egyptian religious traditions to Graeco-Egyptian magic could represent not only the underground displacement of Egyptian public religion triggered by the Roman cultural perspective, but also the priests' attempt to conform to the stereotyped idea that their Hellenized rulers had of them, or at least to 'translate' their traditional beliefs (and integrate them with the Greek ones) in order to make them more comprehensible and appealing to the new mixed readership and clientele." The italics are mine.

The most influential work in the analysis of the priesthood and the magical papyri from an Egyptological point of view in the last decades has been Dieleman's *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*. As I already noted in section 3 of chapter 5, the conclusions of his study of the image of the Egyptian priests in the Egyptian and Graeco-Roman literature have been turned into the reference models of this literary type, despite the fact that they are built using a number of sources not representative of either of these two textual corpora. Dieleman's general analysis of the context of the Theban Magical Library, while very useful, is biased by his decision to use Frankfurter's "stereotype appropriation" model as the theoretical framework to analyze the texts.

He introduces the concept already in the introduction, after maintaining that the Egyptian priests took a "willed identity of the alienated Egyptian priest being opposed to Greek outsiders," which he sees in *CH* XVI. He indicates that: "According to Frankfurter, Egyptian priests, who had lost their state subsidies with the introduction of Roman rule, had to look for new sources of income and found those in a Greco-Roman clientele willing to pay for divine illumination like, for example, a character such as Thessalos of Tralles[1566]. As a result, Egyptian priests acted to the expectations of their customers and, so, took on the role of the exoticised Egyptian ritual specialist in daily reality as well as in the texts they wrote"[1567]. In this quote we can recognize all the elements that compose Frankfurter's "stereotype appropriation" model, from the loss of economic power of the priests due to the Roman reforms, to the priests offering "divine illumination" at a price, and the adoption of an exotic image to meet the customer's expectations. Dieleman cites Thessalos' proem as an example for this situation, without mentioning that this text dates to the 2nd century CE, a moment in which no decline of the temples is attested.

[1566] Dieleman connects without discussion the Thessalos of the astrobotanical treatise with Thessalos of Tralles. On this, see chapter 4, section 4. Dieleman follows here Moyer's analysis of Thessalos' proem, which is also based on Frankfurter's "stereotype appropriation" model, on which *vid. infra*.
[1567] DIELEMAN 2005: 9.

Thessalos' proem is not actually a reflection of that model, since the priest does not perform the ritual in order to gain money from Thessalos. However, Dieleman also remarks that the model has some limits: "its applicability could well prove to be restricted to texts written by Egyptian priests in Greek"[1568]. This is, in fact, one of the conclusions of his study. He considers that the main difference between the Demotic and the Greek spells is the audience to which they were oriented, and while the Demotic ones were meant to circulate only among the Egyptian priesthood, the Greek ones "were actually composed for a Hellenised clientele" and thus display stereotypical elements that Dieleman describes as "marketing techniques"[1569]. The basis for this claim is his idea that some aspects of the framing narratives that introduce the spells refer to "a priestly custom that was not extant in historical reality" and thus "it should be considered a fiction, a marketing technique, which anticipates the client's needs, aspirations, and expectations." He uses as his main example the list of ingredients in *PGM* XII.401-444, which I have already analyzed with different conclusions than those of Dieleman[1570].

In conclusion, Dieleman's interpretation of the framing techniques of the spells just as "marketing techniques," emphasizing a hypothetical foreign audience to whom they would have been oriented, instead of primarily seeing the indication of effectiveness and power as a goal in itself and as an element of self-definition[1571], as was the case in the use of the same devices in the pharaonic period, imposes on the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri the idea that their ultimate role was to be used as a source of income for the priests. This conclusion is based on the assumption that Frankfurter's interpretation of the situation of the Egyptian priests in the Roman period was true, and that there was a real necessity of finding a way to counteract the effects that

[1568] DIELEMAN 2005: 9.
[1569] DIELEMAN 2005: 187.
[1570] Cf. chapter 3, section 3.2.2.
[1571] As suggested already in FRASER 2015: 120-122.

Rome's reforms have had on the priesthood. In the previous two chapters I have shown that this interpretation has little basis in the evidence.

Another study that relies heavily in Frankfurter's model of "stereotype appropriation" is Moyer's analysis of Thessalos' proem. In chapter 7, section 2.1, I have discussed how this text was used by J. Z. Smith, together with the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri, to propose the model of decentralization of the cult, based on an erroneous understanding of the text. I have already discussed Moyer's analysis of Thessalos' proem with respect to the depiction of the priests in detail in chapter 4. Here I will highlight the specific way in which he has applied the "stereotype appropriation" model and the conclusions that he has derived from it. Moyer's analysis critiques J. Z. Smith's interpretation of the narrative as a break with previous tradition symbolized in the failure of Nechepsos' treatise. However, he accepts his view of the decentralization of the cult, which considers the possibility that the place in which the vision takes place could be a "purified house, a place of more temporary, mobile, an domestic sanctity"[1572]. He summarizes Frankfurter's understanding as follows: "Frankfurter understands Thessalos' meeting with the priest as part of this phenomenon [*scil*. "the economic restrictions on the priesthood created by the administrative reorganization of the temples and of the prerogatives of priestly status"[1573]], an economy of both representations and financial realities which disembedded Egyptian priests from their more local or indigenous roles, transforming them into "Oriental gurus." The importance of Thessalos' narrative of his encounter lies in its testimony of this intercultural commerce and its implications for the Egyptian priesthood"[1574]. Moyer qualifies this analysis as

[1572] MOYER 2011: 223. On p. 261 footnote 215, Moyer considers the option that the pure chamber could be a shrine or a chamber in a temple, and incorporates the idea of miniaturization on p. 261.
[1573] MOYER 2011: 225.
[1574] MOYER 2011: 225-226.

"sophisticated," but argues that it does not completely address "the nature of Thessalos' claims to authority"[1575]. In the rest of the chapter Moyer elaborates an interpretation according to which Thessalos actually appropriates the role of an Egyptian priest, putting himself in the astrological tradition of Nechepsos-Petosiris[1576]. This he describes as follows: "Thessalos, I shall argue, not only claimed to have obtained his knowledge through the assistance of an Egyptian priest; he also insinuated himself into Egyptian traditions of priestly knowledge and into the role of the priest himself"[1577]. I have already discussed in chapter 4 Moyer's consideration that Thessalos has gone through an initiation process, noting that this should be considered perhaps in the same level of Lucius' initiation in book 11 of the *Metamorphoses,* but not as a substitution of the role of the priest himself[1578].

Moyer's view is influenced by the consideration that the priests that Thessalos encounters were under the pressure of the effect of Rome's reforms, and that Thessalos took advantage of this situation in order to actually place himself in the position of the image of the Egyptian priest that Frankfurter describes in his model. This is an extra turn on the "stereotype appropriation" model, which in this case is applied to a Greek character. I think that this is an overinterpretation that is not necessary if we remove the assumptions that the city of Thebes was in ruins and that the priests encountered by Thessalos were in a marginalized position, and we consider the practice of the vision as a normal performance of a revelation ritual according to its traditional characteristics going back to the pharaonic period. Thessalos does not experience any kind of initiation in this process. The vision is used as an internal effectivity confirmation device for the

[1575] MOYER 2011: 226.
[1576] MOYER 2011: 230.
[1577] MOYER 2011: 228.
[1578] Cf. chapter 4, section 3.

text based on the authority of the god Asklepios, and not on a newly acquired authority by Thessalos by means of a hypothetical initiation.

To conclude, I will examine Marx-Wolf's application of Frankfurter's model in chapter 4 of her book *Spiritual Taxonomies*. In this chapter she studies of how figures such as Origen, Porphyry and Iamblichus in the 3rd century "refashioned the identity of the philosopher to include another facet, namely ritual expertise and the access it yielded to divinity"[1579]. In this endeavor, they acted "at the expense of the reputation of other hieratic figures," which were "attempting to overcome marginalization[1580] under Roman rule[1581]," and "endeavoring to carve out new areas of influence and authority for themselves." Marx-Wolf proposes in this chapter that these philosophers were taking the identity of priests, while at the same time they "minimizing or excluding the importance of other ritual experts" in order to establish themselves "as the highest authority on divine and cultic matters"[1582] and thus be in a better position to contend with these ritual experts in "highly competitive, highly dialogic context"[1583].

In the case of Iamblichus, she studies in particular the Egyptian priests, and notes that "I follow the insights of David Frankfurter and Jacco Dieleman, in particular, in pointing to disenfranchised Egyptian priests under Roman rule"[1584]. She considers the Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri as the best source for description of the situation of the Egyptian priests in the 3rd century, and follows J. Z. Smith's interpretation that these texts reflect "important shifts in the space of religion in this period from what Smith calls the "here" and "there" of religion to the

[1579] MARX-WOLF 2016: 101 for this and the next three references.
[1580] Marx-Wolf follows Dieleman in the use of this term, cf. DIELEMAN 2005: 208-209.
[1581] It is quite surprising that she talks about Greeks and Romans in Egypt as "colonial masters" (MARX-WOLF: 118).
[1582] MARX-WOLF 2016: 101.
[1583] MARX-WOLF 2016: 124.
[1584] MARX-WOLF 2016: 102.

"anywhere"—to religious and ritual space other than the sphere of domestic and temple praxis. In late antiquity, this interstitial space gained increasing importance and was exemplified by the miniaturization of ritual, as well as improvisation on ritual themes from both "here" and "there""[1585]. She follows Frankfurter's view that the priests were forced to innovate and expand their clientele "in response to Roman imperial legislation and changes in provincial administrative organization that eroded the traditional privileges and structures for economic well-being accorded these priesthoods in earlier Pharaonic and Ptolemaic epochs. Already under Augustus, Roman policy had subordinated and marginalized the Egyptian priesthood"[1586]. She then describes that in order to overcome this situation, the priests had to assimilate the image of the *magos*. She proceeds subsequently to describe how Dieleman has analyzed the magical handbooks "for evidence of both innovation and stereotype appropriation among the class of ritual experts under discussion[1587]". She describes Dieleman's conclusion that the use of Demotic indicates that the handbooks were produced in the Egyptian ritual milieu, and that only the Greek sections present elements of "stereotype appropriation"[1588]. Marx-Wolf extends, however, the idea of stereotype appropriation to the practice of astronomy/astrology by the Egyptian priests. She claims that "One telling example of the aforementioned stereotype appropriation is the inclusion of astrological divination in the scope of priestly activities starting in the Hellenistic period and continuing into Roman imperial times, eventually incorporating horoscopic astrology in the range of ritual services the priests could offer to their communities and clientele"[1589]. She sees the adoption of the practice of astrology as oriented to the accommodation to the needs of their hypothetical clientele. However, recent studies in this field show the important place that

[1585] MARX-WOLF 2016: 115.
[1586] MARX-WOLF 2016: 115.
[1587] MARX-WOLF 2016: 116.
[1588] MARX-WOLF 2016: 117.
[1589] MARX-WOLF 2016: 117.

Egypt had in the transmission of scientific knowledge from Mesopotamia, and that the acquisition of this knowledge by the Greeks seems to actually have happened through Egypt. Instead, Marx-Wolf seems to still believe the old idea that Egypt had no role in this transmission[1590].

Marx-Wolf argues that Iamblichus was trying to distinguish his theurgy from the practices of the Egyptian priests because they might have not been that different once seen from the outside[1591]. She would have been doing that "by discrediting everyday priests as creators and purveyors of religious products that engaged nothing more than the lowest of all natural forces, using mere techne[1592]". However, she also remarks that "This is peculiar, because at the same time he was posing as one of them. In other words, while he wrote as an illustrious and authoritative Egyptian priest, Abamon, and garnered cultural capital based on this image, he undermined everyday priests." She also considers that it is an "irony" that Iamblichus would have been using the sources written by these priests[1593]. This argument is entirely based on the interpretation of the following passage of the *De mysteriis* (3.28): "Then, in accordance with the truth, we must demonstrate that the image-maker does not use the astral revolutions or the powers inherent in them, or the powers found naturally around them, nor is he at all able to control them; rather he operates with those emanating last from nature in the visible (realm) about the extreme part of the universe, and does so purely by technical skill, and not by theurgic skill"[1594]. From this text she interprets that Iamblichus was considering the Egyptian priests, whom he identifies with the "image-makers" as craftsmen[1595]. If we look at the texts from the

[1590] For a more detailed discussion of this issue, cf. chapter 3, section 3.2.
[1591] MARX-WOLF 2016: 109.
[1592] MARX-WOLF 2016: 119.
[1593] MARX-WOLF 2016: 120.
[1594] Translation of Iamblichus by CLARKE, DILLON and HERSHBELL 2003: 191, cited in MARX-WOLF 2016: 112.
[1595] MARX-WOLF 2016: 112: "Presumably, then, by theurgic skill, one can participate in the demiurgic activity of ensouling matter. But this is the purview of specialists, not ordinary "craftsmen".

Chamber of Gold in Dendera, to which I already referred in my analysis of the alchemical texts[1596], we get a better understanding of what Iamblichus might have actually meant in this passage. In these texts we read that: "En ce qui concerne la chambre de l'or où sont parachevées les images divines, liste des artisans : Sculpteurs : deux hommes ; fondeurs : deux hommes ; incrusteurs : deux hommes ; ciseleurs : deux hommes ; maîtres sculpteurs : deux hommes ; orfèvres : deux hommes. En tout, douze hommes de service mensuel, soit quarante-huit qui *ne sont pas initiés*. Ce sont eux qui fabriquent les idoles mystérieuses, ainsi que les statues de chaque dieu qui est dans le temple, les Hathor-Isis, le roi, l'épouse royale, la mère royale, les enfants royaux, en argent, or, bois et toutes pierres fines. Ce sont eux qui couleront tous les bijoux d'or, d'argent, de pierre véritable qui doivent toucher le corps divin. Quand on en vient à L'Œuvre secret en toute chose, c'est l'affaire des officiants *initiés* auprès du dieu, qui sont membres du clergé, lavés par la purification de la grande ablution, qui agiront sans qu'aucun œil les observe, sous l'autorité du préposé aux rites secrets, scribe du livre sacré, chancelier, père divin, ritualiste en chef. Ils iront dans chaque chapelle où cela doit être fait, et d'image en image … selon tout ce qui est écrit dans le livre sacré comme prescription de Thoth"[1597]. The text clearly distinguishes two types of temple personnel, on the one hand those artisans who are involved in the actual manufacturing of the statues, who are described as non-initiated, and on the other hand all those involved in the "secret work," which should be understood as the ceremony of the opening of the mouth of the statues, who are described as having been initiated, as being members of the prophethood (*wnn m ḥm.w nṯr*), and as being purified. They are placed under the authority of the overseer of secrets (*ḥr.j-sšt3*), the scribe of the divine book the chancellor, the divine father, and the chief lector priest. Thus, when Iamblichus refers to the

[1596] Cf. chapter 3, section 3.2.2.
[1597] *Dend*. VIII, 128. CAUVILLE and IBRAHIM ALI 2015: 213. The italics are mine.

"image makers" (εἰδωλοποιός), he seems to be referring to the first group of non-initiated artisans, and not to the Egyptian priests whom he otherwise holds in very high esteem throughout the treatise.

Marx-Wolf uses Frankfurter and Dieleman's interpretation of the situation of the Egyptian priests in order to present them as part of the experts competing in the "ritual marketplace". As I have shown in these chapters, there is no evidence that justifies this view. Furthermore, her lack of familiarity with Egyptian culture has led her to extrapolate from a passage of Iamblichus which simply distinguishes between different types of temple personnel the convoluted interpretation that Iamblichus, despite representing himself as an Egyptian priest and using Egyptian sources, was actually trying to discredit the Egyptian priesthood. In order to explain this contradiction, she just claims that this would be "the other side of the coin of stereotype appropriation, namely the phenomenon where consumers of exotic cultural images and products both venerate the stereotypes on offer and deride actual individual purveyors for not truly understanding the cultural treasures they possess"[1598]. She does not offer any references for this argument, which does not support her complicated interpretation of Iamblichus' text.

3. Conclusion

In the last three chapters of this study I have done a detailed analysis of Frankfurter's interpretation of religion in Roman Egypt based primarily on his "stereotype appropriation" model. I have presented the analysis and refutation of the model step by step from its most general aspect, the historical background of Roman Egypt, to the specific elements that articulate it. I have tried to demonstrate part by part that although the model seems to work in itself and

[1598] MARX-WOLF 2016: 119.

provide a reasonable explanation for the development of Egyptian religion and of its practitioners in Roman Egypt, it is not based on a correct interpretation of the primary sources.

The main problem with Frankfurter's analysis of the situation of the Egyptian priests in the Roman period is that he has attempted to present a process that entails a discontinuity with earlier pharaonic religion, without having a solid Egyptological knowledge, particularly in the fields of Egyptian religion and Egyptian literature[1599]. He has adopted as historical background an assumption concerning the impact of Rome's conquest on the Egyptian temples and priesthood that a more in-depth analysis of the documentary evidence has now disproven. He has then proposed two models for the response of the Egyptian priests to that inexistent situation, namely the deliberate aggression on Rome's part to the Egyptian priesthood and their loss of their privileged status, that are based on the analysis of a series of sources: the Egyptian literary texts, the Graeco-Roman representations of Egyptian priests, and the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri. It is clear throughout his analysis that he does not know have sufficient first-hand knowledge of Egyptian literature, and his analysis of the Graeco-Roman texts and the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri is done from the preconception of his "stereotype appropriation" model, which is imposed to them instead of inferred from them. Furthermore, he relies completely in J. Z. Smith's model of the decentralization of the cult, and tries to apply it similarly to texts that, otherwise, do not offer any evidence of discontinuities with what had already existed in the pharaonic period.

In the second part of this chapter in particular, but also in other instances, I have shown how Frankfurter's model has been applied rather uncritically by other scholars, Egyptologists and non-Egyptologists, to their analyses of different aspects of the religious world of Roman Egypt and in general of the Roman Empire. This has caused these studies to depart from an

[1599] This has also been noted in SMITH 2002: 245.

erroneous premise, affecting their conclusions consequently. It is relevant to note that of the studies mentioned in this section, four were published as recently as 2016, which shows the persistence of the "stereotype appropriation" model up until the present. In my view, the application of the "stereotype appropriation" model leads to circular arguments, since it reads the data from a preconceived framework, and thus applies the conclusions of this already biased analysis to the confirmation of this framework.

In this respect, one element that has frankly surprised me during my research concerning Frankfurter's work is the lack of reviews that it has had from Egyptologists. As far as I know, Mark Smith seems to have been one of the few Egyptologists who has actually published his opinion about at least some aspects of Frankfurter's interpretations[1600]. Subsequently, Love has reviewed and critiqued Frankfurter's use of Christian hagiographies as historical sources[1601], but as I have noted in this chapter, he does not question the concepts of the itinerant Egyptian priests or of "stereotype appropriation". In light of the recent publications by scholars from disciplines other than Egyptology, such as those of Marx-Wolf and Wendt, who accept and apply Frankfurter's ideas, I considered that a detailed analysis such as the one presented here was necessary in order to present a contrasting view that may be useful to scholars, and to bring attention to the necessity of a reexamination of the evidence of the Egyptian priesthood during the Roman period.

[1600] Cf. SMITH 2002: 245-247; also SMITH 2017: 443-444. M. Smith's first review, however, includes the following conclusion: "It would be easy to multiply examples of the sort illustrated above, but the result would be a postscript longer than the article to which it is appended. Suffice it to say that, in my view, such egregious distortion and misrepresentation of evidence disqualifies Frankfurter's book from consideration as a work of serious scholarship" (SMITH 2002: 247).
[1601] Cf. LOVE 2016

[Intended to be blank]

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION

In the previous chapters I have examined the image of the Egyptian priests of the Graeco-Roman period from two different angles. In the first part of the dissertation I collected the descriptions of Egyptian priestly characters that can be gathered from the ancient sources, while in the second part I contrasted the results of this analysis with the interpretations that modern scholars have proposed in the past decades.

The first part of the dissertation has brought together for the first time, in a detailed analysis, the most relevant Egyptian priestly characters from literary and paraliterary sources from the Graeco-Roman period. In the first chapter of this section I collected all the Egyptian priestly characters from the main Demotic narrative sources that have been published up to the present. Previous studies of the Egyptian priesthood in the Graeco-Roman period had been based on just one or two of these characters—typically Setne, or Setne and Naneferkaptah—creating the illusory image of the existence of a literary model of the Egyptian priest in this period, according to the characteristics of these figures. A number of the texts that I have analyzed in this chapter have only been published recently, and in many cases they are still not completely understood due to the difficulties that their fragmentary state poses for their reconstruction and interpretation. In this chapter I have proposed some new views and tried to correct some assumptions concerning the priestly characters in the narratives. I hope thereby to have contributed to a better understanding of the texts. An example is the figure of the young priest of Horus of Pe in Buto from the *Fight for the Sinecure of Amun*, which might be better understood as a semi-divine

being similar to Si-Osiris in *Setne II*. This young priest of Horus of Pe may have been connected to the family of Inaros; his appearance is meant to assure that the rights of Inaros' heirs are protected and fulfilled.

In my analysis of the Graeco-Egyptian and Graeco-Roman sources, which have received more scholarly attention and are generally better known, I have offered an Egyptological point of view in order to bring up features that had not been considered before, and that help frame the texts better in their historical circumstances. This approach provides at the same time a more nuanced picture of the cultural and intellectual world of Graeco-Roman Egypt. This is the case, in particular, of Manetho, whose work's Egyptian character had not been properly recognized by previous scholars. I have proposed here that Manetho's *Aigyptiaka* was not dependent in format on Greek historiographical models, but was firmly rooted in textual models preexistent in Egyptian literature, such as the priestly manuals for the format of its structure, and the Demotic narratives for the historical descriptions inserted in it. In the case of the Hermetica, I have examined Fowden's interpretation in *The Egyptian Hermes*, a volume that contributed in a fundamental way to a better understanding of the historical context of these texts. However, in the 30 years that have passed since its publication, the editions of new manuscripts and the better understanding of the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri, ancient astronomy and alchemy enable us to both refute some of Fowden's interpretations, but also build on other ideas which he presented in his monograph. Thus, incorporating these new data, and reinterpreting different aspects of Fowden's analysis, I propose that we may indeed identify the elusive Hermetists with the Egyptian priests that were also the authors of the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri and of the scientific treatises and literary texts preserved in the temple libraries, as well as their Greek translations. This attribution of the Hermetica to the Egyptian temple milieu would explain why

the references to the treatises seem to fade away almost at the same time as the last traditional temples disappeared. This identification also provides a link between the Hermetic treatises and Egyptian priestly texts such as the *Book of Thoth* by means of their authors, which will need to be explored in more detail in the future. In this context, the Hermetica should be seen as a natural evolution of Egyptian theological thought in the multicultural world of Graeco-Roman Egypt, developed by the most accomplished Egyptian intellectuals of the time. In the case of the Graeco-Roman sources, my analysis has emphasized Egyptian ideas and elements that offer a different point of view about how their authors obtained their information concerning the Egyptian priesthood. In combination with the interpretation of the Hermetica within the Egyptian temple context, this analysis offers new interesting lines of research for the works of authors such as Iamblichus, or Heliodoros, and their possible historical connections.

While the results of the analysis in each one of these chapters may be significant by themselves, the most relevant aspect of the present study is that it brings together all these sources in a detailed analysis from an Egyptological point of view for the first time. Although no study of this literature can be truly comprehensive, since new texts are constantly being discovered and published, the incorporation of as many of the available priestly characters from the Demotic narratives as possible, together with their comparison with a significant group of Egyptian priestly characters in the Graeco-Egyptian and Graeco-Roman literature, has allowed me to outline the main characteristics of these characters in each group of texts, and evaluate their relevance within each corpus. The results from this analysis, presented in chapter 5, have proven to be different from those that had been accepted until now in the scholarly literature as published by Dieleman in chapter 6 of his monograph *Priest, Tongues, and Rites*.

In the second part of the dissertation, I have focused especially on the analysis of the models proposed by David Frankfurter for the understanding of the historical context of the Egyptian temples and their priesthoods in Roman Egypt in his book *Religion in Roman Egypt* and in a series of articles. Frankfurter's interpretation is based on an understanding of the historical background of Roman Egypt in which the Egyptian temples and priesthood had been singled out and specifically targeted by Rome in order to subjugate them, due to fear of revolt. Around this reconstruction of the situation of the Egyptian priesthood, Frankfurter has built two models. The first one maintains that, due to the progressive precariousness of their economic situation, the priests had to find alternative ways of financing themselves, as Egyptian religion became decentralized with the decline and closure of the temples. They did this by selling their ritual expertise to a foreign Graeco-Roman audience ("priest to magician" model). Frankfurter's second model proposes that, in order to better market their expertise, they adopted an exotic stereotypical image derived from the characterization of the Egyptian priests in Graeco-Roman literature, with the aim of fulfilling the expectations of their clientele. Throughout my dissertation, but especially in the three chapters of part 2, I have highlighted the problems inherent in this understanding of the religious context of Roman Egypt, and in this analysis of the Egyptian priesthood of the period. In these three chapters I have deconstructed the basic components of each one of these models, and I have refuted each one of them, in order to show that they are not supported by the actual historical evidence. I have also emphasized how widespread these models are in modern studies of different aspects of Roman Egypt, and how their uncritical application to the analysis of historical sources leads to conclusions that are significantly biased by the assumption of a historical framework for whose existence there is no evidence. This underscores the significance of the analysis presented in my dissertation as a

departure point for the elaboration of a new interpretation of the Egyptian temples and priesthoods in Roman Egypt.

The fields of Egyptology, papyrology, classical studies, history of religion, and history of philosophy, are currently experiencing an infusion of new source material that will certainly change what we thought we knew of Graeco-Roman Egypt. The edition and study of new papyrological sources, both in Greek and in Egyptian—including texts in Demotic, but also others in hieratic and hieroglyphs, written in *égyptien de tradition*—, is already revealing new interesting aspects of the administration, daily life, and intellectual endeavors of the inhabitants of Egypt in this period. Priestly manuals, in particular, will significantly change in the next years our concept of the scholarly pursuits of the Egyptian priesthood, and of the activities in the Egyptian temples. The long-awaited edition of the *Book of the Temple* by J. F. Quack will surely be a major source for our understanding of the Egyptian priests, together with the publication of the "law of the scribe of the sacred book and the Sekhmet-priest" (P. Florence PSI inv. D 102) by F. Wespi. Furthermore, the edition of new fragments of the *Book of Thoth* by R. Jasnow and K.-Th. Zauzich, together with a more active engagement by other scholars with the sections of the text already published, will definitely open new ways of understanding the enigmatic but extremely fascinating institution of the House of Life. This institution is, in my view, the key piece in the creation of the Egyptian intellectual thought of the Graeco-Roman period. I also include the Hermetica as a product of this Egyptian intellectual thought. The completion of the edition and translation of the monumental texts from the Egyptian temples of the Graeco-Roman period, and their study in parallel to these papyrological sources, will provide a global picture of the theological universe of the time. The study of this evidence will be fundamental for the

understanding of the Greek sources, both documentary, literary, and paraliterary, of Graeco-Roman Egypt, which in many cases still lack proper in-depth Egyptological analyses. Furthermore, the results from the incorporation of the Egyptian sources to the study of areas such as Graeco-Roman science, or the intellectual world of the library of Alexandria, may provide useful elements for the interpretation of areas that had until recently been considered to be an exclusively Hellenic environment. As a result, the Egyptian priests, their intellectual and theological endeavors, and the temples in which these pursuits took place will have to stop being considered as the sclerotic remnants of a dying tradition, and be reinstated as a prominent part of the intellectual universe of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, one of the most lively and fertile intellectual moments of human history.

In conclusion, I am aware that many of the hypotheses and points raised in this dissertation are controversial, and will require further research in the future. Still, I hope to have highlighted and brought back to the scholarly arena some important issues concerning the way in which the context of the Egyptian temples and their priesthoods in the Graeco-Roman period have been analyzed. I also hope to have identified some assumptions that should be permanently discarded from the scholarly literature, and proposed new paths upon which fresh approaches to the ancient sources may be undertaken.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

AfP – Archiv für Papyrusforschung

ARG – Archiv für Religionsgeschichte

ASAE – Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte

BASP – The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists

BIFAO – Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale

BiOr – Bibliotheca Orientalis

BSEG – Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie de Genève

BSFE – Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie

CdE – Chronique d'Égypte

CRIPEL – Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille

EAO – Égypte, Afrique & Orient

EVO – Egitto e Vicino Oriente

GM – Göttinger Miszellen

HSPh – Harvard Studies in Classical Philology

JARCE – Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt

JEA – Journal of Egyptian Archaeology

JHA – Journal for the History of Astronomy

JHS – The Jorunal of Hellenic Studies

JJP – The Journal of Juristic Papyrology

JNES – Journal of Near Eastern Studies

JRS – The Journal of Roman Studies

MDAIK – Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo

OLP – Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica

OLZ – Orientalistische Literaturzeitung

RdE – Revue d'égyptologie

RHR – Revue de l'histoire des religions

SAK – Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur

SEL – Studi epigrafici e linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico

ZÄS – Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde

ZPE – Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

WZKM – Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes

ADLER, W. (1989): *Time Immemorial: Archaic History and its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

AGUT-LABORDÈRE, D. and CHAUVEAU, M. (2011): *Héros, magiciens et sages oubliés de l'Égypte ancienne: une anthologie de la littérature en égyptien démotique*. Paris: Belles lettres.

ALLEN, J. P. (2005): *The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt*. New York–New Haven–London: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press.

ALLIOT, M. (1954): *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*. 2 vols. Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie orientale.

ARNOLD, D. (1999): *Temples of the last pharaohs*. New York–Oxford: Oxford University Press.

ASSMANN, J. (1989): "Death and initiation in the funerary religion of ancient Egypt," in J. P. ALLEN et al. (eds.), *Religion and philosophy in ancient Egypt*. New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Graduate School, pp. 135-159.

——— (1995): "Unio liturgica: die kultische Einstimmung in götterweltlichen Lobpreis als Grundmotiv 'esoterischer' Überlieferung im alten Ägypten," in H. G. KIPPENBERG and G. G. STROUMSA (eds.), *Secrecy and concealment: studies in the history of Mediterranean and Near Eastern religions*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, pp. 37-60.

——— (2000): *Weisheit und Mysterium: das Bild der Griechen von Ägypten*. München: C. H. Beck.

——— (2005): *Death and salvation in ancient Egypt*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press [Translated by David Lorton from ASSMANN, J. (2001): *Tod und Jenseits im alten Ägypten*. Munich: C. H. Beck].

ATHANASSIADI, P. (1993): "Dreams, Theurgy and Freelance Divination: The Testimony of Iamblichus," *JRS* 83, pp. 115–130.

——— (1995): "Review: The Oecumenism of Iamblichus: Latent Knowledge and Its Awakening. Reviewed Work(s): *The Divine Iamblichus: Philospher and Man of Gods* by H. J. Blumenthal and E. G. Clark," *JRS* 85, pp. 244-250.

BAGNALL, R. S. (1993): *Egypt in Late Antiquity*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

BAINES, J. (1972): "R. T. Rundle Clark's Papers on the Iconography of Osiris," in *JEA* 58, pp. 286–295.

BAINES, J. (1990): "Restricted knowledge, hierarchy, and decorum: modern perceptions and ancient institutions," *JARCE* 27, pp. 1-23.

BARGUET, P. (1953): *La stèle de la famine à Séhel*. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

BAUMBACH, M. (2008): "Egyptian Priest in Delphi: Kalasiris as *theios aner* in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica,*" in B. DIGNAS and K. TRAMPEDACH (eds.), *Practitioners of the divine: Greek priests and religious officials from Homer to Heliodorus*. Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies, Trustees for Harvard University, pp. 167–186.

BERLEV, O. D. (1998): "Review of Harco Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*," in *BiOr* 55 (5/6), pp. 772-775.

BETRÒ, M. (2000): "La storia del mago Hi-Hor: Variazioni egiziane sul tema di Ahiqar," in P. NEGRI SCAFA and P. GENTILI (eds.), *Donum Natalicium. Studi presentati a Claudio Saporetti*. Rome: Borgia, pp. 23–35.

BETZ, H. D. (1992): *The Greek Magical Papyri in translation, including the Demotic spells*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

BIERBRIER, M. L. (ed.) (1997): *Portraits and masks: burial customs in Roman Egypt*. London: British Museum Press.

BLASIUS, A. and B. U. SCHIPPER (eds.) (2002): *Apokalyptik und Ägypten. Eine kritische Analyse der Relevanten Texte aus dem griechisch-römischen Ägypten*. Leuven: Peeters.

BORTOLANI, L. M. (2016): *Magical Hymns from Roman Egypt. A Study of Greek and Egyptian Traditions of Divinity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

BOTTA, A. F. (1998): "Sin and forgiveness in the Demotic story of Setne I," in I. SHIRUN-GRUMACH (ed.), *Jerusalem studies in Egyptology*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 233-241.

BOWERSOCK, G. W. (1994): *Fiction as history: Nero to Julian*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

BREASTED, J. H. (1930): *The Edwin Smith surgical papyrus: published in facsimile and hieroglyphic transliteration with translation and commentary*. 2 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

BREMMER, J. N. (2013): "The Representation of Priests and Priestesses in the Pagan and Christian Greek Novel," in B. DIGNAS, R. PARKER, and G. G. STROUMSA (eds.), *Priests and Prophets among Pagans, Jews and Christians*. Leuven–Paris–Walpole, MA: Peeters, pp. 135–161.

BRUNNER-TRAUT, E. (1975): "Anonymität (der Götter)," in W. HELCK and E. OTTO (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, pp. 281-291.

BUDDE, D. (2011): *Das Götterkind im Tempel, in der Stadt und im Weltgebäude: eine Studie zu drei Kultobjekten der Hathor von Dendera und zur Theologie der Kindgötter im griechisch-römischen Ägypten*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

BUDDE, D., S. SANDRI and U. VERHOEVEN (eds.) (2003): *Kindgötter im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit: Zeugnisse aus Stadt und Tempel als Spiegel des interkulturellen Kontakts*. Leuven: Peeters.

BURKARD, G. and H. J. THISSEN (2009): *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte II. Neues Reich*, 2nd ed. Berlin: LIT Verlag.

——— (2012): *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte I. Altes und Mittleres Reich*, 4th ed. Berlin: LIT Verlag.

CAUVILLE, S. (1997): *Le temple de Dendara 10: les chapelles osiriennes*. 2 vols. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.

——— (2002): *Dendara. Les fêtes d'Hathor*. Leuven: Peeters.

——— (2004a): *Dendara V-VI: traduction [et] index phraséologie. Les cryptes du temple d'Hathor*. 2 vols. Leuven: Peeters.

——— (2004b): "Dendara: du sanatorium au trinctorium," *BSFE* 161, pp. 28-40.

——— (2012): *Dendara XV: Traduction. Le pronaos du temple d'Hathor: plafond et parois extérieures*. Leuven–Paris–Walpole, MA: Peeters.

CAUVILLE, S. and M. IBRAHIM ALI (2015): *Dendara. Itinéraire du visiteur*. Leuven: Peeters.

CDD = Chicago Demotic Dictionary, online version: https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/publications/demotic-dictionary-oriental-institute-university-chicago

CHASSINAT, É. (1966–1968): *Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de khoiak*. 2 vols. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

CHAUVEAU, M. (1990): "Glorification d'un morte anonime (P. dém. Louvre N 2420 c)," *RdE* 41, pp. 3-8.

CHOAT, M. (2006): *Belief and Cult in Fourth-Century Papyri*. Turnhout: Brepols.

CLARKE, E. C, J. M. DILLON, and J. P. HERSHBELL (2004): *Iamblichus: De mysteriis*. Leiden: Brill.

CLARYSSE, W. (2010): "Egyptian Temples and Priests: Graeco-Roman," in A. B. LLOYD (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*. Vol. 1. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 274–290.

COLE, E. (2015): *Interpretation and Authority: the Social Functions of Translation in Ancient Egypt*. PhD dissertation, UCLA.

COLIN, F. (2002): "Les prêtresses indigènes dans l'Égypte hellénistique et romaine: une question à la croisée des sources grecques et égyptiennes," in H. MELAERTS and L. MOOREN (eds.), *Le rôle et le statut de la femme en Égypte hellénistique, romaine et byzantine: actes du colloque international, Bruxelles-Leuven, 27–29 Novembre 1997*. Paris–Leuven; Sterling, VA: Peeters, 41-122.

CONNOR, A. J. (2014): *Temples as Economic Agents in Early Roman Egypt: The Case of Tebtunis and Soknopaiou Nesos*. PhD dissertation, University of Cincinnati.

COONEY, K. (2000): "The edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake: ritual function and the role of the king," *JARCE* 37, pp. 15-47.

COPENHAVER, B. P. (1992): *Hermetica: the Greek Corpus Hermeticum and the Latin Asclepius in a new English translation, with notes and introduction*. Cambridge–New York: Cambridge University Press.

COULON, L., GIOVANNELLI-JOUANNA, P. and KIMMEL-CLAUZET, F. (eds.) (2013): *Hérodote et l'Égypte. Regards croisés sur le livre II de l'*Enquête *d'Hérodote*. Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée.

CRIBIORE, R. (2005): *Gymnastics of the mind: Greek education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

CUMONT, F. (1937): *L'Égypte des astrologues*. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.

DAUMAS, F. (1957): "Le sanatorium de Dendara," *BIFAO* 56, pp. 35-57.

——— (1983): “L’alchimie a-t-elle une origine égyptienne?” in G. GRIMM, H. HEINEN, and E. WINTER (eds.), *Das Römisch-Byzantinische Ägypten : Akten des internationalen Symposions 26.-30. September 1978 in Trier*. Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern, pp. 109-118.

DEAC, D.-A. (2017): “Shabtis and pseudo-shabtis from the Roman provinces of Pannonia, Dacia and Moesia: an overview,” in M. TOMORAD and J. POPIELSKA-GRZYBOWSKA (eds.), *Egypt 2015: perspectives of resarch: proceedings of the Seventh European Conference of Egyptologists, 2nd-7th June 2015, Zagreb, Croatia*, Oxford: Archaeopress, pp. 241-255.

DEPAUW, M. (1997): *A companion to Demotic studies*. Brussels: Fondation égyptologique reine Élisabeth.

——— (2006): *The Demotic Letter. A study of epistolographic scribal traditions against their intra- and intercultural background*. Sommerhausen: Gisela Zauzich Verlag.

DERCHAIN, P. (1962): “L’authenticité de l'inspiration égyptienne dans le «Corpus Hermeticum»” *RHR* 161 (2), pp. 175-198.

——— (1963): “Pseudo-jamblique ou Abammôn? Quelques observations sur l'égyptianisme du *De Mysteriis*,” *CdE* 38, pp. 220-226.

——— (1965a): *Le Papyrus Salt 825 (B.M. 10051), ritual pour la conservation de la vie en Égypte*. Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique.

——— (1965b): “Le tombeau d'Osymandyas et la maison de la vie à Thèbes,” *Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen: Philologisch-Historische Klasse* 1965 (8), pp. 165-171.

——— (1990): “L’Atelier des Orfèvres à Dendara et les origines de l'Alchimie,” *CdE* 65 (130), pp. 219-242.

——— (1998): “Le stoïcien de Kom Ombo,” *BSEG* 22, pp. 17-20.

DEVAUCHELLE, D. (2012): “Fier d’être Rhodien et d’avoir véçu 106 ans!” in C. ZIVIE-COCHE and I. GUERMEUR (eds.), *“Parcourir l'éternité”: hommages à Jean Yoyotte*. Turnhout: Brepols, pp. 409–425.

DICKIE, M. W. (1999): “The learned magician and the collection and transmission of magical lore,” in D.R. JORDAN, H. MONTGOMERY, E. THOMASSEN (eds.), *The World of Ancient Magic: Papers from the first International Samson Eitem Seminar at the Norwegian Institute Athens 4–8 May 1997*. Bergen: Norwegian Institute at Athens, pp. 163–193.

DIELEMAN, J. (1998): “Fear of women? Representations of women in demotic wisdom texts,” *SAK* 25, pp. 7-46.

——— (2005): *Priests, Tongues, and Rites. The London-Leiden Magical Manuscripts and Translation in Egyptian Ritual (100–300 CE)*. Leiden–Boston: Brill.

DILLERY, J. (1999): “The First Egyptian Narrative History: Manetho and Greek Historiography,” *ZPE* 127, pp. 93-116.

——— (2013): “Manetho” in T. WHITMARSH (ed.), *The Romance between Greece and the East*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 38-58.

——— (2015): *Clio's other sons: Berossus and Manetho*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

DILLON, J. M. (1977): *The Middle Platonists*. London: Duckworth.

DILLON, J. M. and J. P. HERSHBELL (1991): *On the Pythagorean way of life*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.

DINDORF, L. A. (1863): *Dionis Cassii Cocceiani Historia romana*. Leipzig: Teubner.

DNb = LÜDDECKENS, E., W. BRUNSCH, H.-J. THISSEN, G. VITTMANN, and K.-Th. ZAUZICH (1980-2000): *Demotisches Namenbuch I*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert.

DODDS, E. R. (1965): *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

DOSOO, K. (2016a): "Magical discourses, ritual collections: cultural trends and private interests in Egyptian handbooks and archives," in T. DERDA, A. ŁAJTAR, y J. URBANIK (eds.), *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology. Warsaw, 29 July – 3 August 2013*. 3 vols. Warsaw: Fundacja im. Rafała Taubenschlaga, pp. 699-716.

——— (2016b): "A History of the Theban Magical Library", *BASP* 53, pp. 251-274.

DOWDEN, K. (2008): "Alexander Romance," in B. P. REARDON, (ed.), *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*. 2nd ed. Berkeley–Los Angeles–London: University of California Press, pp. 650–735.

DUNAND, F. (1978): "Le statut des hiereiai en Égypte romaine," in M. J. VERMASEREN, M. B. BOER, and T. A. EDRIDGE (eds.), *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren: recueil d'études offert par les auteurs de la série Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain à Maarten J. Vermaseren à l'occasion de son soixantième anniversaire le 7 avril 1978*. Vol. 1. Leiden: E. J. Brill, pp. 352-374.

EDSALL, M. (1996): *The Role and Characterization of the Priest in the Ancient Novel*. PhD dissertation, Columbia University.

ELDAMATY, M. (2003): "Die Treppe des Hinaufsteigens zum Dach des Tempels von Dendera am Neujahrfest," Z. HAWASS and L. PINCH BROCK (eds.), *Egyptology at the dawn of the twenty-first century: proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000*. Vol. 1. Cairo–New York: American University in Cairo Press, pp. 171-179.

ERICHSEN, W. (1937): *Demotische Lesestücke*. Vol. 1.3. Leipzig: Hinrichs.

——— (1954): *Demotisches Glossar*. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard.

——— (1956): *Eine neue demotische Erzählung*. Mainz: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur.

ERLER, M. and M. A. STADLER (eds.) (2017): *Platonismus und spätägyptische Religion: Plutarch und die Ägyptenrezeption in der römischen Kaiserzeit*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

ESCOLANO-POVEDA, M. (forthcoming): "Astronomica Montserratensia I. A Demotic almanac with synodic phenomena (P. Monts.Roca inv. 314)."

EVANS, J. (2004): "The astrologer's apparatus: a picture of professional practice in Greco-Roman Egypt," *JHA* 35, pp. 1-44.

FAIRMAN, H. W. (1958): "A scene of the offering of truth in the temple of Edfu," *MDAIK* 16, pp. 86-92

FARAONE, C. A. (2000): "Handbooks and Anthologies: The Collection of Greek and Egyptian Incantations in Late Hellenistic Egypt," *ARC* 2 (2), pp. 195–214.

FESTUGIÈRE, A.-J. (1939): "L'expérience religieuse du médecin Thessalos," in *Revue Biblique* 48, pp. 45–77.

——— (2014): *La révélation d'Hermes Trismégiste*. 4 vols. New ed. [original ed. 1949-1954]. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

FESTUGIÈRE, A.-J. and A. D. NOCK (1954a): *Corpus Hermeticum. Tome III: Fragments extraits de Stobee I–XXII*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

——— (1954b): *Corpus Hermeticum. Tome IV: Fragments extraits de Stobee XXIII–XXIX. Fragments divers*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

——— (1960a): *Corpus Hermeticum. Tome I: Traites I–XII*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

——— (1960b): *Corpus Hermeticum. Tome II: Traites XII–XVIII. Asclepius*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

FISCHER-ELFERT, H.-W. (1998): *Die Vision von der Statue im Stein: Studien zum altägyptischen Mundöffnungsritual*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter.

——— (2013): "Papyrus Queen's College recto: a narrative in abnormal hieratic," in R. ENMARCH and V. M. LEPPER (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian literature: theory and practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 143-151.

FOWDEN, G. (1982): "The pagan holy man in late antique society," *JHS* 102, pp. 33–59.

——— (1986): *The Egyptian Hermes. A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

FRANKE, D. (1998): "Kleiner Mann (*nḏs*) – was bist Du?" *GM* 167, pp. 33-48.

FRANKFURTER, D. (1997): "Ritual expertise in Roman Egypt and the problem of the category 'magician'," in P. SCHÄFER and H. G. KIPPENBERG (eds.), *Envisioning magic: a Princeton seminar and symposium*. Leiden–New York: Brill, pp. 115-135.

——— (1998): *Religion in Roman Egypt. Assimilation and Resistance*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

——— (2000): "The Consequences of Hellenism in Late Antique Egypt: Religious Worlds and Actors," *ARG* 2. Band, Heft 2, pp. 162-194.

——— (2002): “Dynamics of Ritual Expertise in Antiquity and Beyond: Towards a New Taxonomy of “Magicians,” in P. MIRECKI and M. MEYER (eds.), *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World*. Leiden–Boston: Brill, pp. 159-178.

——— (2006): “Hagiography and the Reconstruction of Local Religion in Late Antique Egypt: Memories, Inventions, and Landscapes,” in J. DIJKSTRA and M. VAN DIJK (eds.), *The Encroaching Desert: Egyptian Hagiography and the Medieval West*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 13–37.

——— (2010): “Religion in Society: Graeco-Roman,” in A. B. LLOYD (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*. Vol. 1. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 526-546.

——— (2012): “Religious practice and piety,” in C. RIGGS (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*. Leiden–Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 319-336.

FRASER, K. A. (2007): “Baptised in Gnosis: The spiritual alchemy of Zosimos of Panopolis,” *Dionysius* 25, pp. 33–54.

——— (2015): “Roman Antiquity: The Imperial Period,” in D. J. COLLINS, *The Cambridge History of Magic and Witchcraft in the West: from Antiquity to the Present*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, pp. 115–147.

FRIEDRICH, H.-V. (1968): *Thessalos von Tralles. Griechisch und lateinisch*. Meisenheim am Glan: Verlag Anton Hain.

GALLO, P. (1997): *Ostraca demotici e ieratici dall’archivio bilingue di Narmouthis II (nn. 34-99)*. Pisa: Edizioni ETS.

GARDINER, A. H. (1938): “The House of Life,” *JEA* 24 (2), pp. 157-179.

GASSE, A. (2004): *Les stèles d’Horus sur les crocodiles*. Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux.

GAUGER, J.-D. (2002): "Der 'Traum des Nektanebos': die griechische Fassung," in A. BLASIUS and B. U. SCHIPPER (eds.), *Apokalyptik und Ägypten: eine kritische Analyse der relevanten Texte aus dem griechisch-römischen Ägypten*. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 189-219.

GLARE, P. (1993): *The Temples of Egypt: The Impact of Rome*. PhD Dissertation, University of Cambridge.

GOLDBRUNNER, S. (2006): *Der verblendete Gelehrte. Der erste Setna-Roman (P. Kairo 30646)*. Sommerhausen: Gisela Zauzich Verlag.

GOMAÀ, F. (1973): *Chaemwese, Sohn Ramses' II. und Hoherpriester von Memphis*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

GORDON, R. (1997): "Reporting the Marvellous: Private Divination in the Greek Magical Papyri," in P. SCHAFER and H. G. KIPPENBURG (eds.), *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 65–92.

——— (2002): "Shaping the Text: Innovation and Authority in Graeco-Egyptian Malign Magic," in H. F. J. HORSTMANSHOFF et al. (eds.), *Kykeon: Studies in Honour of H. S. Versnel*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 69–111.

GOYON, J.-C. (1980): "Note pour servir à la connaissance des procédés tinctoriaux de l'ancienne Égypte," in *Livre du Centenaire de l'IFAO*. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, pp. 25–35.

GOZZOLI, R. B. (2006): *The writing of history in ancient Egypt during the first millennium BC (ca.1070-180 BC): trends and perspectives*. London: Golden House.

GRENFELL, B. P. and A. S. HUNT (1906): *The Hibeh papyri I*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.

GRENFELL, B. P, A. S. HUNT, and E. J. GOODSPEED (1907). *The Tebtunis papyri II*. London: Oxford University Press.

GRIFFITH, F. Ll. (1900): *Stories of the high priests of Memphis: the Sethon of Herodotus and the demotic tales of Khamuas*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

——— (1909): *Catalogue of the demotic papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester: with facsimiles and complete translations*. 3 vols. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

GRIFFITH, F. Ll. and H. THOMPSON (1904-1909): *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*. 3 vols. London: H. Grevel & Co.

GRIFFITHS, J. G. (1970): *Plutarch's* De Iside et Osiride. Cambridge: University of Wales Press.

——— (1975): *Apuleius of Madauros. The Isis-Book (*Metamorphoses, *Book XI)*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

GUEY, J. (1948): "Encore la 'Pluie miraculeuse'. Mage et Dieu," *Revue de Philologie, de Littérature et d'Histoire anciennes, 3me série* 22, pp. 16-62.

GUIMIER-SORBETS, A.-M., A. Pelle, and M. Seif el-Din (eds.) (2015): *Renaître avec Osiris et Perséphone: Alexandrie, les tombes peintes de Kôm el-Chougafa*. Alexandria: Centre d'Études Alexandrines.

HALLEUX, R. (2002): *Les Alchimistes Grecs. Tome I: Papyrus de Leyde. Papyrus de Stockholm. Recettes*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

HARMON, A. M. (1921): *Lucian. Volume III*. Cambridge, MA–London: Harvard University Press.

HEINRICHS, A. (2008): "What is a Greek priest?" in B. DIGNAS and K. TRAMPEDACH, *Practitioners of the divine: Greek priests and religious officials from Homer to*

Heliodorus. Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies, Trustees for Harvard University, pp. 1–14.

HENRY, P. and H.-R. SCHWYZER (1964): *Plotini Opera. Tomvs I. Porphyrii vita Plotini. Enneades I-III*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

HOFFMANN, F. (1992/1993): "Einige Bemerkungen zur Zweiten Setnegeschichte," *Enchoria* 19-20, pp. 11-14.

——— (1995): "Der Anfang des Papyrus Spiegelberg: ein Versuch zur Wiederherstellung," in S. P. VLEEMING, S. P. (ed.), *Hundred-gated Thebes: acts of a colloquium on Thebes and the Theban area in the Graeco-Roman period (P.L. Bat. 27)*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, pp. 43-60.

——— (1996): *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros: Studien zum P. Krall und seiner Stellung innerhalb des Inaros-Petubastis-Zyklus*. Wien: Brüder Hollinek.

——— (2000): *Ägypten: Kultur und Lebenswelt in griechisch-römischer Zeit. Eine Darstellung nach den demotischen Quellen*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag GmbH.

——— (2001): "Review of Ryholt, *Story of Petese*," *OLZ* 96, pp. 38–44.

——— (2014): "Internationale Wissenschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten," in F. HOFFMANN and K. S. SCHMIDT (eds.), *Orient und Okzident in hellenistischer Zeit: Beiträge zur Tagung "Orient und Okzident – Antagonismus oder Konstrukt? Machtstrukturen, Ideologien und Kulturtransfer in hellenistischer Zeit", Würzburg 10.-13. April 2008*. Vaterstetten: Patrick Brose, pp. 77-112.

HOFFMANN, F. and J. F. QUACK (2007): *Anthologie der demotischen Literatur*. Berlin: LIT Verlag.

——— (2014): "Pastophoros," in A. M. DODSON, J. J. JOHNSTON and W. MONKHOUSE (eds.), *A Good Scribe and an Exceedingly Wise Man: Studies in Honor of W. J. Tait*, London: Golden House Publications, pp. 127–155.

HOLZBERG, N. (1995): *The ancient novel: an introduction*. London: Routledge.

HOPFNER, T. (1940): *Plutarch über Isis und Osiris*. Prague: Orientalisches Institut.

HORNUNG, E. (1973): "Die 'Kammern' des Thot Heiligtumes," *ZÄS* 100/1, pp. 33-35.

——— (1999): *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*. Ithaca–London: Cornell University Press [Translated by David Lorton from: HORNUNG, E. (1972), *Ägyptische Unterweltsbücher. Eingeleitet, übersetzt und erläutert*. Zürich–München: Artemis Verlag]

HORNUNG, E. and T. ABT (2007): *The Egyptian Amduat: the Book of the Hidden Chamber*. Zurich: Living Human Heritage

HORNUNG, E., R. KRAUSS, and D. A. WARBURTON (eds.) (2006): *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*. Leiden: Brill.

HORST, P. W. VAN DER (1982): "The Way of Life of the Egyptian Priests According to Chaeremon," in M. HEERMA VAN VOSS and M. SYBRAND HUIBERT GERARD (eds.), *Studies in Egyptian religion: dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, pp. 61–71.

——— (1984): *Chaeremon, Egyptian priest and Stoic philosopher: the fragments collected and translated with explanatory notes*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

HOWATSON, M. C. (1989): *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*. 2nd ed. Oxford–New York: Oxford University Press.

HUGHES, G. R. (1968): "A demotic plea to Thoth in the library of G. Michaelides," *JEA* 54, pp. 176-182.

IVERSEN, E. (1961): *The myth of Egypt and its hieroglyphs in European tradition*. Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad.

JASNOW, R. (1997): "The Greek Alexander romance and Demotic Egyptian literature," *JNES* 56 (2), pp. 95-103.

——— (2001): "'And Pharaoh laughed': reflections on humor in Setne 1 and Late Period Egyptian literature," *Enchoria* 27, pp. 62-81.

——— (2007a): "'Through Demotic Eyes': On Style and Description in Demotic Narratives," in Z. A. HAWASS, J. E. RICHARDS, *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt: Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor*. Cairo: Conseil Supreme des Antiquites de l'Égypte, pp. 433–448.

—— (2007b): "A Demotic Stela from the First Court of Luxor Temple," in S. H. D'AURIA, *Servant of Mut. Studies in Honor of Richard A. Fazzini*. Leiden–Boston: Brill, pp. 130-133.

——— (2011): "'Caught in the Web of Words'–Remarks on the Imagery of Writing and Hieroglyphs in the Book of Thoth," in *JARCE* 47, pp. 297–317.

JASNOW, R. and M. SMITH (2010/2011): "'As for those who have called me evil, Mut will call them evil': orgiastic cultic behavior and its critics in ancient Egypt (PSI Inv. [provv.] D 114a + PSI Inv. 3056 verso)," *Enchoria* 32, pp. 9-53.

JASNOW, R. and K.-Th. ZAUZICH (2005): *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth. A Demotic Discourse on Knowledge and Pendant to the Classical Hermetica*. 2 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

——— (2014): *Conversations in the House of Life. A New Translation of the Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

JAY, J. E. (2016): *Orality and literacy in the Demotic tales*. Leiden–Boston: Brill.

JOHNSON, J. H. (1976): *The Demotic verbal system*. Chicago: Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

——— (1977): "Louvre E3229: a Demotic magical text," *Enchoria* 7, pp. 55-102.

——— (1992): "Introduction to the Demotic Magical Papyri," in H. D. BETZ, *The Greek Magical Papyri in translation, including the Demotic spells*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. lv–lviii.

JOLY, H. (1982): "Platon égyptologue," *Revue Philosophique de la Françe et de l'Étranger* 107, pp. 255-266.

JONES, A. (1994): "The Place of Astronomy in Roman Egypt," in T. D. BARNES (ed.), *The Sciences in Greco-Roman Society*. Edmonton: Academic Printing, pp. 25-51.

——— (1999a): "A Classification of Astronomical Tables on Papyrus," in N. M. SWERDLOW (ed.), *Ancient astronomy and celestial divination*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 299-340.

——— (1999b): *Astronomical Papyri from Oxyrhynchus*. 2 vols. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.

JONES, A. and M. PERALE (2011): "Greek Astronomical Tables in the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection (with associated fragments from other collections)," in *AfP* 58, pp. 308–343, plates XV-XX.

JONES, C. P. (1967): "The Teacher of Plutarch," *HSPh* 71, pp. 205–213.

JONES, H. L. (1932): *Strabo. Geography. Book 17. General Index*. Cambridge, MA–London: Harvard University Press.

JUNKER, H. (1910): *Die Studenwachen in den Osirismysterien, nach den Inschriften von Dendera, Edfu und Philae*. Vienna: A. Hölder.

KÁKOSY, L. (1989): "Review of Van der Horst, *Chaeremon,*" *OLZ* 84, pp. 22–24.

——— (1992): "Hermes and Egypt," in A. B. LLOYD (ed.), *Studies in pharaonic religion and society in honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, pp. 258-261.

——— (1993): "Plato and Egypt: the Egyptian tradition," *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös Nominatae: Sectio Historica* 26, pp. 25-28.

KARL, D. (2000): "Funktion und Bedeutung einer weisen Frau im alten Ägypten," *SAK* 28, pp. 131-160.

KEENAN, J. G. (2009): "The history of the discipline," in BAGNALL, R. S., *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*. Oxford–New York: Oxford University Press.

KLOTZ, D. (2012a): "Egyptian hieroglyphs," in C. RIGGS (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of Roman Egypt*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 563-580.

——— (2012b): *Caesar in the City of Amun. Egyptian Temple Construction and Theology in Roman Thebes*. Turnhout: Brepols.

KOCKELMANN, H. (2008), *Praising the Goddess: a comparative and annotated re-edition of six Demotic hymns and praises addressed to Isis*. Stuttgart: Teubner.

KOENEN, L. (1985): "The Dream of Nektanebos," *BASP* 22, pp. 171-194.

KOENIG, Y. (1994): *Magie et magiciens dans l'Égypte ancienne*. Paris: Pygmalion.

KONSTANTAKOS, I. M. (2011): "A Passage to Egypt: Aesop, the Priests of Heliopolis and the Riddle of the Year," *Trends in Classics* 3, pp. 83-112.

KRUCHTEN, J.-M. (1989): *Les Annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI-XXIIImes dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs a l'initiation des prêtres d'Amon*. Leuven: Departement oriëntalistiek.

KURTH, D. (1994): *Treffpunkt der Götter. Inschriften aus dem Tempel des Horus von Edfu. Eingeleitet, übersetzt und erläutert von Dieter Kurth*. Zürich–Munich: Artemis Verlag.

——— (2004): *The Temple of Edfu. A Guide by an Ancient Egyptian Priest*. Cairo–New York: The American University in Cairo Press.

LAYTON, B. (2004): *A Coptic Grammar*. 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

LEGRAS, B. (2011): *Les reclus grecs du Sarapieion de Memphis. Une enquête sur l'hellénisme égyptien*. Leuven: Peeters.

LEITZ, C. (2009): *Quellentexte zur ägyptischen Religion I. Die Tempelinschriften der griechisch-römischen Zeit*. Berlin: Lit Verlag Dr. W. Hopf.

LEOSPO, E. (1978): *La mensa isiaca di Torino*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

LESKO, L. H. (1991): "Ancient Egyptian Cosmogonies and Cosmology," in B. E. SCHAFER (ed.), *Religion in Ancient Egypt: Gods, Myths, and Personal Practice*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pp. 88–122.

LEWIS, N. (1983): *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

LICHTHEIM, M. (1980): *Ancient Egyptian Literature. Volume III: The Late Period*. Berkeley–Los Angeles–London: University of California Press.

——— (1997): *Moral values in ancient Egypt*. Freiburg, Switzerland–Göttingen: Universitätsverlag; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

LIEVEN, A. VON (2007): *The Carlsberg Papyri 8: Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne. Das sogenannte Nutbuch*. 2 vols. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanums Forlag.

——— (2010): "Wie töricht war Horapollo? zur Ausdeutung von Schriftzeichen im Alten Ägypten," in H. KNUF, C. LEITZ, and D. VON RECKLINGHAUSEN (eds.), *Honi soit qui mal y pense: Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 567-574.

LINDSAY, J. (1970): *The Origins of Alchemy in Graeco-Roman Egypt*. New York: Barnes & Noble.

LIPPERT, S. (2008): *Einführung in die altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte*. Berlin: LIT Verlag.

LLOYD, A. B. (1975-1988): *Herodotus, book II,* 3 vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

LOHWASSER, A. (1991): *Die Formel "Öffnen des Gesichts"*. Vienna: Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien.

LOPRIENO, A. (1991): "The sign of literature in the Shipwrecked Sailor," in U. VERHOEVEN and E. GRAEFE (eds.), *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten: Festgabe für Philippe Derchain zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Juli 1991*. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 209-217.

LOVE, E. O. D. (2016): *Code-switching with the Gods. The Bilingual (Old Coptic-Greek) Spells of* PGM *IV (P. Bibliothèque Nationale Supplément Grec. 574) and their Linguistic, Religious, and Socio-Cultural Context in Late Roman Egypt*. Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter.

LUCARELLI, R. (2007): "La protezione del territorio e la simbologia del number 4 nell'universo magico-religioso dell'uomo egizio," in S. PERNIGOTTI and M. ZECCHI (eds.), *La terra, gli uomini e gli dèi: il paesaggio agricolo nell'Antico Egitto: atti del secondo Colloquio, Bologna, 22/23 maggio 2006*. Imola: La Mandragora, pp. 151-157.

MACKENNA, S. (1963): *Plotinus. The Enneads*. New York: Pantheon Books Inc.

MAGIE, D. (2014). *Historia Augusta*. Vol. 3. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

MAHÉ, J. (1978): *Hermès en Haute-Égypte. Les textes hermétiques de Nag Hammadi et leurs parallèles grecs et latins. Tome I*. Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval.

——— (1982): *Hermès en Haute-Égypte. Tome II. Le fragment du* Discours Parfait *et les* Définitions *hermétiques arméniennes (NH VI, 8.8a)*. Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval.

MAJERCIK, R. D. (1989): *The Chaldean oracles: text, translation, and commentary*. Leiden: Brill.

MALAISE, M. (1972): *Les conditions de penetration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

MALINGREY, A. M. (1961): *Philosophia: étude d'un groupe de mots dans la littérature grecque, des présocratiques au IVe siècle après J. C*. Paris: C. Klincksieck.

MARTELLI, M. (2013): *The* Four Books *of Pseudo-Democritus*. Wakefield: The Society for the History of Alchemy and Chemistry.

MARTIN, C. J. (1994): "The child born in Elephantine: Papyrus Dodgson revisited," *EVO* 17, pp. 199-212.

——— (1996): "The Demotic Texts," in B. PORTEN (ed.), *The Elephantine papyri in English: three millennia of cross-cultural continuity and change*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, pp. 277-385.

MARX-WOLF, H. (2016): *Spiritual Taxonomies and Ritual Authority: Platonists, Priests, and Gnostics in the Third Century C.E*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

MATHIEU, B. (1987): "Le voyage de Platon en Égypte," *ASAE* 71, pp. 153-167.

MATTHEY, P. (2011): "« Chut ! » Le signe d'Harpocrate et l'invitation au silence," in F. PRESCENDI and Y. VOLOKHINE (eds.), *Dans le laboratoire de l'historien des religions. Mélanges offerts à Philippe Borgeaud*. Geneva: Labor et Fides, pp. 541–573.

——— (2012): *Pharaon, magicien et filou: Nectanébo II entre l'histoire et la légende*. PhD dissertation. University of Geneva.

——— (2017) : "The Once and Future King of Egypt. 'Apocalyptic' Literature in Egypt and the Construction of the Alexander Romance," in L. ARCARI (ed.), *Beyond Conflicts. Cultural and Religious Cohabitations in Alexandria and in Egypt between the 1st and the 6th century CE*, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 47−72.

MEDINI, L. (2015): "Chronique d'une mort annoncée? Le crepuscule des temples et des païens d'Égypte," *Topoi Orient-Occident* 20, pp. 239–280.

MENCHETTI, A. (2004): "*Quando adriano venne in Egitto*: un nouvo teste demotico sul viaggio dell'imperatore," *EVO* 27, pp. 27–31.

——— (2009): "Un aperçu des textes astrologiques de Médinet Madi," in G. WIDMER and D. DEVAUCHELLE (eds): *Actes du IXe Congrès International des Études Démotiques: Paris, 31 août - 3 septembre 2005*. Le Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, pp. 223–241.

MERTENS, M. (1995): *Les alchimistes grecs. Tome IV 1re partie: Zosime de Panopolis. Mémoires authentiques*. Paris: Les Belles Letres.

MEYER, M. W. (2008): *The Nag Hammadi Scriptures. The Revised and Updated Translation of Sacred Gnostic Texts*. New York: Harper Collins.

MEYER, M. W. and R. SMITH (1999): *Ancient Christian Magic. Coptic Texts of Ritual Power*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

MEYER, R. (1999): "Magical Ascesis and Moral Purity in Ancient Egypt," in J. ASSMANN and G. G. STROUMSA, *Transformations of the inner self in ancient religions*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 45–64.

MINNEN, P. VAN (1998): "Boorish or Bookish? Literature in Egyptian villages in the Fayum in the Graeco-Roman period," *JJP* 28, pp. 99-184.

MIOSI, F. T. (1982): "God, fate and free will in Egyptian wisdom literature," in G. E. KADISH, and G. E. FREEMAN (eds.), *Studies in philology in honour of Ronald James Williams: a festschrift*. Toronto: The Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities by Benben Publications, pp. 69–111.

MOL, E. (2016): "La casa di Octavius Quartio a Pompei," in POOLE, F. (cur.): *Il Nilo a Pompei. Visioni d'Egitto nel mondo romano. Ediz. illustrate*. Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini Editore, pp. 135–143.

MÖLLER, G. (1913): *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museum zu Edinburg*. 2 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs.

MONSON, A. (2005): "Sacred Land in Ptolemaic and Roman Tebtunis," in S. LIPPERT and M. SCHENTULEIT (eds.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos. Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, pp. 79–91.

——— (2012): *From the Ptolemies to the Romans. Political and Economic Change in Egypt*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

MONTSERRAT, D. (1963): *Sex and Society in Graeco-Roman Egypt*. London–New York: Routledge.

MORENZ, L. D. (2016): *Hoffen und Handeln: vom altägyptischen Heka*. Berlin: EB-Verlag.

MORET, A. (1902): *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte: d'après les papyrus de Berlin et les textes du temple de Séti Ier, à Abydos*. Paris: Leroux.

MORGAN, J. R. (2008): "Heliodorus: An Ethiopian Story," in B. P. REARDON (ed.), *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*. 2nd ed. Berkeley–Los Angeles–London: University of California Press, pp. 349–588.

MOYER, I. S. (2002): "Herodotus and an Egyptian Mirage: The Genealogies of the Theban Priests" in *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 122, pp. 70-90.

——— (2003): "Thessalos of Tralles and Cultural Exchange." in S. NOEGEL, J. WALKER and B. WHEELER (eds.), *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World*. University Park: The Penssylvania State University Press, pp. 39-56.

——— (2011): *Egypt and the limits of Hellenism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

——— (2015): "A Revised Astronomical Dating of Thessalos *De Virtutibus Herbarum*," in K.-D. FISCHER and B. HOLMES (eds.), *The Frontiers of Ancient Science: Essays in Honor of Heinrich von Staden*. Berlin: De Gruyter, pp. 437–450.

NEUGEBAUER, O. (1942): "Egyptian Planetary Texts," in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 32 (2), pp. 209–250.

NEUGEBAUER, O. and R. PARKER (1969): *Egyptian Astronomical Texts 3: Decans, planets, constellations and Zodiacs*. 2 vols. Providence, RI: Brown University Press.

NUNN, J. F. (1996): *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*. London: British Museum Press.

OGDEN, D. (2004): "The Aprentice's Sorcerer: Pancrates and his Powers in Context (Lucian, *Philopseudes* 33-36)," *Acta Classica* 47, pp. 101-126.

OLDFATHER, C. H. (1933): *Diodorus Siculus. Library of History. Books 1–2.34*. Cambridge, MA–London: Harvard University Press.

OSING, J. (1998): *The Carlsberg Papyri 2: Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis I*. 2 vols. Copenhagen: Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Eastern Studies.

OTTO, E. (1976): "Cheriheb," in W. HELCK and E. OTTO (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 1. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, cols. 940-943.

OTTO, W. G. A. (1905-1908): *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten: ein Beitrag zur kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus*. 2 vols. Leipzig–Berlin: B. G. Teubner.

PARKER, R. A. (1959): *A Vienna Demotic papyrus on eclipse- and lunar-omina*. Providence, RI: Brown University Press.

PARKINSON, R. B. (2002): *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt*. London–Oakville: Equinox.

——— (2009): *Reading Ancient Egyptian Poetry Among Other Histories*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

PICCIONE, P. A. (1994): "The gaming episode in the Tale of Setne Khamwas as religious metaphor," in D. P. SILVERMAN (ed.), *For his ka: essays offered in memory of Klaus Baer*. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, pp. 197-204.

POOLE, P. (cur.) (2016): *Il Nilo a Pompei. Visioni d'Egitto nel mondo romano. Ediz. illustrate*. Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini Editore.

PORTEN, B. (2004): "The Prophecy of Hor bar Punesh and the Demise of Righteousness. An Aramaic Papyrus in the British Library," in HOFFMANN, F. and H. THISSEN (eds), *Res severa verum gaudium: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004*. Leuven: Peeters: 427–466.

POSENER, G. (1951): "A propos de la 'Pluie Miraculeuse', *Revue de Philologie, de Littérature et d'Histoire anciennes, Paris, 3e série* 25, pp. 162-168.

——— (1985): *Le papyrus Vandier*. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

POTTER, D. S. (2004): *The Roman Empire at bay, AD 180-395*. London: Routledge.

POWELL, B. B. (2009): *Classical Myth*. New York: Pearson Longman.

PREISENDANZ, K. and A. HENRICHS (1973–1974): *Papyri graecae magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*. 2 vols. 2nd ed. Stuttgart: Teubner.

PRIES, A. (2011): *Die Stundenwachen im Osiriskult*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

PRINCIPE, L. M. (2013): *The Secrets of Alchemy*. Chicago–London: The University of Chicago Press.

QUACK, J. F. (1994): "Korrekturvorschläge zu einigen demotischen literarischen Texten," *Enchoria* 21, pp. 63–72.

——— (1997): "Ein ägyptisches Handbuch des Tempels und seine griechische Übersetzung," *ZPE* 119, pp. 297-300.

——— (1998): "Kontinuität und Wandel in der spätägyptischen Magie," *SEL* 15, 77-94.

——— (1999a): "A new bilingual fragment from the British Museum (Papyrus BM EA 69574)," *JEA* 85, pp. 153-160.

——— (1999b): "Weitere Korrekturvorschläge, vorwiegend zu demotischen literarischen Texten," *Enchoria* 25, pp. 39-47.

——— (2000): "Das Buch vom Tempel und verwandte Texte: ein Vorbericht," *ARC* 2, pp. 1-20.

——— (2002a): "Die Spur des Magiers Petese," *CdE* 77, pp. 76-92.

——— (2002b): "La magie au temple," in Y. KOENIG (ed.), *La magie en Égypte: à la recherche d'une définition; actes du colloque organisé par le Musée du Louvre les 29 et 30 septembre 2000*. Paris: La Documentation Française, pp. 41-68.

——— (2002c): "Review of Sternberg-el Hotabi 1999," in *Orientalische Literaturzeiting* 97 (6), pp. 713–739.

——— (2003a): "'Ich bin Isis, die Herrin der beiden Länder': Versuch zum demotischen Hintergrund der memphitischen Isisaretalogie," in S. MEYER (ed.), *Egypt - temple of the whole world / Ägypten - Tempel der gesammten Welt: studies in honour of Jan Assmann*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 319-366.

——— (2003b): "Le manuel du temple: une nouvelle source sur la vie des prêtres égyptiens," *EAO* 29, pp. 11-18.

——— (2005): "Ämtererblichkeit und Abstammungsvorschriften bei Priestern nach dem Buch vom Tempel," in M. FITZENREITER (ed.), *Genealogie, Realitat und Fiktion von Identitat*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, pp. 97-102.

——— (2006a): "Les mages égyptianisés? Remarks on some surprising points in supposedly Magusean texts," *JNES* 65 (4), pp. 267-282.

——— (2006b): "Zur Lesung und Deutung des Dramatischen Ramesseumpapyrus," *ZÄS* 133, pp. 72-89.

——— (2008): "Spuren ägyptischer Opfertheologie bei Jamblich?," in E. STAVRIANOPOULOU, A. MICHAELS, and C. AMBOS (eds.): *Transformations in Sacrificial Practices. From Antiquity to Modern Times. Proceedings of an International Colloquium, Heidelberg, 12-14, July 2006*. Berlin–Münster: LIT Verlag, pp. 241-262.

——— (2009a): *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte III. Die demotische und gräko-ägyptische Literatur*, 2nd ed. Berlin: LIT Verlag.

——— (2009b): "Miniaturisierung als Schlüssel zum Verständnis römerzeitlicher ägyptischer Rituale?" in O. HEKSTER, S. SCHMIDT-HOFNER, and C. WITSCHEL (eds.), *Ritual Dynamics and Religious Change in the Roman Empire. Proceedings of the Eighth*

Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Heidelberg, July 5–6, 2007). Leiden–Boston: Brill, pp. 349–366.

——— (2010a): "Inhomogenität von ägyptischer Sprache und Schrift in Texten aus dem späten Ägypten," in K. LEMBKE, M. MINAS-NERPEL, and S. PFEIFFER (eds.), *Tradition and transformation: Egypt under Roman rule. Proceedings of the international conference, Hildesheim, Roemer- and Pelizaeus-Museum, 3-6 July 2008*, Leiden–Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 313-341.

——— (2010b): "Les normes pour le culte d'Osiris: les indications du Manuel du Temple sur les lieux et les prêtres osiriens," in L. COULON (ed.), *Le culte d'Osiris au 1er millénaire av. J.-C.: découvertes et travaux récents. Actes de la table ronde internationale tenue à Lyon, Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée (Université Lumière-Lyon 2) les 8 et 9 juillet 2005*. Le Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, pp. 23-30.

——— (2011a): "Remarks on Egyptian rituals of dream-sending," in P. KOUSOULIS (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian demonology: studies on the boundaries between the demonic and the divine in Egyptian magic*, Leuven: Peeters; Departement Oosterse Studies, pp. 129-150.

——— (2011b): "The Interaction of Egyptian and Aramaic Literature," in O. LIPSCHITZ, G. N. KNOPPERS, and M. OEMING (eds.), *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid period: negotiating identity in an international context*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, pp. 375-401.

——— (2012): "Conceptions of purity in Egyptian religion," in C. FREVEL and C. NIHAN, *Purity and the forming of religious traditions in the ancient Mediterranean world and ancient Judaism*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 115-158.

——— (2013): “Quelques apports récents des études démotiques à la comprehension du livre II d’Hérodote,” in L. COULON, P. GIOVANNELLI-JOUANNA, and F. KIMMEL-CLAUZET (eds.), *Hérodote et l’Égypte. Regards croisés sur le livre II de l’*Enquête *d’Hérodote*. Lyon: Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée, pp. 63-88.

——— (2016): “On the Concomitancy of the Seemingly Incommensurable, or Why Egyptian Astral Tradition Needs to be Analyzed within Its Cultural Context,” in J. M. STEELE (ed.), *The Circulation of Astronomical Knowledge in the Ancient World*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 230-244.

——— (2017a): “Assur will suffer:” Predicting Disaster in Ancient Egypt,” in G. J. SCHENK, *Historical Disaster Experiences: Towards a Comparative and Transcultural History of Disasters Across Asia and Europe*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, pp. 189-206.

——— (2017b): “How the Coptic script came about,” in E. GROSSMAN, P. DILS, T. S. RICHTER, and W. SCHENKEL (eds.), *Greek influence on Egyptian-Coptic: contact-induced change in an ancient African language*, Hamburg: Widmaier, 27-96.

QUACK, J. F. and K. RYHOLT (2000): “Notes on the Setne story P. Carlsberg 207,” in P. J. FRANDSEN and K. RYHOLT (eds.), *The Carlsberg Papyri 3: A miscellany of Demotic texts and studies*. Copenhagen: Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Near Eastern Studies; Museum Tusculanum Press, pp. 141-163.

QUAEGEBEUR, J. (1987): “La désignation (*p3*) *ḥry-tp* : phritob,” in J. OSING and G. DREYER (eds.), *Form und Mass: Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des alten Ägypten. Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht zum 65. Geburtstag am 6. Februar 1987*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, pp. 368-394.

QUIRKE, S. (2001): *The Cult of Ra. Sun-Worship in Ancient Egypt*. New York: Thames and Hudson.

——— (2013): *Going out in daylight - prt m hrw: the ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead; translation, sources, meaning*. London: Golden House Publications.

QUIRKE, S. and C. ANDREWS (1988): *The Rosetta Stone: facsimile drawing*. London: British Museum Publications.

RATTENBURY, R. M. and T. W. LUMB (1938): *Héliodore. Les Éthiopiques (Théagene et Chariclée)*. Vol. 2. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

——— (1943): *Héliodore. Les Éthiopiques (Théagene et Chariclée)*. Vol. 3. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

——— (1960): *Héliodore. Les Éthiopiques (Théagene et Chariclée)*. Vol. 1. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

RAVEN, M. J. (1984): "Wax in Egyptian magic and symbolism," in M. J. RAVEN (ed.), *Symbols of resurrection: three studies in ancient Egyptian iconography / Symbolen van opstanding: drie studies op het gebied van Oud-Egyptische iconografie*. Leiden: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, pp. 7–47.

——— (1988): "Magic and symbolic aspects of certain materials in ancient Egypt," *Varia Aegyptiaca* 4 (3), pp. 237-242.

RAY, J. D. (1976): *The Archive of Hor*. London: The Egypt Exploration Society.

——— (2003): "The 'son of pharaoh' in the sacred animal necropolis at North Saqqâra," *Enchoria* 28, pp. 89-97.

REARDON, B. P. (ed.) (2008), *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*. 2nd ed. Berkeley–Los Angeles–London: University of California Press.

REDFORD, D. B. (1986): *Pharaonic king-lists, annals and day-books: a contribution to the study of the Egyptian sense of history*. Mississauga: Benben.

RIGGS, C. (2005): *The beautiful burial in Roman Egypt: art, identity, and funerary religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

RILLY, C. (2010): *Le méroïtique et sa famille linguistique*. Leuven–Paris: Peeters.

RITNER, R. K. (1981a): "Hermes Pentamegistos," *GM* 49, pp. 73-75.

——— (1981b): "Additional notes to Hermes Pentamegistos," *GM* 50, pp. 67-68.

——— (1989): "Horus on the Crocodiles: a Juncture of Religion and Magic in Late Dynastic Egypt" in J. P. ALLEN et al. (eds.), *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 103–116.

——— (1993): *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

——— (1995a): "Egyptian Magical Practice under the Roman Empire: the Demotic Spells and their Religious Context," in H. TEMPORINI, J. VOGT, and W. HAASE (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*. Vol 2 (18.2). Berlin: De Gruyter, pp. 3333–3379.

——— (1995b): "The religious, social, and legal parameters of traditional Egyptian magic," in M. MEYER and P. MIRECKI (eds.), *Ancient magic and ritual power*. Leiden–New York–Köln: Brill, pp. 43-60.

——— (2001): "Magic," in D. B. REDFORD (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. 3. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 321-336.

——— (2002): "Necromancy in Ancient Egypt," in L. CIRAOLO and J. SEIDEL (eds.), *Magic and Divination in the Ancient World*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 89-96.

——— (2003a): “The Famine Stela,” in W. K. SIMPSON (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt. An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 386–391.

——— (2003b): “The Tale of Amasis and the Skipper,” in W. K. SIMPSON (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt. An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 450-452.

——— (2003c): “Setna Khaemuas and the mummies (Setna I),” in W. K. SIMPSON (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt. An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 453–469.

——— (2003d): “The Adventures of Setna and Si-Osire,” in W. K. SIMPSON (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt. An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 470–489.

——— (2003e): “The Childhood of Si-Osire,” in W. K. SIMPSON (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt. An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 490–491.

——— (2003f): “The Instruction of ‘Onchsheshonqy,” in W. K. SIMPSON (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt. An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 497–529.

——— (2010): “Setna’s spell of taking security (*Setna I*, col. IV/31-34),” in H. KNUF, C. LEITZ, and D. VON RECKLINGHAUSEN (eds.), *Honi soit qui mal y pense: Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 425-428.

ROBINSON, J. M. (1972): *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices. Codex VI*. Leiden: Brill.

RODRIGUEZ, P. (2007): "Chérémon, Néron et l'Égypte hellénistique," in Y. PERRIN, *Neronia VII: Rome, l'Italie et la Grèce: hellénisme et philhellénisme au premier siècle après J.-C.: actes du VIIe Colloque International de la SIEN (Athènes, 21-23 octobre 2004*. Brussels: Éditions Latomus, pp. 50-73.

RUTHERFORD, I. (1997): "Kalasiris and Setne Khamwas: A Greek Novel and Some Egyptian Models," *ZPE* 117, pp. 203-209.

——— (2000): "The Genealogy of the Boukoloi: How Greek Literature Appropriated an Egyptian Narrative-Motif," in *JHS* 120, pp. 106-121.

——— (2013): "Greek fiction and Egyptian fiction. Are they related and, if so, how?" in T. WHITMARSH (ed.), *The Romance between Greece and the East*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 23-37.

RYHOLT, K. (1998a): "A Demotic version of Nectanebos' dream (P. Carlsberg 562)," *ZPE* 122, pp. 197-200.

——— (1998b): "A Parallel to the Inaros Story of P. Krall (P. Carlsberg 456+P. CtYBR 4513): Demotic Narratives from the Tebtunis Temple Library (I)," *JEA* 84, pp. 151-169.

——— (1999): *The story of Petese, son of Petetum and seventy other good and bad stories (P. Petese)*. Copenhagen: Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Near Eastern Studies.

——— (2000): "A new version of the introduction to the teachings of 'Onch-Sheshonqy: (P. Carlsberg 304 + PSI inv. D 5 + P. CtYBR 4512 + P. Berlin P 30489)," in P. J. FRANDSEN and K. RYHOLT (eds.), *The Carlsberg Papyri 3: A miscellany of Demotic*

texts and studies. Copenhagen: Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Near Eastern Studies; Museum Tusculanum Press, pp. 113-140.

——— (2002): "Nectanebo's Dream or the Prophecy of Petesis," in A. BLASIUS and B. U. SCHIPPER (eds.), *Apokalyptik und Ägypten: eine kritische Analyse der relevanten Texte aus dem griechisch-römischen Ägypten*. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 221-241.

——— (2004): "The Assyrian invasion of Egypt in Egyptian literary tradition," in J. G. DERCKSEN (ed.), *Assyria and beyond : studies presented to Mogens Trolle Larsen*. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, pp. 483-510.

——— (2005a): "On the Contents and Nature of the Tebtunis Temple Library," in S. LIPPERT and M. SCHENTULEIT (eds.), *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos. Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, pp. 141–170.

——— (2005b): *The Petese Stories II (P. Petese II)*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.

——— (2009a): "Egyptian Historical Literature from the Greco-Roman Period," in M. FITZENREITER (ed.), *Das Ereignis. Geschichsschreibung zwischen Vorfall und Befund*. London: Golden House Publications, pp. 231–238.

——— (2009b): "The Life of Imhotep (P. Carlsberg 85)," in G. WIDMER and D. Devauchelle, *Actes du IXe Congrès international des études démotiques: Paris, 31 août-3 septembre 2005*. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, pp. 305–315.

——— (2010): "A Sesostris story in Demotic Egyptian and demotic literary exercises (O. Leipzig UB 2217)," in H. KNUF, C. LEITZ, and D. VON RECKLINGHAUSEN (eds.), *Honi soit qui mal y pense: Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 429-437.

——— (2011): "New light on the legendary king Nechepsos of Egypt." *JEA* 97, pp. 61-72.

——— (2012): *Narrative literature from the Tebtunis Temple Library*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.

——— (2013a): "*Imitatio Alexandri* in Egyptian literary tradition," in T. WHITMARSH and S. THOMSON (eds.), *The Romance Between Greece and the East*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 59-78.

——— (2013b): "Libraries in ancient Egypt," in J. KÖNIG, K. OIKONOMOPOULOU, and G. WOOLF (eds.): *Ancient Libraries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 23–37.

RUNDLE CLARK, R. T. (1959). *Myth and symbol in ancient Egypt*. London: Thames and Hudson.

SALIM, R. (2013): *Cultural Identity and Self-presentation in Ancient Egyptian Fictional Narratives. An Intertextual Study of Narrative Motifs from the Middle Kingdom to the Roman Period*, PhD dissertation, University of Copenhagen.

SALVIA, F. DE (1987): "La figura del mago egizio nella tradizione letteraria greco-romana," in A. ROCCATI and A. SILIOTTI (eds.), *La magia in Egitto ai tempi dei faraoni: atti, convegno internazionale di studi, Milano, 29-31 ottobre 1985*. Verona: Rassegna internazionale di cinematografia archeologica arte e natura libri, pp. 343-365.

SANDY, G. N. (1982): "Characterization and philosophical decor in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*," in *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 112, pp. 141–167.

SAUNERON, S. (1951): "Aspects et sort d'un theme magique égyptien: les menaces incluant les dieux," *BSFE* 8, pp. 11–21.

——— (1962): "Les conditions d'accès à la fonction sacerdotale à l'époque gréco-romaine," *BIFAO* 61, pp. 55–57.

——— (1966): “Le monde du magicien égyptien,” in G. CONDOMINAS (ed.), *Le monde du sorcier: Égypte, Babylone, Hittites, Israël, Islam, Asie centrale, Inde, Nepal, Cambodge, Viet-nam, Japon*. Paris: Éditions du Seui, pp. 27-65.

——— (1989): *Un traité égyptien d'ophiologie: Papyrus du Brooklyn Museum No. 47.218.48 et .85*. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.

——— (2000): *The priests of ancient Egypt*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. [translation of SAUNERON, S. (1988): *Les prêtres de l'ancienne Égypte: edition revue et complétée*. Paris: Perséa].

SCHENTULEIT, M. (2007): “Satabus aus Soknopaiou Nesos: Aus dem Leben eines Priesters am Beginn der römischen Kaiserzeit,” *CdE* 82, pp. 101-125.

SCHMIDT, F. S. (1768): *Dissertatio de Sacerdotibus Et Sacrificiis Aegyptiorum*. Tübingen: Joh. Georg. Cottam.

SCHNEIDER, H. D. (1977): *Shabtis. An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes with a Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*. 3 vols. Leiden: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden.

SCHNEIDER, T. (1997): “Das Schriftzeichen ‘Rosette’ und die Göttin Seschat,” *SAK* 24, pp. 241-67.

SCHOTT, S. (1990): *Bücher und Bibliotheken im Alten Ägypten: Verzeichnis der Buch- und Spruchtitel und der Termini technici*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

SCHWYZER, H.-R. (1932): *Chairemon*. Leipzig: Harrassowitz.

SHAW, G. (2014): *Theurgy and the Soul. The Neoplatonism of Iamblichus*. 2nd ed. Kettering, OH: Angelico Press / Sophia Perennis.

SHINNIE, P. L. (2001): "Meroë," in D. B. REDFORD (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*. Vol. 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 383–384.

SIMPSON, W. K. (2003): "King Cheops and the Magicians," in W. K. SIMPSON (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt. An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 13-24.

SMITH, H. S. and W. J. TAIT (1983): *Saqqâra demotic papyri I (P. Dem. Saq. I)*. London: Egypt Exploration Society.

SMITH, J. Z. (1978): "The Temple and the Magician," in J. Z. SMITH, *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 172–189.

——— (1995): "Trading Places," in M. MEYER and P. MIRECKI (eds.), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 13–27.

——— (2003): "Here, There, and Anywhere," in S. NOEGEL, J. WALKER, and B. WHEELER (eds.): *Prayer, magic, and the stars in the ancient and late antique world*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, pp. 21–36.

SMITH, M. (1980): "The hieratic group *sšt3*," *Serapis* 6, pp. 157-163.

——— (1984): "Two Further Instances of Hieratic Writings of *sšt3*, '(Secret) Image, Form,' in Demotic Texts," *Enchoria* 12, p. 189.

——— (1985): "Lexicographical notes on Demotic texts II," *Enchoria* 13, pp. 103-114.

——— (1991): "Did Psammetichus I die abroad?" *OLP* 22, pp. 101-109.

——— (1994): "Budge at Akhmim, January 1896," in Ch. EYRE, A. LEAHY, and L. MONTAGNO LEAHY (eds.), *The unbroken reed: studies in the culture and heritage of ancient Egypt: in honour of A. F. Shore*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, pp. 293-303.

——— (2002): "Aspects of the Preservation and Transmission of Indigenous Religious Traditons in Akhmim and its Environs during the Graeco-Roman Period," in A. EGBERTS, B. P. MUHS, and J. VAN DER VLIET (eds.), *Perspectives on Panopolis. An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest*. Leiden–Boston–Köln: Brill, pp. 233–247.

——— (2009): *Traversing eternity: texts for the afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

——— (2017): *Following Osiris. Perspectives on the Osirian Afterlife from Four Millennia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

SMITH, W. S. (1998): *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, 3rd ed. New Haven: Yale University Press.

SODANO, A. R. (1958): *Porfirio, Lettera ad Anebo*. Naples: L'Arte Tipografica.

SPEYER, W. (1970): *Bücherfunde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike: Mit einem Ausblick auf Mittelalter und Neuzeit*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

SPIEGELBERG, W. (1910): *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis nach dem Straßburger demotischen Papyrus sowie den Wiener und Pariser Bruchstücken*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.

——— (1912): *Demotische Texte auf Krügen*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.

——— (1925): *Demotische Grammatik*. Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung.

STADLER, M. A. (2004): *Isis, das göttliche Kind und die Weltordnung: neue religiöse Texte aus dem Fayum nach dem Papyrus Wien D. 12006 recto*. Wien: Brüder Hollinek.

——— (2008): "On the Demise of Egyptian Writing: Working with a Problematic Source Basis." in J. BAINES, J. BENNET and S. HOUSTON (eds.), *The Disappearance of Writing Systems. Perspectives on Literacy and Communication*. London: Equinox, pp. 157–181.

——— (2012): *Einführung in die ägyptische Religion ptolemäisch-römischer Zeit nach den demotischen religiösen Texten*. Berlin: LIT Verlag.

——— (2015): "Rezension zu Klotz, *Caesar in the City of Amun*," *JEA* 101, pp. 395–398.

——— (2017): "Review of G. Widmer, *Résurrection d'Osiris – naissance d'Horus*," in *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2017.03.36 [http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2017/2017-03-36.html, last accessed 09/17/2017].

STÄHLIN, O. (1906): *Clemens Alexandrinus. Zweiter Band. Stromata Buch I–VI*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.

STEPHENS, S. A. (2003): *Seeing double: intercultural poetics in Ptolemaic Alexandria*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

——— (2013): "Fictions of cultural authority," in T. WHITMARSH and S. THOMSON (eds.), *The romance between Greece and the East*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 91-101.

STEPHENS, S. A. and WINKLER, J. J. (1995): *Ancient Greek novels: the fragments. Introduction, text, translation, and commentary*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

STERNBERG-EL HOTABI, H. (1994): "Der Untergang der Hieroglyphenschrift. Schriftverfall und Schrifttod im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit," *CdE* 69, pp. 218–248.

——— (1999): *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Horusstelen. Ein Beitrag zur Religionsgeschichte Ägyptens im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr*. 2 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

STONEMAN, R. (1991): *The Greek Alexander Romance*. London: Penguin Books.

TAIT, J. W. (1991): "P. Carlsberg 207: Two columns of a Setna-text," in P. J. FRANDSEN, K.-Th. Zauzich, and A. VOLTEN (eds.), *Demotic texts from the collection*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, pp. 19-46.

——— (1994): "Egyptian Fiction in Demotic and Greek," in J. R. MORGAN and R. STONEMAN (eds.), *Greek Fiction. The Greek Novel in Context*. London–New York, pp. 203–222.

——— (1995): "Theban magic," in S. P. VLEEMING (ed.), *Hundred-gated Thebes: acts of a colloquium on Thebes and the Theban area in the Graeco-Roman period (P.L. Bat. 27)*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, pp. 169-182.

——— (2008): "Pa-di-pep tells pharaoh the story of the condemnation of Djed-her: fragments of Demotic narrative in the British Museum," *Enchoria* 31, pp. 113-143.

——— (2009): "Anger and agency: the role of the emotions in Demotic and earlier narratives," In R. NYORD and A. KJØLBY (eds.), *'Being in ancient Egypt': thoughts on agency, materiality and cognition; proceedings of the seminar held in Copenhagen, September 29 – 30, 2006*. Oxford: Archaeopress, pp. 75–82.

——— (2011): "The Sinews of Demotic Narrative," in F. HAGEN (ed.), *Narratives of Egypt and the Ancient Near East: literary and linguistic approaches*. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 397–410.

TAYLOR, T. (1895): *Iamblichus on the Mysteries of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Assyrians*. 2d ed. London: B. Dobell.

THISSEN, H. J. (1977): "Graeco-ägyptische Literatur," in W. HELCK and E. OTTO (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 2. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, cols. 873-878.

——— (1982): “Pterophoren,” in W. HELCK and E. OTTO (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 4. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, cols. 1182-1183.

——— (1984): *Die Lehre des Anchscheschonqi (P. BM 10508): Einleitung, Übersetzung, Indices*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt.

——— (1987): “Der Name Manetho,” *Enchoria* 15, pp. 93-96.

——— (1991): “Ägyptologische Beiträge zu den griechischen magischen Papyri,” in U. VERHOEVEN and E. GRAEFE (eds.), *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten: Festgabe für Philippe Derchain zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Juli 1991*. Leuven: Departement Oriëntalistiek; Peeters, pp. 293-302.

——— (1992): *Der verkommene Harfenspieler. Eine altägyptische Invektive (P. Wien KM 3877)*. Sommerhausen: Gisela Zauzich Verlag.

——— (1996): “Κμηφ: Ein verkannter Gott,” *ZPE* 112, pp. 153–160.

——— (2001): *Des Niloten Horapollon Hieroglyphenbuch, I: Text und Übersetzung*. Munich–Leipzig: K.G. Saur.

——— (2006a): “Aus der Werkstatt Horapollons,” in K. ZIBELIUS-CHEN and H.-W. FISCHER-ELFERT (eds.), *“Von reichlich ägyptischem Verstande”: Festschrift für Waltraud Guglielmi zum 65. Geburtstag*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 153-163.

——— (2006b): “Zum Hieroglyphen-Buch des Chairemon,” in G. MOERS, H. BEHLMER, K. DEMUß, and K. WIDMAIER (eds.), *jn.t ḏr.w: Festschrift für Friedrich Junge 2*. Göttingen: Lingua Aegyptia, Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie, pp. 625-634.

——— (2011): “‘Lost in Translation.’ Von Übersetzungen und Übersetzern,” in H.-W. FISCHER-ELFERT and T. S. RICHTER (eds.), *Literatur und Religion im Alten Ägypten. Ein Symposium zu Ehren von Elke Blumenthal*. Stuttgart–Leipzig: Hirzel, pp. 126–163.

TILLIER, A. (2011): "À propos de *nṯr nfr* comme épithète divine: Contribution à l'étude d'Osiris-roi au Moyen Empire," *RdE* 62, pp. 159–174.

THOMPSON, H. (1941): "Two Demotic self-dedications," *JEA* 26, pp. 68-78.

TORALLAS TOVAR, S. (2010): "Linguistic Identity in Graeco-Roman Egypt," in A. PAPACONSTANTINOU (ed.), *The Multilingual Experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the Abbasids*. Farnham–Burlington, VT: Ashgate, pp. 17-43.

TRAUNECKER, C. (1989): "Le 'Château de l'Or' de Thoutmosis III et les magasins nord du temple d'Amon," *CRIPEL* 11, pp. 89-111.

——— (1995): "Le Papyrus Spiegelberg et l'évolution des liturgies thébaines," in S. P. VLEEMING (ed.), *Hundred-gated Thebes: acts of a colloquium on Thebes and the Theban area in the Graeco-Roman period (P.L. Bat. 27)*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, pp. 183-201.

VANDERLIP, V. F. (1972): *The Four Greek Hymns of Isidorus and the Cult of Isis*. Toronto: A. M. Hakkert.

VANDIER, J. (1961): *Le Papyrus Jumilhac*. Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique.

VASUNIA, P. (2001): *The Gift of the Nile. Hellenizing Egypt from Aeschylus to Alexander*. Berkeley–Los Angeles–London: University of California Press.

VERHOEVEN, U. (2002): "Kinder und Kindgötter im Alten Ägypten," in K. W. ALT and A. KEMKES-GROTTENTHALER (eds.), *Kinderwelten: Anthropologie–Geschichte–Kulturvergleich*. Köln: Böhlau, pp. 120-129.

VERSLUYS, M. J. (2016): "Un biglietto di sola andata dall'Egitto a Roma?" in F. POOLE (cur.), *Il Nilo a Pompei. Visioni d'Egitto nel mondo romano. Ediz. illustrate*. Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini Editore, pp. 57–61.

VINSON, S. (2008): "Through a woman's eyes, and in a woman's voice: Ihweret as focalizor in the First Tale of Setne Khaemwas," in P. MCKECHNIE and P. GUILLAUME (eds.), *Ptolemy II Philadelphus and his world*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 303-351.

——— (2009): "The names 'Naneferkaptah,' 'Ihweret,' and 'Tabubue' in the 'First tale of Setne Khaemwas'," *JNES* 68 (4), pp. 283-303.

——— (2010): "Ten notes on the First Tale of Setne Khaemwas," in H. KNUF, C. LEITZ, and D. VON RECKLINGHAUSEN (eds.), *Honi soit qui mal y pense: Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 447–470.

——— (2011): "Strictly Tabubue: the legacy of an Ancient Egyptian femme fatale," *KMT* 22 (3), pp. 46–57.

——— (2014): "Go Figure: metaphor, metonymy and the practice of translation in the 'First Tale of Setne Khaemwas,' in A. M. DODSON, J. J. JOHNSTON, and W. MONKHOUSE (eds.), *A Good Scribe and an Exceedingly Wise Man: Studies in Honour of W. J. Tait*. London: Golden House Publications, pp. 305–321.

VITTMANN, G. (1998a): "Beobachtungen und Überlegungen zu fremden und hellenisierten Ägyptern im Dienste einheimischer Kulte," in W. CLARYSSE, A. SCHOORS, and H. WILLEMS (eds.), *Egyptian religion: the last thousand years. Studies dedicated to the memory of Jan Quaegebeur: part II*. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 1231-1250.

——— (1998b): *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*. 2 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

——— (2000): "Review of Ryholt, *The Story of Petese,*" *Enchoria* 26, pp. 193–197.

——— (2003): *Ägypten und die Frenden im ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend*. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern.

——— (2006): "Zur Rolle des 'Auslands' im demotischen Inaros-Pedubastis-Zyklus," *WZKM* 96, pp. 305–337.

VLEEMING, S. P. (2011): *Demotic and Greek-Demotic Mummy Labels and other Short Texts Gathered from Many Publications*. Leuven: Peeters.

——— (2015): *Demotic graffiti and other short texts gathered from many publications (Short Texts III 1201-2350)*. Leuven–Paris–Bristol, CT: Peeters.

WADDELL, W. G. (1940): *Manetho*, Cambridge–London: Harvard University Press.

WAITKUS, W. (1997): *Die Texte in den unteren Krypten des Hathortempels von Dendera: ihre Aussagen zur Funktion und Bedeutung dieser Räume*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

WALLIS, R. T. (1972): *Neoplatonism*. London: Duckworth.

Wb – ERMAN, A. and H. GRAPOW (1971): *Wörterbuch der äegyptischen Sprache*. 7 vols. (and 5 vols. Belegstellen). Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

WENDT, H. (2016): *At the Temple Gates. The Religion of Freelance Experts in the Roman Empire*. New York: Oxford University Press.

WENTE, E. F. (2003): "The Tale of the Doomed Prince," in W. K. SIMPSON (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt. An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 75–79.

WEST, S. (2013): "Divine anger management: the Greek version of the Myth of the Sun's Eye (P.Lond.Lit. 192)," in T. WHITMARSH and S. THOMSON (eds.), *The romance between Greece and the East*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 79-90.

WESTENDORF, W. (1977): *Koptisches Handwörterbuch: bearbeitet auf Grund des Koptischen Handwörterbuchs Wilhelm Spiegelbergs*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

WHITMARSH, T. (2011): *Narrative and identity in the ancient Greek novel: returning romance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

WIDMER, G. (2002): "Pharaoh Maâ-Rê, pharaoh Amenemhat and Sesostris: three figures from Egypt's past as seen in sources of the Graeco-Roman Period," in K. RYHOLT (ed.), *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies: Copenhagen, 23-27 August 1999*. Copenhagen: Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies, pp. 377-393.

——— (2015): *Résurrection d'Osiris - naissance d'Horus: les papyrus Berlin P. 6750 et Berlin P. 8765, témoignages de la persistance de la tradition sacerdotale dans le Fayoum à l'époque romaine*. Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter.

WILDUNG, D. (1977): *Imhotep und Amenhotep: Gottwerdung im alten Ägypten*. Munich–Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag.

WILSON, P. (1997). *A Ptolemaic lexikon: a lexicographical study of the texts in the Temple of Edfu*. Leuven: Peeters.

WINKLER, J. J. (1982): "The mendacity of Kalasiris and the narrative strategy of Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*," in J. J. WINKLER and G. W. WILLIAMS (eds.), *Later Greek literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 93–158.

——— (2008): "Leucippe and Clitophon," in B. P. REARDON (ed.) (2008), *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*. 2nd ed. Berkeley–Los Angeles–London: University of California Press, pp. 170–284.

YOYOTTE, J. et al. (eds.) (1997): *Égypte Romaine, l'autre Égypte*. Marseille–Paris: Musées de Marseille; Réunion des musées nationaux.

ZAUZICH, K.-T. (1996): "Anchscheschonqi – eine Lehre für den Schreiber?," in M. SCHADE-BUSCH (ed.), *Wege öffnen. Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach zum 65. Geburtstag*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

——— (2000): "P. Carlsberg 21 und 22. Zwei Briefe von Bücherfreunden," in P. J. FRANDSEN and K. RYHOLT (eds.), *The Carlsberg Papyri 3: A miscellany of Demotic texts and studies*. Copenhagen: Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Near Eastern Studies; Museum Tusculanum Press, pp. 53-57.

——— (2009): "Serpot und Semiramis," in J. C. FINCKE (ed.), *Festschrift für Gernot Wilhem anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages am 28. Januar 2010*. Dresden: Islet, pp. 447–465.

——— (2014): "Koinobitische Regeln in Narmuthis?" *Enchoria* 34, pp. 137–142.

CURRICULUM VITAE

MARINA ESCOLANO POVEDA – ALICANTE (SPAIN), 1986

EDUCATION

2017 Ph.D., Near Eastern Studies (Egyptology), Johns Hopkins University

2009 B.A., History (Ancient History), Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

SELECTED GRANTS AND AWARDS

2016 2nd Prize Best Student Paper Award at the *67th Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt*, Atlanta GA, for "Why was the Lebensmüde Müde? New Fragments of the Beginning of P. Berlin 3024"

2015 Dean's Teaching Fellowship of the Office of the Dean of Arts and Sciences, Johns Hopkins University. Course designed and taught: "Sorcerers, Warriors, and Femmes Fatales: Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Literature" (AS.130.249), Spring 2016

2009 Fulbright Graduate Degree Grant, academic years 2010-12.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS/BOOK CHAPTERS AND CONTRIBUTIONS IN BOOKS

2014 Edition of the Demotic section of P.Monts.Roca inv. nos. 718 (LH fr.) + (RH fr.) in TORALLAS TOVAR, S. and WORP, K. A. (eds.) (2014): *Greek Papyri from Montserrat. P.Monts.Roca IV*. Madrid: CSIC Publicaciones, pp. 244–249.

ARTICLES (*PEER REVIEWED)

In press *"Astronomica Montserratensia I: A Demotic almanac with synodic phenomena (P. Monts.Roca inv. 314)," *Enchoria*.

*Edition of the Coptic papyrus P.Palau-Rib. inv. 363 in M. J. ALBARRÁN, A. BOUD'HORS and A. DELATRE (eds.): "Coptica Barcinonensia. Texts and Documents from the 5th International Seminar of Coptic Papyrology (Barcelona, 6-13 July 2014)," *Journal of Coptic Studies.*

2017 *"New Fragments of Papyrus Berlin 3024. The Missing Beginning of the Debate between a Man and his Ba and the Continuation of the Tale of the Herdsman (P. Mallorca I and II)" *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 144(1), pp. 16–54.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY (INSTRUCTOR OF RECORD)

2015-17 Introduction to Middle Egyptian (AS.130.400, AS.130.600, AS.130.401, and AS.130.601). 4 semesters.

2016 "Sorcerers, Warriors, and Femmes Fatales: Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Literature" (AS.130.249). 1 semester.

SELECTED ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPERIENCE

2011–17 The Johns Hopkins University Archaeological Expedition to the Temple of Mut, Karnak (Luxor, Egypt). Project director: Prof. Betsy M. Bryan. Duties: trench supervisor, archaeological artist (7 archaeological seasons).

2007–10 The Egypt Exploration Society and Durham University Archaeological Expedition to Saïs (Sa el-Hagar, Egypt). Project director: Prof. Penelope Wilson. Duties: deputy director (2009), archaeological artist (3 archaeological seasons).

2008 Stoa of the Neapolis of Ampurias, ancient Emporion, Girona. Project director: Prof. Xavier Aquilué. Greek colony.

2005–06 La Alcudia, ancient Ilici, Elche. Project director: Prof. Lorenzo Abad Casal. Iberian-Roman settlement (2 archaeological seasons).

2004–05 Cabezo Redondo, Villena. Project director: Prof. Mauro S. Hernández Pérez. Late Bronze Age settlement (2 archaeological seasons).

SELECTED LECTURES

2016 **August 1:** "Tracking the wandering ones: a Demotic Planetary Table from Montserrat," *28th International Congress of Papyrology*, Barcelona.

April 16: "Why was the Lebensmüde müde? New Fragments of the Beginning of P. Berlin 3024," *67th Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt*, Atlanta GA.

2015 **April 26:** "Lost Papyri: Unpublished Papyri from the Montserrat Abbey and the Museu Bíblic of Mallorca (Spain)," *66th Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt*, Houston TX.

April 11: "Surfing on Crocodiles: The Amulet-Stela of Horus on the Crocodiles (2231D)", *Third Museum Symposium* of the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum, Baltimore MD.

2013 **April 14:** "Glimpses of the Egyptian Underworld: The Myers Amduat (ECM 1573)", *Second Museum Symposium* of the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum, Baltimore MD.